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THE GOSPEL-MESSAGE.

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THE GOSPEL-MESSAGE.

OR

Essays, Addresses, Suggestions, and Warnings on the Different Aspects of

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO NON-CHRISTIAN RACES AND PEOPLES.

BY

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

HON. SEC. OF THE CANTERBURY BOARD OF MISSIONS

A humble Student of the Philosophy of Missions, and observer of the great work in the Field and the Committee-room of many Churches and Denominations in the Mission-fields of the world for half a century.

"Therefore every scribe, which is instructed unto the Kingdom of Heaven, is like unto a man, that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old."—*Matthew*, xiii, 52.

LONDON

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THE

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THIS

FINAL EFFORT IN THE GREAT CAUSE

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Dedicated.

February 24, 1896.
Ætat 75.

Presentation Copy

OF

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A copy of this my final work on the one Great Subject, which has occupied my thoughts for Fifty Years, is forwarded to

General Theol. Seminary of the Prot. Epis. Church of the U.S.

In the sincere desire that it may throw light on disputed points, and present new aspects of the subject, for the earnest consideration of those, who study with an unprejudiced intellect the

"Philosophy of Missions."

FEBRUARY 24, 1896.
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INTRODUCTION.

My heartfelt desire is, at the age of seventy-five, to throw together in a collective form my already published Addresses, Essays, and Warnings, with emendations and enlargements up to the year 1895, and to add others on subjects not previously handled. My criticisms must necessarily be severe and outspoken, because I feel the necessity. The work of an Evangelist is a Divine Call, not a mere worldly profession: it requires the consecration in the morning of life of *all* the faculties, talents, time, and Gifts, of the consecrated man or woman: they should not descend to vulgar domestic cares until they have given one decade exclusively to their Master's Service. It is throwing words away to suggest reforms in a Missionary committee, where nearly every member of committee or Secretary, has relations, or connections, or intimate friends, who would be affected thereby. Evangelization has become a great family-concern. In the Middle Ages Monastic establishments by the same gradual degradation fell down from the high Ideal, because the members of those Associations failed to reform themselves. Now is the time for Missionary Associations, many of whom are about to complete their century of existence, to reform abuses, and adapt themselves to the new requirements, before the day of their visitation has passed, and they are absorbed into a Church-organization, which will be totally unable to conduct Missionary operations.

Some of these papers may be read with profit at Ladies' work-parties: copies of the book will be sent to all Training Colleges.

They are written by one, whose whole heart for half a century has been in the work, and whose reading in a great many Languages has been very wide; *who is not afraid to call a spade a spade*; whose intellectual stature is sufficiently high to look over the fence, which separates Church from Church, and Denomination from Denomination, Schools of Ecclesiastical thought from their antagonists, Nation from Nation, dark-coloured races from light-coloured, and Christians, real or nominal, from non-Christians; and to see nothing but Christ Crucified, and Millions requiring a Saviour, and with dumb voices calling out to the Western Nations for a Prophet, an Evangelist, a Teacher, and a Guide. The Service of Christ is of the highest and noblest kind; but it should not be lightly entered upon, performed perfunctorily, or lightly deserted, while there is life and health, because it is a life-service, as Bishops Sargent, Caldwell, Steere, Smythies, Hannington, Parker, found it, and good John Newton of Lahore showed it to be, and Robert Clark of Amritsar shows it to be still. No blessing will follow the deserter in his English Home.

Some of my Chapters may suggest ideas to Deputations, and help them to give a little variety to their addresses, and set their audiences thinking: it is well sometimes to keep clear of statistics, a little too favourable, and to abstain from laudation of Agents a little too exuberant: one note runs through all my pages, Pity and Love to *all* God's poor creatures, to whatever stage of culture, or degradation of the Religious conception, they may have fallen. Our ancestors in the time of Augustine of Canterbury, and Columba of Iona, were on the same level as the heathen are now: it was God's pleasure to leave our ancestors in that state during the thousands of years, which preceded the birth of those great Missionaries: it was God's goodness that sent them to our forefathers. Is His Hand shortened, or His Wisdom clouded, that He should not have fixed the appointed time of Evangelization for the dwellers in the extreme Orient also? His Sovereign Will has its own time fixed.

I expect and welcome the censure of this generation: perhaps the next generation will see the matter from another point of view. Sometimes even now I receive a letter from an unknown

Clergyman, who, having to speak at a Meeting, or preach his Annual Sermon, had stumbled on one of my published Addresses, and had derived assistance from the new point of view, in which the Great Subject was placed; and he wrote to thank me. Sometimes I receive a letter from a Missionary in a distant field expressing his concurrence in my sentiments. Sometimes an honest antagonist blurts out: "What you say is quite true; "but we cannot help it: we must make the best use we can of "the indifferent material at our disposal." This may be true; but a great civil administrator in India takes credit for working effectively with indifferent material under careful guidance and instruction. Men and Women are what they are taught and trained to be by competent Superintendents.

Where narrow-minded, or imperfectly informed, persons fail is in their inability to comprehend the grandeur of this great enterprize, and at the same time its Human side. It is a Divine enterprize, and men ought to apply to it all their Labour, all their Knowledge, all their energy, relying on the favour and guidance of God: they should recognize, that it is their Duty, the highest possible form of Benevolence, the greatest exhibition of Love to our fellow-creatures, and the most satisfying of labours. It may be, that God worked by Miracles in former Centuries. He certainly does not do so now, at least outwardly in a material form; but the greatest of all Miracles ever recorded by Pagan, Jew, or Christian, is the conversion of the Soul of a Sinner to God; and of that inward and Spiritual Miracle we have daily undoubted instances.

I have taken a great pleasure in surveying the whole field, in groping through distasteful masses of sentences and words to get at the golden nugget within. The attempt to convert and retain in Christian Churches fifteen hundred Millions of the Human species is one of the greatest enterprizes, that History has recorded, or the mind of man can conceive. From one point of view Religion seems to be to man a great snare, and the folly of man to be beyond conception. From another point of view it is the link, that connects the great Creator with His poor creatures, and is a congenital portion of the Gifts, with which He equipped them at their birth.

Now what are the features to be thought out and studied?

A. The nature of the weapons to be used:

(1) Human speech, a humble and yet trained intellect.
(2) Bible-Translations.
(3) Healthy Religious and Secular Literature in the Languages of the people.

B. The Geographical distribution of the forces employed: the unoccupied, or imperfectly occupied, Regions:

(1) Asia.
(2) Africa.
(3) Oceania.
(4) America.

C. The Methods employed:

(1) Good.
(2) Not recommended.
(3) Bad.

D. The Agents employed:

(1) Men or Women.
(2) Ordained or unordained.
(3) Learned or ignorant.
(4) Lay or professional.

E. The Ancient Religious conceptions before Anno Domini, and still in existence:

(1) Animistic.
(2) Polytheist.
(3) Monotheist.

F. The new Religious conceptions, which have sprung into existence since Anno Domini:

(1) Based on Christianity, though hostile.
(2) Entirely independent of Christianity, but not necessarily hostile, until the time of the death-struggle arrives.

Now on each of these subjects I have tried by study to arrive at some fixed opinion, and have fearlessly expressed it. I have

had the advantage of ruling Oriental Nations for nearly a quarter of a century with a firm and gentle Rule: living in their midst without guards; speaking their Language as my own, knowing their sorrows, and well acquainted with their grievances, their social customs, and their forms of Religious belief; standing in their places of Worship, and listening to their prayers, uttered in dead Languages, which I could understand, but which they could not. To apply the term of the Kingdom of Satan to the people of India in their hundreds of towns, and tens of thousands of villages, amidst many of which I have daily moved my camp, is a type of the Ignorance and folly, and utter want of sympathy, of those, who utter such foolish phrases, and those who print such nonsense in their reports. Non-Christian men are still men of like passions, excellencies, and weaknesses, as ourselves, and they are as their Creator made them, and left them, for no Prophet or Evangelist sent by Him ever came to them or their forefathers. He allowed them, as Paul puts it, to follow their own ways.

My survey of the world was from the point of view of the Geographer, Ethnologist, and Linguist; noting the divergence of their races, and customs, and Languages. I brought to book the Languages of India, Oceania, and Africa in published volumes. I had the materials ready for a classification and enumeration of the Languages of North and South America; but, as time went on, the importance of the study of the Religious conceptions of Mankind was brought home to me. Of the two congenital Gifts of the Creator to His poor children, Language is the faculty conceded to Man of communicating with his fellows; Religion is the desire to feel for, and find out, the great Power, which made and preserves him. So I turned away from my linguistic survey of the non-Christian world, and felt my way among the Religious conceptions, which existed before Anno Domini, and the new conceptions, which have come into existence since the Epoch-making event of the Incarnation. These last-mentioned new conceptions are multiplying; and, so long as the Gospel of Christ is brought to the non-Christian world disguised in English, German, French, and American environments, they will continue to multiply.

As regards Africa, I found that something more was wanting:

so I took up "the occupation of that Continent by Christian Missionaries of all Nations and Churches," and in 1891 published my volume of "Africa Rediviva," with Maps and Appendices. The necessity of my readings for the compilation of "Africa Rediviva" made me familiar with the Methods of Evangelization in force. A Euphemist, or one, who desired to be popular, would have hesitated; but I desired to be thorough in my work, and my volume on "Missionary Methods" was published simultaneously with the Missionary Conference of the Church of England, 1894, and many, who read it, did not like it: it contained too many home-thrusts, and exposures; the picture drawn was too true; it offended preconceptions, and disturbed quiet satisfaction: however, I had administered great Indian Provinces, and knew the importance of Methods as conducive to Results. Our Judicial and Revenue systems would break down, if we had not the best and well-understood Methods, and avoided those which were bad.

Years of study of the Ancient Religions of the World roused in my mind a desire, in the interest of Christian Missions, to speak out on the subject of Religious conceptions in general. In Cap. III, § 1, p. 342, I have given a brief sketch of the Ancient Religions of the World before Anno Domini: full details of each can be obtained in the admirable volumes published by the S.P.C.K., and they are noticed by Bishop Westcott in his excellent little volume, "The Gospel of Life." They may be assumed now to be moribund, or in the last stage of their existence, not in consequence of the assaults of the Christian Missionary, but simply because they are out of touch with the present Epoch: they are old-world conceptions, and the mind of man, as he becomes civilized, and educated, has advanced beyond them. To abuse them, or persecute those, who still cleave to them, might have the effect of rousing up dormant feelings in their favour, and prolonging their existence: left to themselves they will die out, like the beautiful Religious conceptions of Rome and Greece. The men of ancient days, Roman, Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian, Zoroastrian, Brahman, Buddhist, Confucianist, were not fools, or barbarians, devoid of the Religious sense, but according to the measure of their Gifts and opportunities wise, thoughtful, pious, and seeking

Holiness, and not unconscious or regardless of a Future of Rewards and Punishments. Such phenomena of the Human intellect should not be treated with contempt. They represent the state, in which it pleased the great Controller to allow the great, powerful, and gifted, races of those countries to remain, till in the Fulness of Time He sent His own Son. He loved all His poor creatures *then* as He does *now*. I have striven in my volume on the "Common Features in all Forms of Religious Belief," to bring together all the Phenomena, *which appear in all*, such as Sacrifice, Prophecy, Miracles, Observance of Days, Magical Rites, Priesthoods, Auguries, Dreams, Oracles, etc. Such were the paraphernalia of all Religions of the elder world: they have absolutely disappeared now. A Missionary ought in very deed to know something of the fortress, which he is preparing to assault.

In another volume, "Clouds on the Horizon," an Essay on the various forms of Error, which stand in the way of the acceptance of Christianity by Natives of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, I have depicted the new crop of Religious conceptions, which are coming into existence, full of life and Human intellectuality and Morality, but essentially hostile to Christianity: they represent the back-drift of Civilization, contact with other Nations, and Education: they are the most dangerous antagonists to the Christian Mission.

Thus came into existence the following volumes:

I. Languages of East Indies, 1878.
II. Languages of Africa, 1883.
III. Languages of Oceania, 1887.
IV. Africa Rediviva, 1891.
V. Missionary Methods, 1894.
VI. Common Features of all Religions, 1895.
VII. The Ancient Religions of the World, Cap. III, § 1, 1896.
VIII. Clouds on the Horizon, or New Forms of Error, 1890.

My never-failing attachment to the British and Foreign Bible Society, the greatest and most Catholic of all Missionary Societies, and my sense of the importance to the Missionary of a supply of good Translations of the Scriptures, induced

me to turn my attention to this subject also, and to compile and publish the following volumes:

IX. Lists of Bible Translations, 1890.
(1) Alphabetical, (2) Geographical, (3) Linguistic.
X. Essays on Languages used in the Bible and Translations, 1890.
XI. Bible-Diffusion, 1892.

And now (XII) my last volume goes forth: "The Gospel-Message," a collection of Essays, Addresses, Suggestions, and Warnings, written in previous years, now corrected up to the present date of my Knowledge, and grouped in Chapters, Sections, and Sub-sections, presenting the subject of the Philosophy of Missions from sundry and divers points of view.

Throughout all my writings I have been in the habit of making large quotations from the published works of esteemed Authors: when I am able, I give the name of the Book, and reference to the page, but sometimes this information fails me in my voluminous books of manuscript-extracts, culled in my many-sided readings in many Languages; and I habitually read with my pencil in my hand. Sometimes I have appropriated the sentiments of others, clothing them in my own words, and adopting them as my own; and this is the greatest compliment, that I can pay to them: it is only by reading the Books of those with whom you *disagree*, that you can form an idea of the reasons on both sides, and build up a sound opinion, such as would be taken seriously in an ordinary argument by men of the Nineteenth century, who know what they are talking about.

In the compilation of the above-named series of volumes I have spent laborious hours, dedicating the autumn of my life and faculties to this great Service. I have also spent hundreds of Pounds to distribute free copies to Libraries and individuals in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. My leading motive was thankfulness, that my life had been spared, while so many, who began life with me half a century ago, had fallen in battle, or by mishap, or disease. Besides, I felt that I had a Message to convey: I was called the "outspoken" in India, but I never had any motive, but to let the Truth be known, and to call

a spade a spade. It is not everyone, whose character and circumstances are sufficiently independent to allow them to pose as a general critic.

I have lived long enough to see gross abuses trodden down and bad habits of Officials and Associations corrected, and honour conferred on the right persons: for instance, no Missionary Association took any notice of the Services of women to the Great Cause until the subject was by me pertinaciously brought forward: even now the absurdity exists, that, while half of the population of the world consists of women, and the number of Female Agents in the Mission-fields equals, if not exceeds, that of the men, no woman, except in the Zenána Societies, is allowed on any Religious committee; and my proposal to have a limited number on a Missionary committee, and the Bible Society committee, was scouted, and they are excluded still. Many Secular Associations are wiser, and the presence of women is conspicuous, and of the greatest importance. I am a member of eighteen Committees, Boards, or Councils, nine Religious, nine Secular, and in my weekly round at the age of seventy-five I pass from one to the other: the great distinction is, that the first nine commence with *formal* prayer, exclude women, and have relaxed financial and business habits; the latter nine leave it to individual members to solicit in silence a blessing on whatever they do, gratefully admit the presence of their sisters, who labour much in the Lord, in all departments, where their own sex is concerned, such as Parochial Boards, Hospitals, Charity-organizations, etc. Secular Associations never exceed the income supplied to them by their fellow-citizens, and require their Secretaries, although they are members of learned Professions, and good social position, to occupy *in silence* their proper place, as trusted, respected, salaried officials, whose duty it is to make statements, reply to questions, and record orders, and not to take part in the debate, or vote as members of the committee.

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECT IN CHAPTERS, SECTIONS, AND SUB-SECTIONS.

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CAP. I. MOTIVES AND DUTY.

A. The Great and Inestimable Gift of self-Sacrifice.
B. The Duty of the Youth of Great Britain.
C. Reminiscences of the Missionary Congress of London, 1888.
D. Language and the Religious Instinct.

A. The Great and Inestimable Gift of self-Sacrifice.

I rise up from my annual duty of carefully reading, noting in the margin, and making extracts from, the annual reports of a certain number of British, American, and Continental, Missionary Societies of the Protestant Churches, in the English, French, and German Languages, and a feeling of sadness comes over me, greater because the one feature, which is missed, is so very evident in the Missionaries of the Church of Rome, however averse I am to the doctrines and practices of that Church.

Quoniam tales, utinam nostri!

The feature, which is missing, is the heading of this Essay.

I find in these reports a great deal about the marriages and birth of children of the agents; of their leaving their duties, as escorts to their sick wives; as throwing up their life-vocation entirely, because the climate does not suit their wife's health. The compiler of the report dwells impressively on the sorrows of parting, on the joys of meeting, and allows himself a poetic license in describing the sweet picture of the beauty of European family-life exhibited by these humble individuals in the jungles of Bengal, and the cities of China. No doubt matrimonial blessings are lawful; for the compiler of the report to describe them so gushingly seems out of place in the narrative of the Evangelization of the non-Christian world, as it would be equally in the report of a military authority occupying a foreign country. We have no precedent in the Acts of the Apostles for such domestic amenities, more suitable to the life of an English banker's clerk than an Evangelist.

We must try to rise to a higher level, if we wish to go forward, a level of "self-Sacrifice." I throw together, with a kind of feeling of despair, a few remarks and quotations, the result of long meditation. What we miss in Protestant Missionary reports is the practical working-day evidence of "the great and inestimable Gift of self-Sacrifice."

Some degree of this great Gift is the only real test of a man or woman being in earnest; some degree of entire devotion, self-renunciation, Spiritual consecration. Altruism, as opposed to egoism, is the only thing, which discriminates the Spiritual man from the worldling. What is desired, the absence of which is manifest, is more self-abnegation: more Sacrifice of pride, preferences, prejudices, personal comforts; more casting down of cherished idols of the home, of the flesh, of the environment; more laying of ourselves down on His Altar, in submission to His Will. Does not each one recollect the time of his conversion, of his call, when the Lord suddenly met him and made Himself known, when a tongue of fire sat on the youthful head, and the simple heart spoke within? How many have forgotten their first love! The Lord has not failed in His promises; His servants have failed in theirs by only rendering half-service and lukewarm Love, diluted with domestic anxieties, petty household cares, and wayward self-inclinations. Let us recall to our recollection Columbánus the Briton, and Boniface the Anglo-Saxon, men of our own nationality, in poverty, in labour, in life-exile, in persecution, in celibacy, in self-denial, without murmuring or complaint, without appeals for Gunboats, Armed Force, and Railways, without letters in the Public Press, without wholesale abuse of the Authorities, and the non-Christian residents of the country, without frothy declamations on platforms, always rejoicing to the last hours of their lives. Does no drop of their blood, the ichor of their consecration, run in the veins of this frivolous and self-indulgent generation?

God's Wisdom rules, and man's unwisdom distorts that rule. We dare not check the noble flame; we would wish to guide it: the consecration of life, talents, fortune, and anticipations in early youth; the laying of oneself down on the Altar, there to remain for the term of this life, and crying out, "Lord, make use of Thy poor creature as Thou thinkest best." Such things cannot be despised. There is something in them of the ancient Roman, purified by Christian Love. Many go abroad in the naughtiness of their youth and strength to hunt the wild beast, nobler than themselves, in Abyssinia; to collect shells in the Indian Archipelago; to develop new and baneful commerce with unhappy Africa; to cut down a few poor Africans for the sake of diamonds or gold-dust. Why not do something to get at the poor derelicts of the human race? If life be not spared,

then to be with Christ is far better. If life be graciously prolonged to old age, what a gloomy retrospect to have done nothing for one's fellow-creatures!

Hear what Dr. Pierson, of New York, U.S., said at Mildmay Hall, London, in 1893: "It does seem to me, that the whole "Church, with the exception of a very small number, is yet "in a state of apathy on the subject of Missions. I cannot "sympathize at all with those self-congratulatory remarks, "heard in crowded Missionary meetings, as to the good things "done, great successes attained, great generosity, and great "self-devotion. As yet there has been comparatively nothing "done; the few successes here and there, the conversions "beyond what our efforts warranted us to expect, still leave "immense territory to be possessed."

In his "Divine Enterprise" he writes: "The high office "of a Missionary is not a learned profession, into which a man "may go at his option, to accumulate money or gratify ambition: "such professions are highly honourable, but have no relation "to Evangelization. There is a Divine voice, by which men "are called, the voice of the indwelling Spirit, which qualifies "certain persons to witness for God. All lower motives, all "family-ties, must be brushed away. Cross-bearing is the one "condition of discipleship. The Church, which ceases to "evangelize, will soon cease to be Evangelical."

The Bishop of Calcutta writes as follows: "There is one "thing about Missions, which often attracts attention. Com-"plaints are heard, that the life of Missionaries too closely "resembles secular life, and that their self indulgence repels "the religious instincts of an abstemious people. The Cowley-"Fathers and the Universities' Brotherhoods have done much "to remove the ground of these complaints. I have never "thought, that the Missionaries, who take proper precautions "for their health, have erred, but in every country it is necessary "to accommodate oneself to the customs and ideas of the "people. An example has been set, which must be productive "of good, and has redeemed Missions from the aspersions cast "upon them. In this age the world is suffering from self-"indulgence. Civilization is teaching us practices, which we "heartily wish could be swept away. We must seek an Ideal "of a noble life sacrificed for the good of our fellow-men."

Hear the tiny cry of a woman-worker from one of the worst climates, living in 1887 a solitary life of devotion to her Master: "I would say to each one seeking happiness on earth, 'Give "yourself to the Lord, all that you are, and all you have' (and "that is not much), that He may use you as He seest best, and "earth may become a paradise, all so bright and fair, so full of "Love and joy."

Hear General Booth of the Salvation-Army: "The Mission "of the future must and will be sustained by those, who are "possessed of the true spirit of Christian enthusiasm. We "must have Missionaries, who will be strengthened and stimu- "lated by the actual possession of the Spirit of Christ, the lack "of which is the chief reason for the lack of success in our day; "only, when you have the spirit, purpose, and consecration of "the Apostles, can you hope for success.

"How far below this is the present standard! The motives, "which prompt many, is little beyond a pastime; they have "nothing on hand to occupy their time, so they will go on "a Mission to the Heathen. With others the motive is duty; "they feel, that they ought to do something for their Saviour, "and their generation. They owe much to God, and they hear "the Heathen calling out for some one to come over and help "them."

Another witness writes as follows: "The recognition and "realization of a Divine call to work is one of the most powerful "motives; it gives courage to know, that God has sent them "to be his representatives, and has promised His presence; "nothing will terrify him, who goes at Jehovah's bidding, but "there is a sense of responsibility as well as of courage; he "*must* work the work of Him who sent him. A most loving "Master has given His servant his appointed work. Many "workers of experience have felt the need of this Divine "Ordination, and the strength and encouragement which it "brings."

Hear the echo of the cries of men and women who have passed beyond, collected at random: "I consecrate my life to "Thee; I give up parents, the hope of husband or wife or "children, the possibility of earthly wealth and fame. I count "all lost for Christ. I think nothing of dress, food, home, "equipages, except so far as is necessary, absolutely necessary, "to keep this poor body in working efficacy. I think nothing "of Society, of the fulsome adulation of Exeter Hall, of the "penny-trumpet of the Missionary monthly Periodical. I am "content with third-class deck-passages on Ocean-steamers; "I have no care for furloughs or pensions; I am ready to be "cast aside, if unfit for the duty, or to die at my post; in all "things I wish to follow the example of Paul."

Hear what Dr. Butler, Dean of Lincoln, said in 1893 to the students of the Missionary College of Burgh regarding Paul and his companions: "Freely, faithfully, they had offered themselves, "body, Soul, and Spirit, a reasonable, holy, and living Sacrifice, "while He, whose they were and whom they served, Himself "sustained them, was Himself their shield and their exceeding "great reward. He whispered in their ears: 'It is I, be not

" afraid,' and to their Faith and Love He for His part added " joy and peace."

Bishop Anson, of Qu'Appelle, Canada, in an address delivered to the Lichfield Diocesan Conference, expressed his sense of the great need of community-life in the foreign Missions of the Church: "The Church needs in her Mission-work a more " evident setting forth of entire self-Sacrifice in those, who are " witnesses for a crucified Saviour, the want of which is " frequently noticed by those, who have experience in India. " Accustomed as many of that Nation are (historically and " in every-day life) to witness acts of great self-denial and " asceticism in their own Religions, the thing, which most " chiefly appeals to their feelings, is a life of very evident self- " Sacrifice for the cause that is advocated."

Sir William Hunter remarks that "for many centuries in " India every preacher, who has appealed to the popular heart, " has cut himself off from the world by a solemn act, like " the great Renunciation of Buddha. He must be an ascetic, " and must come from his solitary, or monastic, communing " with God with a message to his fellow men. The English " Missionary appears to the native as a charitable man, who " keeps a good cheap school, speaks the Language well, preaches " a European version of the Incarnation and Triad of the " Creator, and drives out with his wife and a large family " of children in a pony-carriage."

Let us ask ourselves whether Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Amos, and John the Baptist, would have succeeded among an Oriental people (and the Orientals change very slowly, if at all) if they had appeared weighted with the impedimenta of a European married Missionary. Bishop French in his Arabian Mission, and the Missionaries of Rome, do more nearly recall the great Ideal. There is no allusion to the relations of Paul in the New Testament, except incidentally to his sister's son: is not this an example to compilers of Missionary reports to exclude from their Publications allusions to the parents, brothers, and children, of the modern Missionary? Our thoughts are with the individual.

General Gordon writes: "Where will you find an Apostle? A man must be everything! everything! everything! No half or three-quarter measures will do." The use of liquors, even moderate, of tobacco, the presence of wife, children, of smart, or at least decent, clothing, good animal food, comfortable home, conveyances, social amenities, European notions, the ideas of the so-called "gentleman and lady," all these things appear to the Natives as stumbling-blocks, when they think of a "man of God." General Gordon goes on: "He must be " dead to the world, have no ties of any sort, be ready for

" death, whenever it may please God to take him: there are few " such among the Protestants, very few, and yet what a field!"

Hear from Livingstone the true view of Missionary Sacrifice: " For my own part, I have never ceased to rejoice, that God " has appointed me to such an office. People talk of the " Sacrifice I have made in spending so much of my life in " Africa. Can that be called a Sacrifice, which is simply paid, " as a small part of a great debt owing to our God, which we " can never repay. Is that a Sacrifice, which brings its own " blest reward in healthful activity, in the consciousness of " doing good, peace of mind, and a bright hope of a glorious " destiny hereafter? Away with the word in such a view, and " with such a thought! *It is emphatically no Sacrifice.* Say " rather it is a privilege. Anxiety, sickness, suffering, or danger, " now and then, with a foregoing of the common conveniences " and charities of this life, may make us pause, and cause the " spirit to waver, and the Soul to sink, but let this only be for " a moment. All these are nothing when compared with the " glory, which shall hereafter be revealed in, and for, us. I " never made a Sacrifice. Of this we ought not to talk, when " we remember the great Sacrifice, which He made, who left " His Father's throne on high to give Himself for us: 'Who " being the brightness of that Father's glory, and the express " image of His person, and upholding all things by the word of " His power, when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat " down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.'"

Let us consider the Evangelization of the world in its outline:

(1) The highest form of benevolence, which a great conquering Nation can exercise towards inferior and subject races.

(2) The bounden duty, and service, of every Christian, who values the precious words and promises of his Master.

(3) The form of benevolence, which causes the workers the greatest earthly joy, whether Church, family, individual, whether the controlling authorities at home or the agents in the field.

(4) The form of service, which causes, or seems to our limited understanding most calculated to cause, glory to our Master by redemption of Souls, and evidence our own gratitude for the Salvation of our own Souls.

(5) The continuance of a work, which has been going on since the beginning of the world, and which has been manifestly blessed in its results. Where it has failed, the human agent is to be blamed: at any rate, there has been a reflex-blessing on the Church at home.

(6) A vivid realization of the value of even one Soul even of a man of the lowest type, and the capacity of that Soul for immortality. Time, influence, talents, Sacrifice of everything, even of life, seem small in comparison with the saving of one Soul. The Master, and His followers, were prepared to Sacrifice, and did Sacrifice, everything, that by all means they might save one.

In the Serampúr Mission-Rules of the Baptists we read the following: "Finally, let us give up ourselves unreservedly to "the Lord. Let us never think, that our time, our Gifts, our "thoughts, our faculties, or even our clothes, are our own. Let "us sanctify them to God and His cause."

The sacrificial character of this ministry, which is its great strength, the desire, God-willing, to fill up what remains of the sufferings of Christ, does not preclude the sanctification of mind and intelligence, acquired talents and natural gifts, to the same blessed service. God's service differs from man's service in this: length of service does not count in apportioning the reward; we are accepted, not according to what we have done, or left undone, but as to what we are. The law of self-Sacrifice is the Divine life flowing through all the members of the Church.

Hear Consul-General H. H. Johnstone's words: "A thoughtful "study of human history makes me believe, that it is less the "formula of belief than the practical purposes, to which Religion "is put, which makes the Faith of an individual or a Nation "beneficial or adverse in its effect."

Hear Dr. Muirhead of the L.M.S. of Shanghai: "I have lived in China. I have worked in China. I am going back to die in China." This has the true ring of the Apostle.

Consider the great Sacrifice of our Lord, the nature and extent of which we can hardly estimate; of His Apostles, "Lo! we have left all and followed Thee"; of the early Christian Missionaries; of the Hindu and Chinese sages in all times; of men like Buddha and his company, who, 500 B.C., first taught the principle of Altruism as opposed to egoism, who taught the "Noble Way," and the idea of a Universal Religion, by which all men might be saved. The Hebrews cared for themselves alone. The others mentioned literally gave up everything: that was the secret of their power.

I quote from the sermon of Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, at St. Bride's Church, May 1, 1895: "The life of Christ, the "head, is, I repeat, the life of the body, the Church. In Christ "the Church is not only strong against all assailants, but assured "of their final overthrow. Yet here, while we abate nothing

" from our largest hope, nothing from our most confident trust,
" we require to learn a lesson, which is hard and unwelcome.
" If the life of Christ is our life, His life must be the type of
" ours. If His strength is our strength, we must be strong as
" He was. We must accept His pattern of Sacrifice as the rule
" of our noblest service. We must seek to make His mind our
" own, who did not call down fire to consume His enemies or
" legions of angels to guard His Person, but 'emptied Himself,
" taking the form of a servant.' This Truth has an application in
" the Mission-field which is commonly overlooked. There our
" very advantages become a danger. For in spite of the con-
" sciousness of social and intellectual superiority, with which we
" are filled, in spite of the national force, which sets us as con-
" querors where we come as Evangelists, in spite of the distrust
" and suspicion, with which those who receive our Gospel are
" inclined to regard ourselves, we must loyally and lovingly
" remember that we come among them, 'not to be ministered
" unto but to minister,' yes, and if need be, to give our lives for
" those whom we serve. Sympathy was the mind of Christ, and
" sympathy is the Soul of Missions. The great word, 'Except
" a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself
" alone,' holds good of Nations and Churches and men. We
" can see how Peter and Paul and John died to much that was
" dear to them before they did their work. May it not be that
" for some of us corresponding experiences may be prepared?
" It is still true, that the way into the Kingdom of God is through
" many afflictions; it is still true, that believers must fill up
" 'that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ'; and yet we
" are tempted to believe, even as our Faith is most sure, that
" when we overthrow beliefs, which have had a longer sway than
" our own, we shall at once be received as benefactors; that
" the Truth, which we declare, must at once be welcomed by
" those, who share the nature of the men who killed the Prince
" of Life. Do we not practically forget that 'a servant is not
" greater than his lord'? If men kept not Christ's Word, how
" will they keep ours? There must still be the deaf ear, and
" the hard heart, and the pitiless will. There must be suffering
" for the teacher no less than for the taught, suffering which
" brings him nearer to his Saviour and to the springs of Divine
" Love, suffering in which he can learn to rejoice."

Either leave the work of the Mission alone, or do it thoroughly. Look back in the long centuries since the Ascension, and cry out, "Mea culpa: we are guilty concerning our brother." Read the lives of Missionaries who have gone before, who have lived on to a good old age, like Caldwell, Sergeant, John Newton, Robert Clarke, or who have died like Sharkey, and Ragland, and Philip Smith. Mark the dying words of Sharkey. I copied

these words in my notebook many years ago. He was taken dying on board the steamer. His last words were: "I have preached Christ's righteousness as the only ground of a sinner's acceptance with God, and now I cast myself upon that righteousness." "Do you find it sufficient?" said his friend. "Quite sufficient; my mind is perfectly easy." Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. Read the dying words of many a Missionary of the Church of Rome.

It is well stated in a monthly Religious Periodical: "It is "impossible to limit man's duty to his own personal Salvation "without regard to the welfare of the Souls of others; each "member of Christ inherits an immediate claim on himself to "become Christ's ambassador to others, for we are all members "of each other. This brings out the paramount necessity of "absolute self-Sacrifice. Those who run in a course and desire "to win, relieve themselves of all, that is superabundant, un-"necessary, and likely to obstruct."

The annual report of the Universities' Mission to East Equatorial Africa does not tell us of marrying and giving into marriage, as in the times of Noah, or of children being born or dying, but contains the following words: "The Missionary, who gives his "life to foreign Missions, strengthens the Church at home "more than if he were to stay in England. The Church makes "way not by its actual numbers, but by the loftiness of its "Faith and the depth of its self-Sacrifice. It is not for us to "analyse the reasons why Churchmen have been hitherto so "lukewarm about Missionary-work; let us roll away the great "reproach from those, who profess a special enthusiasm for the "Kingdom of God."

From the Baptists at Harley House, Bow, comes an echo to the above cry: "In striving to evangelize the people of Kongo-"land, we are simply obeying the command to preach the "Gospel to every creature. Is it not better that some Mission-"aries should die rather than that the Ba-Lolo should perish? "Are not some deaths gain?"

Let Protestant Missionaries reflect on the self-surrender and humility of the Missionaries of the Church of Rome, as evidenced in the Lettres édifiantes: "L'unique grâce, que je vous demande, c'est de me donner tout ce qu'il y aura de plus pénible, et de plus mortifiant dans la Mission."

And again: "J'aurais souhaité, que vous ne m'eussiez pas "laissé le choix d'aller en une ou en l'autre des deux Missions, "mais que vous m'eussiez déterminé. Je n'ai quitté ma patrie "que pour obéir à Dieu."

Hear the dying words of another Missionary of Rome, who passed away nearly half a century ago in West Africa, at a period, when it was not so fashionable as now to be a Missionary; when

there were no Exeter Halls as sounding drums, and no Missionary Periodicals as tinkling cymbals: "Dites à ma famille, et mes "amis, que je suis heureux d'avoir *tout* quitté pour mon Divin "Maître: si mon Sacrifice était à refaire, je lui referais encore "mille fois: je ne changerai pas ma position pour tout le "bonheur du monde."

Hear Bishop Selwyn the elder's opinion of John Paton: "Talk of bravery and heroism, the man, who leads a forlorn "hope is a coward compared with him who in Tanna, left alone "without a sustaining brother, regards it as his duty to hold "on alone in the face of all dangers. He might have found an "asylum in New Zealand, but he was moved by higher con- "siderations."

Hear John Paton's remarks on the above: "I feel confident, "that the Bishop would in like circumstances have done the "same. I was born in the Scottish Church, and am descended "from those, who suffered persecution, and I should have been "unworthy of them, if I had deserted my post for danger only; "yet not to me, but to the Lord who sustained me, be all the "praise."

Hear Dr. Welldon's words: "We are met here to ask for the "Sacrifice of men's lives, and everyone, who makes such a "request, must ask himself first, whether the call is not addressed "primarily to himself, and whether he is so sure of the Faith, "which he professes, that he is justified in the sublime audacity "of the above-named request.

"Nothing on earth can shake the Missionary's call. It comes "to one and another: who shall say how? It comes like the "breath of Heaven, takes the form of deep pity over the sins of "the world, and an intense longing to do the Master's com- "mand. It is accompanied by a feeling of personal responsi- "bility and thankfulness, and is irresistible, however it may "come."

Read the "Conversion of the World," of which I give an extract: "Would you indeed win Souls to Christ? Would you "make your calling a reality, and not mere barren emotion, the "effervescence of a passing moment, a sudden impulse, a sort of "fancy, a romance which will not bear the strain of trial when "it comes? Then go forth in the Spirit of the Apostles. You "must be constrained by the Love of Christ. You must make "up your minds to face dangers and difficulties. You must "cast away from you much of that, in which the world, and "many people also not of the world, harmlessly enough find "content and happiness (for it is *lawful* to them, but not *ex-* "*pedient* for you). You must be the soldiers of a crucified Lord.

"There, there is real zeal, which forgets and ignores all "hindrances for the sake of that, which it undertakes, which

" suffers no earthly considerations to interfere with its actions,
" which puts Christ before father, mother, brother, sister, wife,
" child, and possessions. This brings Christ at once to your
" side ; and where He is, His servant cannot fail. Failure follows,
" when Love of self prevails, ruling where Christ alone should
" rule, where men aim at a comfortable home, a good station in
" Society, the pleasure of married life, a regular income, when
" every kind of inferior object traverses the great work for Souls.
" This is the reason, why so very many of our Missions fail.
" Many a Missionary is quite a decent and respectable person,
" kindly and friendly to all, a good husband and father, possibly
" a fair preacher, but he lacks the kind of zeal, the method of
" life, which dominate mankind. To raise the world men must
" live above the world, like all those, who at all times have
" stirred the heart of man, and lifted it to better things, and
" compelled men to come in and follow Christ.

" Go forth, altogether forgetting yourselves, determining to
" know nothing save Christ crucified, much indeed to know ;
" leaving, like the Apostles, home, brethren, sisters, father,
" mother, wife, children, lands, for Christ's sake. Make up
" your minds to put aside earthly honour, comfort, and wealth,
" looking through that atmosphere of earthly interests, and
" natural instincts, and loss of home and domesticity, and the
" like, which *things envelop and crush out all intensity of service*."

Take Brainerd as an example. In a letter to his brother, 1743, he writes : " This is the most lonely, melancholy desert, eighteen miles from Albany. The Lord grant I may learn to endure hardness as a good soldier."

In his diary we find : " God has renewed His kindness in
" preserving me one journey more, though I have often been
" exposed to cold and hunger, and have frequently been lost
" in the woods."

He took leave of all his friends on starting, solemnly dedicated all his earthly possessions to the Lord, paid for the education of a fellow-labourer, and died at the age of 33, unmarried. His name will live as long as the English Language on both sides of the Atlantic.

Hear what Hay Aitken says : " To what purpose is this waste ?
" Christ alone knows the full answer to that question ; but as
" the house was filled with the odour of that ointment then, so
" is the Christian world to-day redolent with the fragrance of
" such sacrificed lives. Pericles was right when he said, *Of noble*
" *men every nation is the monumental tomb* ; and the Church of
" Christ may equally say, that each successful Mission, each race
" or tribe or community brought from Heathen darkness into
" the light of the Gospel day, is an eternal monument to
" the men who, either by their martyr-like lives or by their

" martyr-like deaths, have contributed to the bringing about of " this blessed result."

Henry Martyn visited Van der Kemp at Cape Town in 1806. He asked Kemp, if he had ever repented of his undertaking. The old man replied: "No! I would not exchange my work for a kingdom." He had often been so reduced for want of clothes as to have scarcely any to cover him. The reasonings of his mind were: "I am here, Lord, at Thy service; why am I left in this state?" It seemed to be suggested to him: "If thou wilt be My servant, be content to fare in this way: if not, go and fare better." His mind was thus satisfied to remain God's Missionary with all its concomitant hardships.

Hear General Booth once again: "The only men, who can " grapple successfully with the Heathen difficulty are those, who " are full of the Love of Christ. With them it is a passion; " the same Spirit which consumed the very being of the Apostles " has entered into them, and carried them forth from friends " and home. Some call this 'the enthusiasm of humanity,' " and men must have a Spirit of devotion, perseverance, willing- " ness to sacrifice, capacity to love, in the face of scorn, hatred, " prison, and death, which constitute the Spirit of enthusiasm, " and proceed from Christ alone."

I quote the following from a letter to my address from the Secretary of one of the Church of England Societies: "The " cause of failure of Missions is the lack of the self-Sacrificing " Spirit. The Protestantism that loves comfort, and tries to " make the best of the present world, can with difficulty beget " anything possessing the ascetic Spirit, and this is the spirit, " that won Europe for Christ. We require a national protest " against 'Luxus,' which is sapping and ruining the citadel of " Protestantism. Contrast in India the Missionary of Rome " with the representative of an English Missionary Society. " The latter must have his home, his wife, and European " luxuries, and the English social conventionalities, to sustain " him in his fight for the Religion of the 'homeless' Christ."

But why such an outcry, such an appeal to treaties forced on a weaker country, such dispatch of gunboats, while prayers are being at the same time poured forth in great Halls? Is not Persecution one of the tests of Faith? Is it any new thing for a Christian to be put to death, following the steps of the Master Himself, of Stephen and James, of Peter and Paul, and many others, who counted not their lives of value. I read with great satisfaction the following words uttered by a Chinese Missionary in the Autumn of 1895:

"It was something to be thankful for, that in this nineteenth " century there were men and women to be found, who were " perfectly ready to lay down their lives for the sake of Christ

" and for the sake of the Heathen in this and similar Societies. " He did not say it boastingly, as anything to be proud of; " but he was quite certain, that he could say for all who were " working in China that, having to face such contingencies " as these, they were quite ready, whenever God saw fit, to " lay down their lives. He should like to add, however, that " if he were called upon to give up his life for Christ in " China, he should very strongly deprecate any great lamen- " tation being made about it in England. People forgot, that " Missionary-work was a worldwide warfare; that the smallest " war engaged in in the world always entailed some loss, even " to the winning side: they must not be over much surprised, " if now and then they heard of such occurrences as these in " the Mission-field. They ought to be very careful what they " said with regard to those, who had done this dastardly deed. " He was afraid that under circumstances like these words, " which ought not to be spoken by Christian people, some- " times escaped their lips. He did not think that by individual " Christians or members of Missionary Societies one word " of revenge or reprisal ought to be allowed to be uttered. " They dared not speak and think as did men of the world. " They had to be most careful lest, while they professed to go " to these Heathen countries with their lives in their hands, " they were really relying upon the Arm of Flesh, that is to " say, the strong Arm of the British Government. His own " course was quite clear. He believed the position of things " was this, that when they went to China they were British " subjects; they could not divest themselves of their indivi- " duality, and therefore the British authorities in China insisted " on affording them protection and would not allow Missionaries, " any more than other foreigners, to be murdered ruthlessly " by the Chinese, without doing what they could to prevent " a recurrence of such atrocities."

The problem of converting the world has not changed; it is the agents in the great work that have changed. Let me judge Britons by Britons, contrast Christians of the sixth century with those of the nineteenth. Stand forth, Columba, Columbánus, Aidan, Boniface, Gall! Let us place aside the spurious halo of mediæval miracles, the outcome of a credulous age, and consider the self-consecration, the crucifying of self, which distinguish them. They had not behind them the appliances of Civilization, the protection of a flag or of a Consul-General, of a Treaty, of a gunboat, the paternal care and regular supply of resources by a committee; but they grasped the idea, they conceived the plan, they carried it out, and Europe represents the result. Let this be our great example after Christ!

They practised celibacy, they built an asylum, calling it a

monastery; they went forth with nothing but the Gospel. The Missionaries of the nineteenth century go forth with outfits, and wives, and salaries, and a claim to be called *gentlemen*, with foolish contention about the colour of their hoods. When we think of Paul and Columbánus and Boniface, how very different the methods seem! Far be it from me to go to the other extreme, the ostentatious poverty of the mendicant friar. If once the principle of self-consecration and self-Sacrifice were admitted, the comfortable way of doing the thing would disappear, the effect of which is so chilling now to the enthusiasm of the Church. The present system will never generate in the Nation a desire to spend and be spent, and the same crave for salaries and domestic comforts spreads to the Native agents. Is such a state of things a reflex of the story of the Acts of the Apostles in many fields of Mission? In the Missions in the islands of the South Seas the life of an Apostle was lived, and the result is a crop of indigenous teachers content with a little and ready to die.

Hear what Bishop Westcott says, 1887: "But some will say, "'We want those men at home'; say it sadly, touched, it may "be, by sights which have met their eyes in coming here this "morning. We do want them at home, and therefore I say, "'Send your legions abroad.' The work of Missions is our "work at home. The work of Missions is a revelation of "Sacrifice, of growing knowledge, of conquest, of unity."

It would be to the advantage of the great cause, if all young aspirants to the great office of Evangelist were to study the lives of the great Missionaries of all the Churches, whether of Great Britain, Geneva, or Rome, and read the "Imitation of Christ" by Thomas à Kempis. The dream of the pleasant manse, the sweet partner of the holy labours, the nursing of children, must be reverently placed aside for at least one decade of service, or longer; the decade is the minimum of entire service. I have not studied the subject in the field and the committee-room for fifty years without arriving at the conviction, shared by many, that a man cannot serve God and his family at the same time in the Mission-field.

Religious Review of Reviews, 1894, 1895.

B. The Duty of the Youth of Great Britain.

Address to the Undergraduates of Oxford.

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.—Virg., *Æn. VI.*

I have been asked to give an address on the subject of Christian Missions to the Mahometan and Heathen. You will understand, that I am neither a Missionary, nor an ordained Minister of any Church; yet perhaps I have a greater and wider practical and acquired knowledge of this subject than has fallen to the lot of any but a few; for my study has been ubiquitous, and in the Map of the World I can lay my hand down on any point, and tell you, what are the people there, what Language they speak, and what Mission is working among them, if any be working at all.

I am not in the least blinded to the numerous defects of the systems, and of the individuals. When critics from the outside attack Missions, critics from the inside can only rejoice, that so many of their weaknesses are concealed, and time is given to correct, improve, and modify: in fact, the great work of preaching the Gospel was not entrusted to angels, but to weak, erring men, many of whom have done what they could, and earnestly desire to do better.

The very idea of Missions on the scale, on which it is now conducted, is a new one. In 1838 and 1839 I came up to this College to try for the Balliol-Scholarship. Lord Chief-Justice Coleridge, Bishop Mackarness of Oxford, Canon Furse, and Dean Bradley of Westminster, were with me, and Archbishop Tait was one of the examiners: now, if anybody at that period had asked us about Missions, or, if the idea had been suggested to any of us, that the career of a Missionary was a grand and worthy one, we should have been astonished: we and the University Dons knew as little of Missions as of Chinese Music.

I learnt my lesson in this way. I left England in 1842, and had never heard of the subject, though my father was a Clergyman: but in Calcutta I made the acquaintance of Bishop Daniel Wilson: it so happened, that I had a sum of £80, awarded as a prize for proficiency in an Oriental Language, to dispose of, and Bishop Wilson suggested the profitable investment in the different Missions, and he told me all about the Church Missionary Society, and I took his advice, and a profitable investment it has proved, paying me cent. for cent.: for I had a new world opened out to me, and in the course of my Indian Service I

visited every Mission of all denominations in the North of India, and for a quarter of a century the subject became a joy to me, and since I have left India, it has become the leading object of my very existence, for independently of its intrinsic value to my Soul, it has led out to various studies, notably Language and Comparative Religion ; it has taught me Geography, Ethnology, and the various customs of the world ; it has introduced to me scores of friends and correspondents, it has opened out rich mines of study, and unlimited vistas of thought. In such occupation there are no rivalries, no jealousies, no seeking of self, no ambition, no disappointments ; the very atmosphere is elevating, the environment holy and pure. Without alluding to the deep spirituality of the work, the intellect, the talents, and the power of application and organization, find free scope. The Platform, the Press, and the Council Chamber, present an unbounded field of interest. Enter one of our great committee-rooms in London, such as that of the Church Missionary Society, and the Bible House, and you will find an assembly of men of all ages and callings : the Banker, the Lawyer, the General, the Governor of Provinces, or the Heads of great State-Departments, the Merchant and the Man of Business, intermixed with Bishops and Deans, and Archdeacons, and the Clergy of the Metropolis, and of the Country, and Missionaries on furlough. What are they doing ? They are administering the affairs of a Kingdom greater than that of Queen Victoria. Dispatches come in, and orders go out, to the ends of the World, to Japan, India and China, to North America, Vancouver's Island, New Zealand and Africa, Regions differing from each other *in toto* in Language, in customs, in Religion, in culture, in their Political situation, but united by one holy girdle.

Now do you think, that any of these laymen in the period of their lives, when they might enjoy well-earned repose, would thus from week to week, until absolutely debarred by increasing infirmities, spend hour after hour in a room in the City of London, distant many miles from their homes, if they did not consider the work real, profitable, and elevating ? I need scarcely say, that there is no remuneration whatever, or pecuniary advantage. I know that I should not. I have abundant employment for my time in various fields of literature and Science ; but I share in the feeling entertained by many others, that the least return, that we can make for health, and strength, and life marvellously preserved, is to dedicate our remaining powers, and unexhausted talents, to the Service of Him, whose hand has protected us, and brought us safe home again. No one, moreover, can have attended such committees, who does not feel himself stronger as a Christian, and better as a man, from the wholesome contact and ennobling environment. The Indian

Official has spent his life in the midst of realities, and anything approaching to a sham, or an amiable job, or a deception, is to him intolerable, and the greatest evidence to the reality of the work in India is that those, who have seen it in the field, are so willing and eager to support it in the committee-room. I am notoriously very bold and outspoken, and never afraid to call a spade a spade, and expose an amiable delusion, as well as a pestilent fraud, or an abominable crime. I admit that I am often and greatly tried by the unwisdom of many members of the committee, and the arrogant domineering of some of the Secretaries, but such things must be put up with. We are dealing with poor, weak men, not with Angels: in spite of all these human drawbacks, God's work advances.

In one particular the Missionaries resemble each other; in others they are totally different. They do not work for stipends, or honours, or praise of men, but, impelled by higher motives, the Service of their Master; and in every part of the world they have shown themselves to be the champions of the oppressed, the reprovers of evil acts and evil customs, the protectors against bad laws: the Missionary is never popular with the British Colonist, or man of Commerce, because he stands up for the Natives: it is his duty to do so, and the hearts of Britons are with him in his often unequal and unsuccessful struggles.

As to the Methods, they vary. Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; but the mode of presenting Him to the non-Christian must vary according to the environment of the particular tribe: injudicious conduct does hinder the work: it can be done by preaching, or by teaching, by distributing tracts, or portions of the Bible, by house-to-house visitation, by Schools, by hospitals, by orphanages. All that Science can suggest, all that Art can supply, the stored-up Wisdom of the past, and the vaunted intelligence and forethought of the present, are well consecrated to this Holy War. We offer to the Lord the firstfruits of our intelligence, the choicest of our flocks. The treasury of the Lord is for ever full, for it is the Souls of His people. It is a privilege to belong to such an Association, for it brings back rich blessings: it is thrice blessed, blessing the poor non-Christian, blessing the Missionaries, and blessing the Members of the Church, which supplies the means and men, in their hearths and their homes, in their bodies and their Souls.

Prayer, faithful, continuous, and nothing doubting, is the lever which moves a Mission. Every Meeting of the committee is begun, continued, and ended in prayer. If the walls of the committee-room could speak, they would tell how, when any question of sore difficulty, acute difference of opinion, humbling of spirit, or sad despondency arose, recourse was had to the

Throne of Grace, and often before the call was made has come the answer. Like the dew, which rises up to Heaven, and descends in fructifying showers, so the prayers have brought down rich blessings on the work and workers. Those, who manage the affairs of Evangelization, must themselves live as in the continual presence of the Almighty, striving day by day to qualify themselves to be chosen instruments of His Will: they, and their Missionaries, must be converted men themselves first, before they commence the task to convert the Heathen!

Another thing must be remembered: the Missionary must be brave as well as good: he must have counted the cost and be ready to offer his life, if it be called for. We may feel for, and pray for, our Missionaries, who are in peril, but we dare not invoke the Arm of the Flesh in their favour: our weapons are not carnal. And again, the Missionary must not raise his hand under any provocation against a Native, except in the extreme case of Life and Female Honour. Whatever the Traveller or the Merchant may do, he at least must remember, that he came to save the Souls, not to flog the bodies, of the Natives. That Missionary must have imperfectly read the Epistles of Paul, who would thus forget his holy calling.

The Missionary must be trained to his life-vocation. Who would trust a Medical man who was not trained? Does not this also apply to the physician of Souls? To quote the words of an advocate of Missions: "He must bring mind and intelli-"gence to bear on the particular problem he has to solve. That "was a truth that had not been learned all at once. It would "be remembered how, not so many years ago, the heroic "character of Missionary-work, in the very strength of its "sacrificial character, was considered to be able to dispense "with mind and intelligence. But the mere sense that a Mis-"sionary had made a great Sacrifice was not enough to carry "a Mission to success. Again, people might think that the "very greatness of the work seemed to make it independent "of the indispensable intelligence, that was needed to carry it "out. Surely, it used to be said, a work so great, so glorious, so "close to God, would make everything else almost unnecessary. "So it was that through those concerned having taken no pains "to bring to the task human intelligence, and calculation, and "method, the Missionary-cause had been turned into folly and "contempt. Reaction followed. People felt that into the "greatest work in the world we had taken no trouble to put "good workmanship, and had treated it as child's play."

The Missionary-cause is now a great and powerful one. Nothing is more remarkable than the history of the *cause*, the biography of the great *Movement*. It was first conceived by earnest men, who conveyed the notion to others: they prayed

over it, and at length some bolder one attempted it: these bolder ones were the "Moravians." The first attempts were small, and therefore in the eyes of men contemptible: the period of derision had to be passed through: but, strange to say, the infection spread: a great gust of opinion passed over the country: more and more were convinced.

Truth sinks into a man by its own weight. Perhaps in the petulance of Youth some one may have sneered at Missions: but as he grows older and wiser, he thinks over it, and some day he wakes up like a man converted in his sleep: there is something in it. The earnest man talks of it with his fellows, and at length it becomes the Law of his life, the one object of his existence. He ascends a tower in his mind, and looks out upon the world, its Nations, its tongues: Geography, History, Ethnology, Reading, Travel, Conversation, all drive the fact into him, that he is in possession of a treasure, which has made him and his people wise and strong, and *that this treasure has been denied to others.* The generous feelings, that underlie the character of each one of us, are aroused, and set into motion.

Our Lord twice parted with His disciples, and on each occasion gave them departing injunctions:

(1) The Institution of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: "Do this in remembrance of Me."
(2) The great Commission: "Go ye and teach all Nations; and lo! I am with you always."

Forty years ago there was a deficiency of facts; now there is an abundance: not the heated and coloured accounts of enthusiasts, fanatics, and pietists, but the testimony of Governors, Statesmen, Men of Science, Men of Commerce, who have seen with their eyes, touched with their hands, not in one part of the world, but all round the Globe; not only among the civilized races of Japan, India, and China, but the barbarous tribes of North America, Africa, and Oceania. It is brought home to our consciences, that in this Nineteenth century there are still some races in the lowest depths of degradation, others on a low round of culture: cannibals, polygamists, sacrificers of human beings; slaves of frightful lusts, and abominable customs; murderers of their parents, murderers of their own children, murderers of their wives, lending themselves to horrible magical rites, tortured by the wildest of ideas. Still God has not forgotten them: no sooner does the Missionary land among them, than he is able, as it were, to exorcise them, to bring out their natural goodness, to teach men to be brave without being cruel, and the women to be

loving and tender, and yet not immodest. I have such a deep conviction of the goodness of our Heavenly Father, that I cannot admit the idea, that He has made such a difference betwixt the races of the Human family, that all cannot come to Him, if the call reaches their ears. The Soldier cannot do this great work, nor the Merchant, nor the emigrant, nor the Governor; there must be a class of men, sent out with the wondrous desire of saving Souls, who count not their lives worth having, if they fail in doing their best to accomplish their great desire.

The annals of our country tell us, that for the last century this has been going on, and has now assumed enormous proportions, that cannot be overlooked by the Statesman or the Scholar. The two great Universities have not been wanting. I do not speak for one section of the Church of England, or one denomination of the Church of Christ. I am bold to say that, if there could be found a motive power outside of Christianity, I should hail it: *but it is not to be found.* Search History, ancient and modern, and you will find, that for such peaceful conquest, such benevolent warfare, such Soul-controlling Government, the only motive power is the Love of Christ, the only armoury, that can fit you for the battle, is the Bible. The true-hearted Missionary does not approach these barbarous tribes with Dogma, and Ritual, and Shibboleths, and Canons of the Church. He is dressed as an ordinary white man, and his Native assistants as ordinary Natives, but he sets an example of a Christian life: he astonishes them by words of kindness and Love: the Female Evangelist gets access to the women: they collect the children: suspicion gradually disappears. Nothing so entirely astonishes the Barbarian, as the fact, that men and women undergo suffering and peril, and are ready to die, not for their own profit, but for the welfare of entire strangers. It seems to their untutored minds, that gods, benevolent gods, have come to the earth; and, as the Missionary masters the Language, he communicates to his hearers the first elementary notions of Christianity: respect for Human life, continence, and purity of Morals, sanctity of the Marriage contract, the existence of a God, the homogeneity of mankind, and the proper Worship of God. In due course follow prayer, and praise, and reading of the Bible, and the great mystery of the Incarnation and the Atonement.

Schools, and Chapels, public and private prayers, a sensible improvement of the Moral tone of the community, an abandonment of Idol temples, an abandonment of bad customs, are the sure and certain consequences. Search and read, and in Germany, in the United States of North America, in Great Britain, you will find the same story, narrated with impossibility of collusion or mistake: the light is not hid under a bushel; the story is not

of sanctimonious deaths, but of consistent lives. The object is not to make Britons, or Germans, or Americans, but Christians, still wearing their own dress, adhering to their own ancient customs, living after their own way, called by their own names, managing their own Churches, ministered to by their own countrymen, but living new lives, in temperance, soberness, chastity, and Faith in the Redeemer, by which Faith alone they can be converted, and sustained in their new departure.

But neither the Native Pastors nor their flocks are angels: they, like the Missionaries, are only erring men: if we wish to seek out Christians, who do not live up to the level of their Faith, we need not go out of our own island. We read and hear of much, which we deplore. Paul in his Epistles to the Corinthians has told us what we are to expect; there are spots on our vestments, there are terrible failings, which remind us, that we are mortal. But the proportion of Evil is as nothing as compared with the amount of Good, the steady progress, the gradual elevation of character, and softening of manners, under the marvellous influence of the Grace of God. In my old age I can testify to the mighty change, which my eyes have witnessed. Mr. Wilkinson, of Mildmay, remarks: "The world is not to be "converted in this dispensation, but it is to be *Evangelized*. "It is the plain duty of all Christians to take their share in "the work by personal service, prayer, money, help; in some "cases in all."

And even, if all that is narrated were a fable, a dream, a mere beautiful Poem, like the "Odyssey" and "Æneid," there is another consideration. *We have done our duty.* It was our bounden duty and service to plant; it is the Lord that giveth the increase. Why have we at this period of our National life such a vast expansion of our direct and indirect influence? Why are the ends of the world, Regions which Cæsar never knew, of which the Prophets and Evangelists never dreamed, laid open to us? We go out and come in like Kings and Rulers. I myself at the age of twenty-five ruled over a district with a population of a quarter of a Million, alone without guards, clothing the iron hand in the velvet glove, and swaying my people by a Moral influence. Our Merchants have a sweep far exceeding that of Tyre: wherever our cottons can go, our Bibles *must* go also. Each ship and each camel must have its due proportion of clothing for the body, and clothing for the Soul: wherever our soldiers and sailors can go, our Missionaries *must* go also: it is not a question of policy or possibility, but of duty; it must needs be, that we preach the Gospel: woe unto us if we do not! Some Nations have the will, but not the means and the opportunities; other Nations the means, but not the will: but God be praised, that we have both: it is no effort to us to send out

one thousand Missionaries, and to maintain and support them; it elevates, it spiritualizes, the Church that sends them. A Missionary Spirit is the *articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesiæ*, and Now is the Time. We cannot say how soon our arm may be shortened, and our Sun begin to set: "our Commerce may fade like the Tyrian dye, and our ships moulder like the Venetian Palaces": if we are driven out of India, we ought to leave in independent, self-supporting, self-governing, Native Churches, a monument more enduring than brass, and breathing stone, and it will be said of us hereafter, that Great Britain in the day of her might gave of her best, her very best, to her subject-people, and that best gift is the most enduring one.

Count not by numbers, but my fitness and qualifications. Remember the story in the Old Testament of the number of warriors elected to go down to fight being thinned. Withdraw from the field, those, who have no stomach for the fight, those who leave their shields behind them, who hurry home with their womankind, or hide themselves in the stuff. And do not grudge the loss of life. Death rides behind us in every profession at home or abroad. Our young men perish, and perish proudly, in our battles. We hear of the last words of some:

"Dulce et decorum pro patriâ mori!"

And Missionaries, male and female, are never wanting for the holy war. Some die early: so it is with our Statesmen, our Scholars, and all that are really great. No true life is long: their career reminds us of the half-hewn stones, which we find in quarries, just about to be used for some great temple, when the work was broken off and the workmen left the quarry: but there is this difference, that our work is not broken off, for it is continuous, and the half-hewn stone, left in the Lord's quarry, has done the work assigned to it; and no one can do more.

It seems a bathos to descend from the high prowess of the Missionary, and to allude to Science; but let us reflect, how much Science owes to the Missionary, how much Philology, Geography, Zoology, Ethnology, Medicine, have been advanced by the Missionary. It was not his proper work, but incidentally in his progress he has let light into dark places. Where would our knowledge of the 2000 Languages of the world be, but for the Missionary? In his luminous path through the forest, or the swamp, and the desert, he leaves a trail of light; he sends home some precious Text or Vocabulary, or Grammar, revealing new forms of structure, new word-stores, new and wonderful combinations of the logic and symmetry of the barbarian, that cause astonishment in the study and the class-room of the great Linguistic but untravelled Scholars.

The first text is the Bible. At the Congress of Orientalists at Vienna, September, 1887, in a Hall full of Roman Catholics, I presented to the Congress Translations of the Bible, or of portions, in one hundred and four Languages of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, spoken by two hundred millions, and all prepared at the expense of the great Bible-Societies. I told them what they were. My present was received with applause, and placed on the Shelves of the Library of the University of Vienna.

God has created all things for Himself. We take credit for the discovery of a new Island, or River-Basin, teeming with thousands, just as the Conchologist vaunts of having found a new species, a variety of shell, or the Astronomer of having found a new Planet; and yet God has had His eye on all these His poor children for ages past, and it is by His Will and pleasure, that they are now revealed to Western Nations. The Angels of Heaven have been watching over them, as much as over us: they are as precious in His sight, and the Saviour looked down from the Cross on them, and died and rose again for them. We are but instruments, imperfect instruments, in His hand to carry the saving Truth to these races, long lying in darkness, but as strong, as capable, as noble, as brave, as ourselves. If they were Cannibals, it is because there was an absence of the beasts of the field, which were a necessity for food; if they were guilty of Human Sacrifices, it is because they believed in the existence of a Deity, and the power of that Deity, and they wished to conciliate that Deity with the offering of their best. To the persons sacrificed they had no ill-will: they considered them as their Messengers to God. If they were driven to crime by Sorcerers, it is because they were Priest-ridden, and had not learned the true liberty of the Children of God.

In my far-off Eton-days, the boys used to talk about some of our number becoming Generals, or Bishops, or Senators, or Judges, and such has proved to be the case; but the idea never rose in the mind of those ancient Heroes, Dr. Goodall and Dr. Keate, of any Etonian being a Missionary: it was beyond their conception, that there was a higher walk, that some of the Public School-boys hereafter would be Evangelists, Pioneers of Christ, the Conquerors of new Spiritual Kingdoms, and yet it has proved so: men like Selwyn, Father and Son, Steere, Patteson, Mackenzie, Hannington, and many others, have been found ready to die not only for their own people, but for the poor, benighted Heathen: a new Epoch of Crusaders has been opened out: Knights-errant go forth in the panoply of Faith, not to rescue the Sepulchre of the Crucified, but to tell the Nations of the Risen Saviour.

Some of your numbers may achieve greatness, may administer the affairs of great subject Provinces, as in my youth I have done, or be present in great battles, as I have been; but how can anything of this kind be weighed in the balance with the saving of Souls? Some of our great Governors have found a Province a den of wild beasts, and left it a smiling garden: but over the grave of some Missionaries it is recorded, that, when they landed in a certain Island, there were no Christians, and when they died, there were no Heathen; that when they landed, the people were naked, savage, and illiterate, and, when they died, they were clothed and in their right mind, living chastely in cottages, clustered together in villages, learning the way of holiness in Schools, congregated together in Chapels, looking forward to a holy rest in a consecrated God's acre: they had the whole or portions of the Bible translated into their own Language, with such skill, that no single loan-word was required to represent a new idea, as the unbounded wealth of combination of their own vocables was equal to every requirement: and, moreover, these Translations were printed by reformed Cannibals, or children of Cannibals, in the Mission-Press, and used in the Mission-Schools, while the precious Promises therein contained were twined round their converted hearts.

If any of you are destined to the Church or the Senate, consider the awful questions of the future of the populations subject, directly or indirectly, to the power and influence of England. Are they to be swept off the face of the earth? Are they to be left in their degradation, adding European vices to their congenital depravity? What machinery can be applied to save them? By an inexorable law of Nature, some of them seem to be dwindling, and will soon disappear! Is their blood to be laid at our door, for in very deed we are their keepers? The Governor, the Merchant, the Soldier, the Colonist, are unable to grapple with this problem: they are rather, in spite of themselves, the cause of the intensity of the evil. As the Assyrians, and the Babylonians, and Persians, and Greeks, and Romans, in former times, so in modern times we Anglo-Saxons, in our grand march over Continent and Island, displace, destroy, and swallow up, and assimilate, the indigenous races: our very touch is dangerous to them, for we bring with us Rum, and Gin, and Gunpowder, and loathsome diseases previously unknown. Each year we add to the sum-total of our National sins by killing more Africans on the East, or West, or South, of that unhappy country: it is well to have a Giant's strength, but not to use it as a bully. Nobody but the Missionary, the man of capacity, devotion, and love, can be of use in such a terrible crisis. We dare not say that, because these races, by the inscrutable will of Providence, have been left so many centuries out in the cold, out of the orbit of

the revolution of the Sun of the Gospel, as it were God-forgotten, for no Prophet or Evangelist ever came near to them, we dare not say, that they must still have no opportunity of being saved, if they will. Some have had lying Prophets, debasing conceptions, forced upon them; cruel customs have sprung up, and practices contrary to Nature.

Still by His stripes they can be healed. Still the shadow of the Cross has been projected over them: we still find in their Sacred Books, where they exist, a penumbra of the Truth, a constant feeling after God, if haply they could find Him. We find in every Nation under the Sun a desire to Worship a Power dimly seen and imperfectly understood: we must not say, that this state of affairs can be allowed to last. God's means are not limited. There is no corner, no cellar, so dark, to which His blessed rays of light cannot attain. His greatness encompasses our littleness. His strength supplements our weakness. The stillness of the Past is broken by the sound of a Movement, Moral, Material, Intellectual, Spiritual, and ours is the fortunate race permitted to lead it, and chosen to be the heralds of Salvation. Perhaps among my hearers there are some, who forty years hence will have achieved a reputation greater than that of a Classic or Mathematician, and whose name will be worthy to be classed with those of Henry Martyn, Livingstone, Ragland, John Williams, and Selwyn.

It is not reasonable that the Briton, in his insular angularity, and in the precisely arranged costume of his country, should despise the naked Hindu Fakír, smeared with cow-dung, who sits with his chaplet of beads repeating his Mantra; he does not well to laugh at the Buddhist with his prayer-wheel, and the "Om Mani Padmi Hom"; he may fail to understand the merit of the Mahometan Moulavi, who knows every word of the Korán by heart: but the subject of Religion is too deep and solemn to be lightly dealt with, and what we see is only the outward sign of the thoughts of generations, the belief of Millions, the hope of dying men, which a countless multitude have held as dearer than life from their cradles to their funeral pyre or their grave.

We must not fall into the error, that the origin and practice of all non-Christian Religions are necessarily debased, debased beyond hope, because the outer crust, which presents itself to our observation, is so grossly contrary to Morals and Spirituality. The same might be said of the Roman and Greek Churches, though we know that their hidden basements are founded on the Rock. The degree of elevation of the higher minds is not to be measured by the debasement of the vulgar herd of ignorant devotees. At the bottom of all, even of the Fetichism of Africa, and the Nature-worship of the South Sea Islanders, is a Great

Truth, which Man, taught by God, has found out, and cannot free himself from, *the Existence of a Power greater than himself*. He sees Him in different forms, according to the development of his own intellect, but he sees Him still, and he tries to conciliate Him. The hearts of all men seem to turn to God like a sun-flower turns to the Sun, but they do not seek Him rightly, because they have never had a teacher sent from God. We must not treat superciliously his methods, his legends, and his Faith, but thank God, that we have had our intelligence aided by Revelation.

Besides this, in those inhospitable climates the children of the soil are brought so much nearer, and more directly in contact with, the Elements, with the fearful power of Nature, which they worship: the Sea with its changeable caprice, the vast Forest, the deadly swamp, the fearful desert, the hurricane, the thunder and lightning, the earthquake, the volcano, the pestilence, the famine, and the flood; they cannot understand it: they try to conciliate the evil Spirits: even when they have become Christians, they cannot divest themselves of the idea, that the Powers of the Evil One claim their hecatombs, for Nature-worship clings to the skirts of their clothing. A belief in Witches, Fairies, and Ghosts has hardly yet died out in Great Britain.

The Epoch for the simple-minded ignorant Missionary is past. God's battles must be fought with arms of precision: it requires the highest intellect, the profoundest knowledge of Religion in all its forms; the acutest power of dialectics to cope with error, error rendered more deadly by the fresh venom gathered in European pest-houses; and all these gifts must be seasoned with Christian Love, indomitable patience, tender pity, and Faith able to move mountains. Think not that such contests, though with a naked Brahman, or a pig-tailed Chinese, or a painted Islander, are unworthy of the highest intellect trained in this University. In India, China, and Japan you will have to cope with foemen, worthy of your steel. If your study of the words of Aristotle and Plato, and Paul, and Christ, have been of any profit, you will have occasion to use them; you will have to leave in your rear the palisade of the Dogmas of Schoolmen, venture out into the open, and grapple in a Death-struggle with the great problem of Human existence. You will find that Secular Education is a dangerous ally. It is a fearful statement to make, but I do make it, that, if Religion is a safeguard of Morality, and such a binding of the Soul by Rules, as will make a man prove worthy of life, and more fitted to die, a false Religion is better than the great No Religion, Agnosticism, Theosophism, and Atheism, which loom before us.

The Asiatic has no sense of Inferiority: he deems himself the

heir of an ancient Civilization: it is admitted on all hands, that, if one Language can exceed another in symmetrical beauty and multiform structure, it is Sanskrit, and Sanskrit is the type of the highest development of the Indian mind, and the vehicle of its wondrous literature. At the Oriental Congress of Vienna in 1887, at which I was present, Pandit Bhandarkár of Bombay, in the dress of his country, delivered an address on an intricate subject in the English Language with all the dignity of a Professor, and an *aplomb* and absence of self-consciousness, to which few Englishmen can attain. A question arose as to the translation of a Chinese Proper-name, and a young Chinaman with his blue dress and pig-tail, stepped into the rostrum, and with the chalk in his hand explained it in elegant French, looking with fierce contempt on the assembled Scholars of Europe, who presumed to dabble with his ideograms. An Arabic School-Inspector from Egypt gave an address in Arabic on the progress of Education in Egypt from the time of the Arab Conquest until now, and no doubt proved to his own satisfaction, that the Arab system was far superior to the present new-fangled Instruction of Europe.

These are the men, with whom the undergraduates of Oxford will have to cope, if they have leisure from their Gymnasia, their Stadia, their Naumakhiai, their Hippodromoi, and their Symposia, to prepare to cope at all, if their whole strength be not played out in Cricket, and Rowing, and Football, and Golfing, and Lawn-tennis, and Bicycling.

Think what a vista is opened out to those, who with reverent curiosity attempt the study of Comparative Religions with a view of arming themselves for the fight in the cause of the one true Faith. Mark the piety of the elder races, how they attributed their victories to their god: the Monuments of Assyria and Egypt bring before us those great Monarchs trusting to Ashur and Amen Rá. In India to this day they appeal to and trust in their ancient divinities. It will not do for the European to rush in, and sweep away all these beliefs. Far better to place his foot on adamantine Truth, which is the basis of all Religion, and build upwards, removing gently the decay and accumulation of ruins of centuries, and pointing out the better way. God has not left any of His poor children without a witness, if the Missionary be skilful enough to find it: how gently Paul dealt with the Athenians in the market-place of Athens! It is a lesson to all Missionaries to be merciful to the intellectual and moral failings of the Heathen, to be gentle, and not press the heel too heavily on the new converts on the Niger, and not expect to find angels in India of a type, which is not found in Great Britain; not to describe the great Empires of India and China as the Kingdom of Satan, but by their consistent lives

and gentle reasoning to win Souls to Christ, and not to alienate by arrogance, and raise up a hostile spirit by overstrained and unworthy prejudices.

There are sublimer and sweeter motives calculated to influence you, which will be explained to you by those, who are commissioned to instruct you from the Pulpit. I allude to the Glorifying of Christ by the enlargement of His Kingdom. I restrict myself here to pointing out to you, as the result of personal experience of half a century, the reflex blessing on our hearts, our hearths, and lives, the satisfying feeling, that here at least we are unmistakably doing the work of our Master. It is not sufficient to raise the tone of our private lives, to provide for the wants of our parish, or the adornment of our place of Worship: we can do this, and yet not leave the other undone. The plain, distinct, parting command of the Risen Saviour applies to each one of us now, just as much as it did eighteen hundred years ago to the Apostles and Disciples assembled on Mount Olivet; and this thought pressed upon me, as I stood in 1885 on that blessed spot, and looked across the brook Kedron into the town of Jerusalem, still in captivity. Thirty years before I had stood on the same spot, and my convictions had only been strengthened by the wide experience accumulated in the interval.

The Missionary is not, as some would have it, the enemy and opponent of the Trader and Merchant, but their Pioneer and best friend. He will not indeed sit quietly by, and see the Natives plundered and ill-used, and their young men cajoled by nominal service contracts, and carried off into real Slavery. He will not look calmly on, while the young girls of the Mission-School, just budding into womanhood, are seduced by the Ship-Clerk, or assistant trader, to be their temporary companions; he will not be silent, when rum and gin are poured into the country, and the day's wage, and the reward of toil, are represented by a bottle of liquor. But the Missionary, if he rightly understands his high position, will preach Christ in such a way, as to make his hearers more fit to die as believing and repentant sinners, and more fit to live as sober, industrious, intelligent citizens of the world, compelling the earth by their labour to give a greater increase, developing new Arts, and storing up for export new products, and receiving in return all that the Art and Science of Europe and America can bring to their coasts to make life more cheerful, homes more comfortable, bodies better clad, and Souls more ready for the great change, that must surely come.

There is a higher consanguinity than that of the blood, which runs in our veins: that of the blood, which makes our hearts beat with indignation, when we hear of suffering, with pity, when

we read of Ignorance, and glad joy, when we hear of noble men and women giving their lives to relieve that suffering, and to enlighten that ignorance. The heart indeed beats high, when we read of such unselfishness and greatness of character, as has distinguished the Missionary Heroes of Africa, who were not afraid to die for the Negro, and the sublimity of simple Faith, which marks the career of the Polynesian Native Teachers, who with their lives in their hands went from Island to Island on their voyages of Mercy, until the whole Archipelago was brought under Christian influence. Surely it is a cause of pride to think, that there is a brave and strong man, one of our own kin and language, and a woman too, in the darkest corner of the Earth, where his and her influence is most wanted.

And there is a higher Nationality than that of being of one race, and speaking one Language: it is that we owe allegiance and filial duty to our Common Father, and ought to feel Love and pity and sympathy for *all* His children, and the greater Love, the more degraded that we find them.

Had the light, which sprang up to lighten the Gentiles in Galilee, flashed Eastward and Southward instead of Westward, and left us sitting all these dreary centuries in Heathen darkness, what should we have thought, if the Nations of Asia and Africa and Oceania, had not found their hearts burning within them to carry to us the Gospel? And shall we, who have been predestinated to such early blessings, now fail in our duty to those, who by the inscrutable Will of God have been less favoured?

If then we have talents, the best use, that we can make of them, is to enlarge our Master's Kingdom, and, when our lives come to an end, the best tribute, that we can have offered, is that of redeemed Souls, better than the victories of the Soldier, or the learning of the Scholar, or the discoveries of the secrets of Nature made by the Philosopher. No brave Missionary fights and dies in vain.

Ut moriens vivat, vixit ut moriturus.

Balliol College, Oxford;
Nov., 1886–1895.

C. Reminiscences of the Missionary Congress of London, 1888.

The Social and Political Condition of the World a Hundred Years Ago and Now.

Brother Wright has shown you the progress of the Bible-work in a century. Brother George Smith has exhibited the progress of Christian Missions in that period. I wish to show how the Almighty has ordered the affairs of men so as to advance the coming of His Son's Kingdom.

Brother James Johnston, the Secretary of this Congress, has just put forth a volume as a "Century of Social Progress," which I recommend to your notice.

Every political change has worked in the same direction: the independence of the great North American Republic, the world-wide expansion of British Colonies, the consolidation of the German Empire, the Constitutional Kingdom of Italy, the break-up of Turkey, the Conquest of India, the opening up of China and Japan, the re-discovery of Africa, and the revelation of the South Seas.

The spread of Education and Science has subserved to our purpose: Geography, Philology, Electricity, and Steam, have been our handmaids. Commerce has accompanied us, very often, however, owing to the perverseness of men, as an accompanying evil.

Still more wonderful has been the century's change in the Moral World: how the hearts of men have been softened! how their sympathies have been enlarged! how deeper far is our insight into the meaning of Scripture! We wonder, how our Grandmothers sat unmoved by the cries of the Slave, how our Grandsires read and talked about the destruction of the aborigines like vermin, and no one to cry out to God in their behalf. Did the Clergy of that period believe, that God had made all men in his own likeness, that Christ died for all: how could they read to their flocks the parting injunction of the Saviour to preach His Gospel, and yet never practically apply it? We do not judge them: their eyes were blinded: we rather the more thank God, that He has opened our eyes to see our duty, and that He has given us the Grace of the will and means to serve Him.

To the Anglo-Saxon Race has been given to lead in this great Movement. Honour be to the Danes of Scandinavia, and the Moravians of Germany, for setting us the example! Honour

be to the brethren of those great countries, who now work with us! But of the great Anglo-Saxon Race it can be said, that to them in this century have been entrusted the oracles of God, and that they have been chosen to be the Ambassadors of Christ.

We have learnt many lessons in this Century: (1) That Freedom always accompanies the Gospel; (2) that the State has nothing to do with Evangelization. We ask not the protection of pious Queens, or bloody-minded Kings: "Not by might, not by power, but by my Spirit, says the Lord of Hosts."

No longer is it sought to drive ignorant thousands to Baptism: our progress is made by individual conversions: we do not point to holy deaths, but consistent lives. We have learned to look over the Human fences of Churches, and Denominations, and see nothing but the awful face of Christ; we have learned to listen to nothing but the unhappy one calling to us. We have learned to love each other first, and then to teach that Law of Love to the Heathen.

A great change has come over the feelings of the Laity. The Missionary is no longer an object of ridicule to the worldly, but an object of wonder, of admiration, and reverence, if he walks humbly and consistently, keeping to his own duties, minding the things of God, and not meddling with the things of Cæsar. Many a layman looks at a Missionary with a sigh, and wishes that he had the qualification, and the Holiness, and the steadfastness, to share his lot. Many a Missionary has turned his back to the plough, and discredited his vocation.

We have called the other sex to our assistance, and Women are forward in fighting the Lord's battle. With them have come the Medical man, to minister to both Soul and body, and the Teacher of Human knowledge sanctified by Divine Grace: with them are all the appliances of Art and Science, of accumulated Wisdom, and stored-up experience: the one object is the healing and teaching of the Soul.

When the Lord has given such opportunities, such openings, such helps, such supplies, what shall His poor creatures render in return? More self-consecration, more entire abnegation of self, more Sacrifice of pride, prejudice and personal comforts, more casting down of cherished Idols, more laying of ourselves on His Altar, and submission to His Will. The Lord has not failed in his promises: He is with us: but His servants have failed by rendering only half service, and lukewarm Love. I do not ask you to go back to the Roman Calendar of Saints for examples; do not go beyond the limits of these little Islands. Let each Missionary read the lives of Columba of Iona, of Aidan of the Holy Island of Lindisfarne, of Columbánus of Bangor, of Boniface of Exeter. He will know what Britons did more than one thousand years ago to spread the Gospel, in poverty,

in labour, in persecution, in celibacy, in self-denial, without complaint, and without boasting, and always rejoicing, up to the last hour of their lives. We have the same blood in our veins: it is the same Gospel: let us do likewise.

Speech at Missionary Congress in Exeter Hall, June, 1888.

A Synopsis of Protestant Missions.

With the reception-ceremony of Saturday began one of the most remarkable gatherings in the recent history of Protestant Missions. For more than a week Exeter Hall was given up to the exhaustive treatment, in private conference and public Meeting, of nearly every main problem, and head of labour, associated with foreign Missionary enterprise as conducted by Protestant agencies. There is, perhaps, some ground for fear, that the extraordinary fulness of the programme may in a sense distract the public attention; nor are we quite certain, that the conference has made its coming known quite as fully as could be wished. But the opportunity is so remarkable, and so full of promise, that we sincerely hope it will be widely accepted amongst Churchmen and Nonconformists alike. Little, perhaps, is known in many quarters as to the Protestant organizations already at work. I have done my best to make the extent of the field and its divisions more apparent. During the last year I have given from week to week, under the title of the "Mission Field and its workers," a brief account of foreign Missionary agencies, compiled upon one principle by the same hand, with a careful abstinence from all denominational bias, but with a free distribution of praise or blame on particular methods. I present to-day a conspectus of all the Missionary enterprises of the Christian world, excluding those of the Church of Rome, which may be separately considered upon some future occasion. Those only have found a place, which are directed, entirely or in part, against non-Christian populations, Jews, Mahometans, Idolators, or Nature-worshippers. Every Association formed solely for the purpose of proselytism, or the benefit of Christians, is rigidly excluded. The material collected is grouped according to nationality and denomination, and in a special column the character of the enterprise is described, according as it is formed for evangelizing or for medical, woman's work, educational, publishing, or training, or whether it is a substantive Society, or an auxiliary Home or Foreign Aid Society. An attempt, subject to correction, has been made to indicate the fields occupied by each Society; but all allusion to income,

number of agents, converts, or adherents, is omitted, as this must be the subject of a careful separate study after it has been ascertained, whether each Society prepares its statistics upon the same principles. Until this is known, all comparison is profitless.

Missionary operations are conducted either by "lay Associations," specially formed for this particular purpose, or by the collective body of a particular Denomination, which is conventionally styled a "Church." A good many fallacies surround this distinction. In the case of a small Denomination, such as the Seventh Day Baptists, the Primitive Methodists, the original-Secession-Presbyterians, the Church is the Association, and the Association is the Church. In the case of a National Church, such as that of England, with several millions of members, the conduct of Missionary operations by the collective Church would be impossible, and the dream of its realization is only a mischievous delusion. The Church of Rome has avoided falling into such a snare, and distributes her Missionary operations among independent Congregations with their assigned fields of labour. Where a moderately-sized Denomination, such as the Church of Sweden, or the Free Church of Scotland, conducts Missionary operations, it is a matter of internal convenience only, whether the control should rest with an independent Lay Board, or a Committee of the General Assembly. The shoe pinches, when within one Church there are two shades of theological thought, in which case there will certainly come into existence an Association outside the Church, as in Sweden, Holland, Norway, and Germany.

There is, however, a distinct danger in too much subdivision. If the battle of the Lord is to be won, it must be fought in battalions, not in corporals' detachments. It is a cruel thing to settle down amidst a Heathen people, open Schools, make converts, and then, owing to sickness or death, to abandon the poor sheep to any chance wolf, possibly to the mercies of a Roman Catholic Mission party. Again, it is sheer folly to talk of "self-supporting" Missions in a non-Christian Country. And yet the work ought to be conducted with much greater economy than is practised now. Men and women with private means should be induced to come forward in much larger numbers. The native Church from the very first must be compelled to support its own Pastors and Teachers, but not the alien Missionaries. Home-contributions must supply their needs. To ask spiritually-minded men to support themselves by agriculture, keeping mercantile stores, maintaining secular Schools, or any trade, is to degrade the Missionary, and to withdraw him from his proper duty. Funds must be supplied by Christian Churches; men and women should not be exposed

to the perils of starvation, and unsuitable accommodation, which will only end in sickness, or the loss of valuable lives.

Of none of the enterprises now reported can it be said, that they are supported by the State for political purposes, or in any way privileged, or protected, or encouraged, for State-purposes. Individual Missionaries may, perhaps, in a moment of weakness, bluster about their rights, as subjects of some or other great Power, but practically nothing comes of it, and the idea of avenging the death of a Missionary would be entertained neither by a Society, nor a Government. It would be a fatal policy for Missions, if they depended on the Arm of Flesh. Their independence would be jeopardized, and independence of the State is essential to the life of a Missionary enterprise. Nor can Missionary Societies be mixed up in commercial, industrial, or agricultural, speculations without a sure destruction of their Spiritual life. On the other hand, a well-conducted Mission in a barbarous country is the certain advance-guard of a prosperous Commerce from the cessation of inter-tribal strife, and the advance of the populations in Morals and Civilization.

The Record, London, June, 1888.

The Proceedings Summed up.

With the Valedictory Meeting on Tuesday evening the programme of the Congress was worked out; all subsequent Meetings were accretions to meet the idiosyncrasies of particular persons. On the whole it was a great success, at least as far as the numbers of persons present, and of Meetings, indicate success. It cannot be said, that any new suggestions, methods, or ideas, are the result, at least to the experienced members. No doubt a large number of persons have received their first ideas of a Missionary gathering, and we must trust, that the impressions will be permanent. They will recollect the particular period, when the tongue of fire sat upon each of them, and their hearts spake within them, marking a new departure.

One thing has been made evident without doubt, the solidarity of the Evangelical Churches. Between us and our Continental friends the barrier of Language is no longer an impediment; between us and our friends from America the Atlantic no longer exists. That Ocean can no longer appear in the *Missionary Atlas*. We are one army of the living God, differentiated in separate regiments, but under the same Captain of our Salvation, the same banner of the Cross, marching on, marching on to the conflict and to victory. This is no mere flight of rhetoric; it is

the deliberate outcome of our judgment. Talk no longer of the unity of the Church of Rome under one Pope. The Protestant Churches have a more enduring unity, though *not uniformity*, under the Headship of Christ. Over and over again in the different Meetings this great fact was proved by the incidental remarks and the bearings of the speakers.

A second feature was the entire disappearance of the offensive manifestation of denominational differences. It, indeed, was difficult to find out whether the sweet and intelligent Christian in our company was a Congregationalist, or a Baptist, or a Methodist, or an Episcopalian, or a good Plymouth-Brother; not that anyone was lax in his convictions, or unsettled in his Church-views; but that each and all looked over the barriers of human and historical difference, and saw nothing but the face of Christ, and heard nothing but His parting words on Mount Olivet. And surely there is more real Christianity in this than in the Papal or Mediæval High Church arrogance of a monopoly of preaching the Gospel of Salvation based on a doubtful Apostolical succession.

A third feature, and a remarkable one, though confessedly on a lower platform than the preceding, was the wondrous fact, that within the walls of Exeter Hall were collected men and women, who spoke a greater variety of Languages than had ever been collected under one roof in ancient or modern times. And the object of acquiring those forms of speech, and the use of those forms of speech, were solely and entirely to spread the Gospel of Salvation. The Philologist might well bow his head in reverence; the Ethnologist might well reflect on the passage in Holy Writ, "Seek ye first His kingdom and His righteousness, and *all these things shall be* added unto you"; the Statesman might well ponder upon the appearance of a new factor in politics, a Republic of enthusiasts, who will not be diverted from their object; a Parliament of men of diverse nationalities, but recognizing one Law, one King, and one hope of everlasting life; a federation of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

A fourth feature was the sweet forming, and the still sweeter renewal, of friendships. There is something in the personality, the expression of countenance, the utterance of words of an American, that attracts and conciliates friendships. They are not as we are in Great Britain, but there rests in their choice of words, and formation of sentences, something of the archaic peculiarities of our common ancestors, and a nobility of presence, and an independence of bearing, which in good, holy men (and we had in this Congress no others) is peculiarly fascinating; their eloquence is all their own, and, in spite of the obvious peculiarities of expressions and tones, goes to the heart. Some of their speeches, such as those of Dr. Pierson, of New

York, Dr. F. W. Taylor, of the same city, and Dr. Ellinwood, were simply magnificent, and can never be forgotten by those, who heard them.

There is no doubt, therefore, in the opinion of those, who took part in the management of the Congress of 1878 at Mildmay, and in Exeter Hall in 1888, that there has been an advance along the line; indeed, my Conspectus of existing Missionary enterprises, which the *Record* most opportunely published on June 8, and which was much appreciated, marks the advance and the high-water line of 1888. On the whole, great praise is due to the Executive Committee, and to the indefatigable Secretary, the Rev. James Johnston, for the conception and the arrangements. Many men, who were mere dummies, were put forward to make speeches and held a prominent position, who had really done nothing; but it is well known, that to a small body of determined men who worked well and continuously for more than a year, the success must be attributed, and they have in that success their full reward.

In all human affairs there is a certain amount of failure, and this Congress was essentially human; there were many weary, ill-chosen, ill-conceived, papers read, and good men were totally forgotten; that miserable period of five minutes, which egotism desires, but which Common-sense rejects, wasted half the time of each of the Meetings in the Lower Hall and Annexe. Men, who came long distances, desired to have their voices heard in the assembly; anyone can speak for twenty minutes; it requires a wise and collected man to utter anything worth hearing in five minutes. The inexorable bell paralyzed the intellect. A great deal of inept nonsense was spoken in those miserable periods, quite irrelevant to the subject of discussion, garnished with Scripture-quotations, as vague and unprofitable as a summer shower of rain-drops. What was desired was totally absent: when a serious question was discussed such as the Baptism of Polygamists, we desired to hear sound and solid reasons for or against by selected speakers, who had experience; as it was, no one single subject was thrashed out. As a Congress of Experts, collected to arrive at approximate agreement on certain moot subjects, this Congress was an entire failure.

Missionary Societies have entirely failed in obtaining the confidence, or even the toleration, of the ruling classes, the nobles, the scientists, the aristocrats, the demagogues, the men of undemonstrative piety, the ordinary good citizens, and the general public. Whole families, both wealthy and powerful, give not one shilling. Those, who heart and soul have given themselves up to this service, this best of services, for more than fifty years, feel this neglect keenly, but do not wonder at it. For why is it

so? The foolishness of a section, only of a section, of the Missionary party causes this disfavour. In the great gatherings, with the exception of those members of the House of Lords and Commons, who have avowedly thrown in their lot with us, the leaders of public life were absent. Yet it is a subject of the deepest regret, and is caused by the folly of a minority, who neglect the noble work of preaching the Gospel to the Heathen, and alleviating the burden of the suffering, to take up fads, miserable crazes, about subjects totally out of the orbit of pure Missionary-work. They might as well call for a blue moon as suppose that their miserable penny-trumpets would influence the counsels of the Parliament of Great Britain, or the Government of British India.

It was distressing to hear the crudity of some remarks, for some spake with the air of Prophets just descended from the mountain with a new revelation. It seemed as if each man had a peculiar subject on his brain, and the whole world was to be altered to meet his wishes. There was often a want of sobriety, a want of humility, a want of self-distrust and self-abnegation. What can a man, who has been for years in Japan and China, understand of the wonderful mechanism, which controls the revolution of European feelings, and the policy of European Governments? And yet an American born in the State of Ohio, and a German from Westphalia, and twelve years residing in China, undertook to tell an assembly of miscellaneous men and women what the British Parliament ought to do, and the foolish assembly clapped and stamped in token of approbation, of what, it is obvious, they could not understand.

As regards the Missionary, many things came out, which saddened the heart: the want of entire consecration to the cause of the conversion of the Heathen, the forgetting of their first love; the early marriages, perhaps at the age of twenty-three (when no young lawyer, doctor, or professional man, would think of such things), the heavy charges to the Society for passage-money and maintenance, the crowding of the Home of Missionary Children, the diverting of the sacred funds contributed to evangelize the Heathen to the lower objects of maintaining Schools for Missionary children and pensions for widows, when neither widow nor child ought to have come into existence, as the Missionary ought in his youth, in his strength, to have had no thought but the necessity laid upon him to convert the Heathen. He cannot have read the Epistle of Paul rightly, if he could think of earthly love with the cry of the Heathen ringing in his ears. As a reaction against such things come the Brotherhood and Sisterhood of the High Church party, the haphazard system of Mr. Hudson Taylor sending out men to take their chance of a sufficiency, and the extraordinary

system of Bishop William Taylor sending out men, women, and children to live on nothing. All these things make a thoughtful student of the Missionary problem very, very anxious for the future. The only course is to bring it to the Lord. Lord Radstock rightly remarked, that in these matters we too often forget the Lord.

The Report of the great Congress will be published, and mark an epoch in our Missionary annals. Some may live to be present at the next great gathering at the end of the nineteenth century. Some words of this Congress are not to be forgotten. Dr. Ellinwood, of the United States, in his valedictory address spoke of gratitude, fellowship, kinship, and love to the British people; he said that he had almost forgotten his country, and that to-night we were all Englishmen, *because we were all Christians*. These precious words should live in our memory. Dr. Sutherland, of the Dominion of Canada, spoke of the essential oneness of Protestant Christianity. Oh, let us cherish this! all the world over, Christ is all! The Church is prepared to enter on a new work with new enthusiasm, for the love of Christ constraineth us. M. Rappart, of St. Chrischona, remarked, that the Holy Spirit still clings to its work. Canon Fleming remarked, that all the members of the Congress would go back to their home, distinct indeed as the billows, but one as the sea. These are but samples of the noble expressions uttered by noble men, in the presence of vast assemblies of men and women, who desired holiness, even if they did not attain to it. It was well for each one of us to hear such sentiments, and better still to feel the heart beat high, and to appropriate such sentiments as our own. Many of those present will never meet again, but they have looked into each other's faces, they have heard each other's words, they have recognized each other's graces, and the contact has not been in vain. Such Congresses are the direct replies to the Ecumenical Councils of Rome. The Protestant Churches are in evidence, one in Christ, differing in Church-Government; one in essentials, divided in matters of less moment. If the increase of volume, and weight, and influence is as great in the next decade as it has been in the last, the High Church section of the English Church will feel, that they have made a mistake in abstaining from taking a part in a great movement, which has united the holiest aspirations of the British, American, and German, people to advance the Kingdom of Christ. If they have stood aside, they will not share the blessings.

The Record, June 20, 1888–1895.

D. Language and the Religious Instinct.

The present generation is the heir of all the ages, and lives in an environment of stored-up Light, the result of researches commenced in former ages, carried on in our own, but to be completed hereafter. We must not be hard on our mediæval ancestors: they did what they could, and confessedly their environment was limited: they had not the strength which we possess, or the opportunities open to us. We should try to do what we can: now is our time, our great innings in the great game of World-enlightenment, and it must be admitted, that our powers are unlimited, if only the Will, and the resources, are not wanting, not without Holy Wisdom and Sanctified Self-control. At any rate, we know exactly what is wanted: we can indicate the gaps, that have to be filled up; the lines of study that have to be extended, and the great Comparative network, that has to be thrown over each Region. We know in what quarter Translation of the Scriptures into fresh Languages, or enlargement of the store translated already in old Languages, are required: and this leads me, to whom only one thing is dearer than Linguistic Research, to indicate what that thing is: "Evangelization of the non-Christian World, and the bringing of Souls to God."

It has been wisely remarked by an American Author, that the "Religious Instinct," like the Language-making Faculty, is a part, and an indispensable part, of the mental outfit of the Human race. On this occasion our thoughts are directed to the latter element only. Let us think it out. The animal-world live and prosper, grow fat and multiply; they dwell together in herds and flocks, and in some cases in dwellings appropriated to a single couple; they resist their common enemies, and go out on the warpath against their weaker neighbours: (so far not unlike the European Political free-booter, the Scientific Geographical Explorer, the Commercial Land Pirate, and wholesale dealer in alcohol, now under the protection of flags of Christian States, let loose upon poor, unhappy Africa.) Some of the animal-world construct places of residence, to which they periodically resort: they erect permanent structures which resist the elements: without the help of the compass, or knowledge of the Stars, they traverse the Continent, and the Ocean: they exhibit the highest forms of intelligence and industry in the Ant and the Bee, the imitative powers of the Monkey and the Parrot: they develop various

forms of subtle and deadly treachery, quite worthy of the Human race: they do all this from generation to generation, and yet have no power of articulate speech: *they have no Language*: they do not seem to want it: they get on well without it, as far as this world is concerned, which comprises all their desires, their fears, and their wants. Man, the Lord of the Universe, the only animal, which can exist under every variety of climate, and condition of existence, was no doubt in the early period of Geology a speechless biped, "ἄλαλος ἀνηρ": "mutus homo": but he was gifted with brain-power, with a Soul yearning after the Creator, as the sunflower turns to the Sun, and a capacity of handing on to younger generations the accumulated experience of the past: thus he developed the art of issuing articulate sounds varying under the different circumstances of each particular environment, sometimes polysyllabic, sometimes monosyllabic, sometimes inflective, sometimes agglutinative, in forms and on principles entirely irreconcilable with the idea of a common seedplot. That old-world idea must be laid aside.

Why, then, was Language given to the "genus *Homo*," and the Language-making Faculty, except as a vehicle and an instrument of Worship, or the Religious Instinct? Men even in their barbarous savagery had Immortal Souls, and they were formed in the Image of God. God spake unto men in ancient days, and the spoken Word of God was entrusted to them in the form of perishing sounds, written characters, words, and sentences. How could the experience of the past, the wisdom of the present, and the hopes of the future, those attributes which distinguish the "genus *Homo*" from the brute beasts that perish, have been recorded except by the sounds, that issue from the labial, lingual, dental, palatal, and guttural, apparatus of the Mouth, and the cunning symbols, which the hand has learned under the teaching of centuries, to convey by the apparatus of up and down strokes, curves, dots, and dashes, to the material of stone, clay, papyrus, parchment, and a fabric of soaked and prepared rags?

The Missionary finds Languages and written characters to be the only, but the sure, instrument for getting to the hearts, ears, and eyes, of every population under the Sun, none of whom have fallen so low, and been left to lie so long in hopeless ignorance of the Arts of Man, and the Will of God, as the poor African.

The Art of the Pencil, of the Painter's Brush, and of the Photographer's lens, has done much to make the careless world familiar with the woes, and wants, of the African. Familiar to everyone is the picture of the Slaver's caravan wending its way with its daily diminishing train from a region of burnt homesteads, and slaughtered villagers, to the Coast; the sick, and

the useless infants, left at each camping-ground to be devoured by the more merciful wild beast. Another kind of picture the present decade reveals: the Christian Missionary on the march, struggling on through forest, through marsh, across unbridged Rivers: a scant supply of personal comforts, but a sufficiency of medicines, and an abundance of translations of the Bible, of Hymns, of Prayer Books, of educational helps in the several Languages, in which the barbarous tribes are to be brought out of their heathen ways into the path that leads through Faith to Morality, Holiness, and to God. Soon spring up the School, and the Chapel, and Language, the exclusive speciality of the Human race, conveys to the astonished tribe their first ideas of Human sympathy, of gentle words, the forerunner of kind actions, and the new conception of Love, a word with difficulty supplied with a vernacular rendering, in a form of speech, where Ἀγάπη and Caritas had no intellectual or material existence: Love casting out fear, which has led both male and female youths of European and American culture and origin to forsake their homes, and die for the welfare of men and women, their brethren and sisters on the Niger, the Kongo, the Zambési Rivers, and on the Lakes of Victoria, Tangányika, and Nyása.

Under the Grace of God the great heaven-sent gift of articulate speech has done this. The Legend of Orpheus tells us, how the strains of music dominated the intelligence and the savage nature of the beasts, but here there is something more: those, who were degraded lower than beasts, come under the influence, by which ideas are conveyed from mind to mind, and from soul to soul; Souls are roused from a state of godless sleep to a new life, to prayer, and to praise; eyes are opened to the wondrous capacity of reading, understanding, and being moved by the Bible in a barbarous Language, formerly full of words of cruelty, and indecencies, and now sanctified by the Holy Spirit to become the censer, containing the daily offerings of converted Souls to their Creator and Saviour. This is the work, which we have seen performed before our very eyes during the last quarter of a century by the Missionary.

The debt of Science is great to the long train of Missionaries, who have studied and placed on paper Grammars, Grammatical Notes, Lexicons, Vocabularies, and Texts in the Language, which they used in their daily lives; still greater the debt, from a scientific point of view, to the succession of great Scholars, who have examined the truthful, the unscientific, works published by the men on the spot, and who have instituted orderly and scientific comparison of Language with Language, Group with Group: thus, gradually out of a confused heap of bricks brought from the brick-kiln, a wall has been erected, or a fabric devised, the plan of which has been thought out by some great

diviner: the bundle of feathers has been examined, and each feather has been arranged in heaps according to colour, shape, and conformation. Africa, with the exception of the valley of the Nile, has no works of Art and Science to show as the outcome of long, silent centuries, and dark Millions, who have been born, lived, and died since the time of Herodotus, or the dim unknown centuries before the epoch of the great Greek Traveller; but the existence of the great Negro Group, with its scores of isolated and totally distinct forms of speech, conterminous with the great Bantú Family with its scores of kindred Languages, though differentiated in vocabulary and phonetics still clothed on the same backbone and skeleton of the Bantú Grammatical organism, is an unparalleled record of the Power of Human Intellect, acting unconsciously, spontaneously through the agency of Barbarians: some of these Languages will live for ever.

Twenty years ago there was a rebellion against the tyranny of Indo-European and Semitic Scholars, who attempted to cut down all Languages to the Procrustes-bed of the only type, with which they were acquainted, and on this narrow basis built towers of speculation on the origin of Language, as fabulous and misty as the Tower of Babel. This great problem cannot even now be approached until the secrets of the Languages of Africa, Oceania, and America have been revealed, and have passed under the touch of the great Comparative Scholar, in order that the lessons taught by the study of each may be considered with reference to the linguistic phenomena of the whole world; and this work will be accomplished neither in this century nor by this generation.

It may reasonably be assumed, that not one of the adventurers on the last scientific warpath to relieve an Austrian Jew (who did not wish to be relieved, and who after his unwelcome relief went back to die on the spot, whence at the cost of the lives of many hundred poor Africans he had been relieved) knew one word of the Languages of the tribes, through whose Region they forced themselves: their instrument of communication was the stick, the whip, the rifle, the hangman's rope: they did not teach the Ten Commandments, but gave in their own conduct object-lessons of the breach of them, especially of the Sixth and the Eighth. The Agents of the great Commercial Company, who enabled the so-called Political Protestants to slaughter their fellow Christians of the Church of Rome, knew nothing of the Language of either the slayer, or the slain: the bullet, the Maxim-gun, were their modes of expressing ideas, or carrying conviction. The Alphabet of the Liquor-Dealer consists of demijohns of gin, and his mode of conveying Love and Peace is the conventional "Dash" of Alcohol. The Epoch of the Slave-

Trade was bad: is not the present Epoch worse? Our grandfathers stole individual Africans from Africa, and somehow or other their descendants have developed into nine Millions of free citizens of the United States: our contemporaries steal Africa from the Africans, reducing to Political bondage barbarous, but at least independent, populations, who are to be exploited by a Nubian soldiery. A bitter cry is rising up from all sides of Africa against the great Commercial Companies, the Sellers of Alcoholic Liquor, the importers of Arms and Gunpowder, and that great Partition of Africa among European States, not for the benefit of the poor people, but for the advantage of speculators, manufacturers, and adventurers, for shooters of wild beasts, and mowers down of African men, women, and children.

Leave the Missionaries alone: let them not lean, as in U-Ganda, on the carnal arm of the flesh: "Peace has her victories, no less renowned than war:" let the arm of precision be the School-primer, the simple Gospel sold for the cost of one Banána, the maps on the walls of the School-House, the slate and pencil on the desk, the Industrial School, the gentle word of the Teacher, the loving Language of the Preacher, the great example exhibited by the white man in his own life, the great and inestimable gift of self-Sacrifice. How puny seem the traditions of ancient History regarding patriotic and religious devotion! the Roman, who leaped into the yawning abyss to save his country; the forlorn hope, that died at Thermopylæ, so that Athens might not be plundered; the Jewish matron, who went down alone in her chaste beauty into the camp of the alien invader, and slew their Chief on his own bed: how insignificant, weighed in the great scale of Human littleness, and Divine greatness, of Human possibilities, and Divine guidances, appear such stories compared to what, with bated breath, sparkling eye, and heaving breast, we read of the great European and American Nations, who for an unselfish motive higher than that of Patriotism, armed with weapons, that cut deeper than the sword, and yet are steeped in Love, only Love, step out from their quiet homes to die for the Spiritual welfare of an African tribe, because the Master has so ordered it, and has set the great example:

"Scarcely for a righteous man will one die: yet peradventure "for a good man some would even dare to die. But God com-"mended His Love to us, in that, while we were yet sinners, "Christ died for us." *Romans*, v, 7, 8.

A prolonged study of many years, and the sympathy and collaboration of men in every part of Africa, without reference to their nationality, have enabled me to throw together in two treatises all that is known of African Languages and African Missions. I stand at the bar awaiting the judgment of the

Court of Appeal in the next generation, who will stand, as it were, on our shoulders, availing themselves of our knowledge, and pardoning our errors, on account of our good intentions.

And after all, the *Commerce of thought* is the greatest and oldest form of Commerce, that the world can ever have known, and no manufacture is older, or more widespread, or more ingenious, or representing more definitely the line betwixt man and beast, than the *Manufacture of Words* and the *Marshalling of Sentences*, which have been going on without ceasing, ever since the power of articulate speech was acquired. In the course of examining the words of an African's Vocabulary, the 100 or 200 words, which represent the requirements, and environment, of his simple life, we obtain, or think that we obtain, a standard of comparative Chronology, and Progressive culture, in the History of the world. How far advanced in ideas, and the minted coin, which represented ideas, was Abraham the Father of the Hebrew Race, in the nineteenth century B.C., above the African Barbarian, of the nineteenth century A.D., who is now introduced as it were *per saltum* by the Missionary to the Divine knowledge, Ἡ Ἀγία Σωφία, which Abraham might have desired to obtain, but failed, but which we are told by One, who cannot err, that he saw afar off, and was glad.

Essay on African Philology, Chicago Congress, U.S.;
Sept., 1893–1895.

CAP. II. SERVANTS OF THE LORD.

A. The Ideal Missionary.
B. Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods.
C. The Work of Women.
D. The Native Teacher.
E. Extracts from "Africa Rediviva."

A. The Ideal Missionary.

1. Missionary Heroes in Africa.
2. The Hero-Missionary, and Heroic Missionary Society.
3. On the Duty of a Missionary in the hour of Personal Peril.

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1. Missionary Heroes in Africa.

Address delivered at Steinway Hall, London.

The Lord said unto me: Say not, I am a child, for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatever I shall command thee, thou shalt speak. *Jer.*, i, 7.

My subject on this occasion is not so much Africa, its people, its customs, and its misfortunes, as the Christian pioneers and their work, and to this I restrict myself. The Missionaries cannot speak of themselves: it is the last thing, that they would wish to touch upon, except to describe their own shortcomings. A particular Church or Society cannot speak of the whole class fairly, as of some they know too much, and of others nothing at all. We see them in the committee-room, when they are young and ardent for the fight, scarcely knowing the difficulties, with which they have to contend. We see them a few years on more thoughtful, more subdued and chastened, yet not less earnest; we see them still later on, broken down, unequal for further service in the field, yet still longing to laugh at the doctor, and go back to their life's work. Some we never see again, for they remain where they fell. Many of them are men of high talent, who in secular professions might have achieved wealth and fame, or in the Home-Church might have risen to

dignity and influence, but, smitten with the wondrous love of saving Souls, they have gone forth, and fresh candidates for the holy office are never wanting. What is their motive? A simple Faith in the Word of the Lord, who bought them. Wishing that my readers may carry away something, that may cling to their memory, I ask them to think of the famous eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which are traced back to Faith all the great events in the history of Israel, and I ask leave reverently to adapt this argument to the history of the pioneers of African Missions.

By Faith the United Moravian Brethren at Herrnhút in Germany, more than a century and a half ago, were stirred up to send out a Missionary to the poor Hottentots, who were treated as dogs by the Dutch Colonists. By Faith George Schmidt at once offered himself to go out, and suffered hardship with a persecuted race, and having been blessed by the conversion of a few, was forbidden to baptize them, and summarily sent back to Europe by men, who called themselves Protestants, and who were jealous of their own liberty. By Faith, fifty years later (1792), the United Brethren sent out three more Missionaries, who founded the illustrious Mission of Genádendál, or Vale of Grace, on the very walls of the ruined house of George Schmidt, seven years after the great Patriarch of African Missions had been called to his reward, dying, like Livingstone and Krapf, on his knees.

By Faith the London, and Wesleyan, Societies, the Established Church of England, the Free Church of Scotland, and the American Board of Foreign Missions, took up a share in the blessed work amongst other races of South Africa; and out of their ranks by Faith Moffat undertook to translate the Bible into the Language of the Be Chuána, Wilder into the Language of the Zúlu, and Boyce, Appleyard, and others, into the Language of the Ama-Xosa, or Káfir; Languages deemed at the time to be incapable of expressing simple ideas, but which, deftly handled, proved to be apt exponents of every variety of Human thought, with an unlimited Vocabulary, and an unsurpassed symmetry of structure.

By Faith Moffat's son-in-law, Livingstone, abandoned his home, his Chapel, and his School, and started off on his great Missionary progress, which was destined to illuminate all Africa South of the Equator. By Faith he bore up under the perils, the fatigues, the opposition, and the bereavement of his dear wife, who sleeps on the shore of the Zambési. By Faith he worked his way to Benguéla, on the West coast, Kilimáni on the East, and Nyangwé on the River Kongo to the North, discovering new rivers, new lakes, new tribes, and new Languages. From the drops of sweat, which fell from his limbs in those

great travels, have sprung up, like flowers, Christian Missions, founded by men of different Denominations, and different views of Church-Government, but united in the fear of God, the Faith in Christ, Love of Africa, and veneration for Livingstone. To the impulse, given by this great Apostle, must be attributed the Missions of the Established Church of Scotland at Blantyre, the Free Church of Scotland at Livingstonia, the London Society on Lake Tangányika, and the Universities Mission at Zanzibár and Likóma. To these must be added the Missions of the Church of Rome. In an interview, which some years ago I had at Tunis with Cardinal Lavigérie, to implore him to locate his Equatorial Missions at a certain distance from stations occupied by Protestants, to which he agreed in word, though the practice of his Missionaries has been different, he spoke with admiration of Livingstone. But to this servant of God it was not conceded to see one single fruit of his labours. He saw no Mission spring up; like Moses, he only beheld the promised land from Pisgah: he died without knowing of the secret of the source of the Nile and the Kongo. But even after death he seemed to have power to charm, and to conquer, for by Faith his bones were conveyed by his faithful Africans to the sea-shore, from Ilála on Lake Bangwéolo, where he died, along a route never traversed before, as if the great discoverer had power to add to Geographical knowledge after his death, and the great philanthropist wished to leave a lasting proof, that the Natives of South Africa can be faithful and loyal, and capable of high enterprises, if they are kindly treated.

By Faith Krapf and Rebman sat year after year at the watch-tower of Mombása, waiting till the day should dawn, calling to each other, "Watchman, what of the night?" writing home descriptions of vast lakes and snow-capped mountains on the Equator, causing themselves to be derided, both as Missionaries and Geographers; yet they lived to be honoured in both capacities, they lived to see the day dawn at last, to hear of Frere-Town being established as a station for released Slaves at Mombása, to hear of those internal seas being navigated, and the snow-capped mountain being visited. In his old age Krapf in tearful gratitude read Henry Stanley's challenge, which rang with trumpet-sound from the capital of U-Gánda, and was gallantly answered by the Church Missionary Society, and he lived to hear of the great Apostle's Street, which by Faith he had suggested, being carried out from Zanzibár to the Great Lakes, to be extended westward down the Kongo, until hands are shaken with the Baptist Missionaries working up that River from the West.

By Faith the good Baptist Society established themselves in the island of Fernando Po, and, driven thence by the intolerance

of the Spaniards, they crossed over to the mainland, and found what seemed once, but, alas! is no longer, a more enduring inheritance in the Kamerún Mountains. By Faith here Saker lived, laboured, and died, translating the Holy Scriptures into the Language of the Dualla, but leaving his work to be revised by his young daughter, opening a new field for the talent and zeal of woman. Hence in fulness of time by Faith Comber started to conquer new Kingdoms on the Kongo, making, alas! the heavy sacrifice of the life of his wife at San Salvador, before he reached Stanley Pool, with the great heart of Afri a open to his assault; for in their hands the Baptist Missionaries had carried gentle Peace, and their vessel with that name carried them onward on their blessed and peaceful enterprise.

By Faith our good brethren in North America were among the first to send out their agents to West and South Africa, to pay back the debt, which they owed, and to atone for the wrong, which their forefathers had inflicted. The Sun was thus taken back to the East, to lighten those sitting in darkness. Each and every one of their Churches by Faith have vied in the desire to found strong Missions, translate the Scriptures, and to press forward the work of freedom, Education, Civilization, and Evangelization.

By Faith the Holy and humble-hearted Protestant Churches on the Continent of Europe, less amply endowed in material resources, but more richly in Intellect, industry, and self consecration, have sent forth a golden stream of Missionaries from the centres of Basle and Canton de Vaud, in Switzerland; of Barmen, Bremen, Berlin, Herrnhût, and Hermansburg, in Germany; from Norway, Sweden, Finland, and France, to hold the fort in the most exposed situations, to suffer imprisonment, to achieve great literary works, to found living Churches, and attract to themselves the affections of the African. The names of the devoted men and women, who have lived and died for Christ, may not be known to the world, but are written in the Book of Life.

By Faith Samuel Crowther was rescued from the captivity, into which he, like Joseph, had been sold by his brethren, was restored to his country, to be no longer a Slave, but a Teacher, a leader, a benefactor, and an example; by Faith he was set apart to give the lie to the enemies of the African, to stultify the idle taunt, that a Negro is incapable, by his nature, of culture, piety, honesty, and social virtues; by Faith he was raised up to mark an Epoch in the sad chronicle of his persecuted race, and to be the firstfruit of the coming harvest of African pastors and Evangelists. By Faith his son Dandison Crowther, Henry Johnson, and James Johnson, were blessed with the great Grace of being allowed to tread in his footsteps.

If any of my readers desire to know the real worth of the African Missionary, let them read the lives of Mrs. Hinderer at Ibadán, and Mrs. Wakefield at Ribé, and of many other noble men and women, of whom this self-seeking world was not worthy, who left comforts at home to labour among the Africans; who, in spite of overpowering maladies, have been, like Hannington, unwilling to leave the country of their choice, and determined to return in spite of the warning voice of their doctor, or who, like him, have died as good confessors, counting not their lives worthy, but to fill up what remains of the sufferings of Christ. Such lives, in their simple eloquence, cannot fail to chasten the proud heart, to drive out selfish egotism, and to sustain the sinking spirit; they leave a ray of tender light behind them, showing that the age of chivalry, and of self-Sacrifice, has not entirely passed away; that the nineteenth century, in spite of its worldliness and infidelity, is still able to supply crusaders to fight the battle of our Master.

We read often in Secular books, and too often in Missionary Biographies, how our Heavenly Father is supposed on some occasions to have graciously interposed to save the life of one of His poor children: in Roman Catholic accounts this benevolent interference is attributed to the Virgin Mary, or St. Theresa. Not a sparrow indeed falls without His command; but if such interference is presumed, when a good man's life is saved, how shall we account for the absence of this Providential care, when a good man is cruelly killed, or cut off by premature disease? Such is but a narrow view of God's Providence. His ways are not our ways: He has chosen His servants for particular service: some to honour; some to dishonour. Some are selected to live and work, to others is conceded the peculiar Grace to die nobly, and set a glorious example. Deaths are required as well as Lives to complete the picture of the New Life. Some may follow the steps of our Lord in a life of beneficence and mercy; to others is granted the sweeter lot of filling up that which is behind of His Sufferings. And in the last struggle how by Grace they have been sustained, doing nothing common or mean in the last memorable scene of their earthly passion, but sealing their Faith by their manner of meeting death!

I quote a noble passage from the Chronicle of the London Missionary Society: "It is no light thing to be a link in God's "chain of causes, to have a Mission from God to discharge in "the world, however low the office and the duty may be. It is "better to recognize this Mission, and diligently to cultivate "qualifications for it, and still better persistently and faithfully, "and always for God, to strive to fill the place and do the work "of this Divine commission."

Hear some of the dying words of these soldiers of Christ. In

the hour of death all things are terribly real. There is no room for deception or false enthusiasm then. I have selected these words without distinction of country or Denomination, but their number might be multiplied indefinitely.

Arrhenius, the Swede, had only a few months of labour in the Galla country after years of preparation for his duties: his last words were: "Jesus, help me! Jesus, help me! Amen." Prætorius, the Swiss, was sent out for a few months' inspection of the Missions on the Gold Coast: he called upon me on his way out, and promised to call again on his return; but after a few weeks in Africa he fell. His last words were: "Is it true that I am going home to-day?"

Of all the smaller English Associations, Harley House, Bow, was conspicuous for its overflowing of zeal, and life, and promise, and of all its agents McCall was the brightest; but he was struck down in mid-work. His last words were recorded by a stranger, who visited him on his solitary death-bed. Let each one of us lay them to our hearts: "Lord, I gave myself, "body, mind, and soul, to Thee. I consecrated my whole life "and being to Thy service, and now, if it please Thee to take "myself, *instead of the work, which I would do for Thee*, what is "that to me? Thy will be done!" He had hoped that his destined course might have been among the brave and strong, to toil with high purpose for the welfare of the African; but God had chosen another part for him, and as a true Christian, he recognized, that God had chosen it well, and no weak murmurs escaped the lips of one who was ready to live or ready to die. And think not, Reader, that such sentiments are peculiar to a Servant of God dying young and in Africa. Dean Farrar thus writes of Bishop Lightfoot, of Durham: "He was called upon to face death at an age comparatively "premature, when years of fruitful work lay before him, but he "rose up at the call of God, and left his unfinished work, and "accumulated materials, not only without a murmur, but with-"out so much as a sigh of regret, or a single backward glance." He had made use of the talents lent to him: that was enough for him. Oh! let us all be ready, waiting for our call!

Golaz, of the French Mission to Senegambia, as well as his young wife, died within the year after their arrival: his farewell words were: "Do not be discouraged, if the first labourers fall in the field. *Their graves will mark the way for their successors*, who will march past them with great strides."

Pinkerton, of the American Mission in Zúluland, was ordered to lead a new Mission into Umzíla's Kingdom: he conveyed his wife and children to North America, and returned joyfully to his task. He met with many obstacles and rebuffs, but at length found himself well on the road. His last written lines were to

his wife: "The future will bring its needed light, and work, and solace. My thoughts turn sadly to you and our children. *All well. We go right on.*" It was to him, indeed, all well, for in a few days he breathed his last sigh alone in the African jungle: he had gone right on into Glory. On the other side of Africa, Bagster, of the same Mission, had been sent to found a Mission among the A-Mbandu: a few months before his death he had proposed to write on "The Missionary's Joys." In the last page of his Journal we find: "We hear His voice of cheer: Go "forward: one man of you shall chase ten thousand: the Lord "your God has promised you the good land, which He has "given to you: most joyous is the service of our King!"

Thomson, of the Baptist Mission in the Kamerún country (that famous Mission which during 1885–6 was uprooted and destroyed by the late German Emperor), a few weeks before his death in December, 1884, unconscious of the ruin, which was soon to come upon the scene of his labours, on his Chapels, and his Mission-Schools, wrote as follows: "I am sustained "and upheld amid many and heavy anxieties by the growing "conviction, that the dear Master is in His great condescension "using me here for the settlement of many difficulties; and "I look forward to the future with more hope than I have "known for years. I believe that the work here will soon assume "a better and brighter aspect, and my heart glows within me, "as by Faith I see the time. Oh for more and more of Grace "to cast all our burdens upon the Divine burden-bearer! Our "hope and trust are in Him alone!"

With such men (and these few are but types of many) Africa and the whole world can be conquered. Such deaths are great victories. Such words tell us, that some portion of us is immortal. These confessors saw the promises afar off, and were persuaded of them, confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims, and desiring a better country, that is a Heavenly.

Still, they were men with like weaknesses, and cravings for Love, as ourselves, and it is with heavy heart, that I read of the last moments of such servants of God, dying sometime without the solaces of Religion, with no fond breast to lean upon, with none of the ordinary necessities of civilized life, to sustain and comfort, and smooth the path to that bourne, which men call Death, but which indeed is the portal to everlasting life. The last Journal of Hannington (who was present, when I read this address in 1888) brings this point of view vividly before me. I can see that faithful Christian in the midst of his sad environment, oppressed with anxiety for the future of the work, to which he had consecrated himself, still sustained by the daily reading of, and meditation upon, the Book of Psalms. We find in these pages, so wonderfully preserved, no religious murmuring,

no cries for Vengeance, no appeal to the Arm of the Flesh. Still, as he lay tossing on his unsavoury heap of straw, before his feverish eyes, during those sad days and weary nights, no doubt rose the vision of the peaceful home, the pleasing duties, the loved companion, the little children, whom he had voluntarily left, obeying the call to serve his Master; and not in vain, for a still voice would whisper to him: "It is the Lord's will: "obedience is of the essence of true courage, and true Love. "The battles of the Heavenly King are fought in suffering as "well as doing, and in dishonour, in prison, and in a shameful "death, as truly as in the Mission Chapel, the Mission School, "and the centre of a Christian village."

The following were the dying words of a Missionary in 1800: his last words, uttered with great difficulty, were: "I—have—made—it—my—purpose—through—life—to—follow—CHRIST." At the age of 74 I may humbly express a wish to die with these words on my lips.

We seem at this period of the History of our Missionary Churches to be living over again the trials and persecutions of the early Christians in the second century. Do we not seem to hear the echo of the words of the Virgin-Saint, who at Arles in France was slowly let down feet-forward into a vessel of boiling oil, because she refused to deny her Master? "Jesus "Christ, help me! Praise be to Thee! Lord Jesus, grant me "patience! I suffer for Thy name's sake: *I suffer for a little "time only: I suffer of my own accord*: Jesus, let me never be "confounded! take me! take me!"

Time would fail me to tell of Schlenker, and Reichardt, and Schön; of Goldie and Edgerley; of Casáhis, Mabille, and Coillard, of James Stewart of Lovedale, and his namesake on the Nyása; of Grant and Wilson; of Ramseyer and Christaller; of Mackenzie, the Bishop, who died on the River Shiré; of Steere, the Bishop, who sealed up the Translation of the last chapter of Isaiah ready for the printer, and then fell asleep at Zanzibár; of Parker, the Bishop, wise and gentle, holy and self-restrained, who was called to his rest on the shores of Victoria Nyanza; of Hill, the Bishop, whom the Lord called to Himself on the day of his landing in Lagos to take up his duties; of dear Maples, the Bishop, who was drowned in Lake Nyása; of Mackay, who for ten years held the fort at U-Gánda, and died at his post; of Wakefield and New; of Stern and Mayer; of Southon, who died at U-Rambo; of Mullens, who could not hold himself back from the fight, and who sleeps in U-Sagára; of many a gentle woman's grave, for women have never been found wanting to share the honour and the danger of the Cross.

I have seen and known so many of them. A few weeks before we were holding sweet converse, and then the tidings of

the death of some one of them came floating back by letter or telegram. They had indeed all gone into a far country, and to me they seem to be all there still: and, when I am musing about Africa, or studying some point connected with that country, and I look up from my paper to my African library, the forms of departed friends seem to enter at the open door, and I seem to see their faces again, and to ask them their opinion. Young Rivière, a Jesuit priest, who had been turned out of Algeria, and taken refuge in North Wales, used to correspond with me about Africa. One day he called upon me in London, and told me, that he had received his orders to start at once to the Zambési Mission-field, to take the place of a dead colleague. He promised to write to me from Tété, and to clear up many questions for me; but he never reached his destination, for he sank under his first attack of fever at the mouth of the Zambési. Differing as I do from the Church of Rome in their Dogma and practice, and detail of their system, I can still recognize and thank God for the zeal, and love of souls, and total abnegation of self, which distinguish her Missionaries. Oh, when they are such, would that they were ours!

I often think of that famous scene in one of Walter Scott's romances, where the clansman and his seven sons all fell for their chieftain, stepping forth, one after the other, gladly into the gap, and crying, "One more for Eachim!" So it is with the reserve forces of Missionaries. "One more for Christ!" And how much better to have young lives and treasure spent by the Missions in trying to save African souls, than wasted by the British nation in slaughtering the unoffending and undaunted freemen of the Sudán, for the purpose of maintaining an imaginary prestige of having the strength of a giant without the Grace of knowing, how to use that strength as a Christian. I quote Bishop Westcott's words: "The clergy have their functions, but the bearing abroad of the Message of the Gospel belongs to the believer *as believer*, whether laity, or ordained." Wherefore, seeing that we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and press forward more and more upon our bounden duty and service to evangelize Africa. We owe this debt to those, who have gone before, that they should not have died in vain. The Missionary is indeed the most glorious outcome of the nineteenth century; the honest, God-fearing man in the darkest corner of the earth, where he is most wanted, to represent the highest type of Christian patience and Morality.

Oh! that we now had there
But one ten thousand of those men in England,
Who do no work to-day.

London, 1884–1895.

2. The Hero-Missionary, and Heroic Missionary Society.

Address to the Undergraduates of Cambridge.

> Quem virum, aut heroa, lyrâ, vel acri
> Tibiâ sumis celebrare, Clio?
>
> Horace: *Odes*, I, xii, 1.

As a lifelong observer of the Mission-field, I am not likely to undervalue the plodding, day by day, and year by year, of the simple-hearted Missionary, who, like Rebman and Krapf at Mombása in East Africa, and William Smith and Leupolt at Banáras, worked on from year to year, and only left the scene of their quiet labours, when failing powers compelled them to do so. Such uneventful lives do not strike the imagination so much, as that of the Hero-Missionary, whose career is short, but brilliant: it may seem unjust, but it is so always: the brave man, who leads the forlorn hope, or gains the Victoria Cross by risking his life, obtains a niche, and his career is an incentive to others; the faithful old soldier has nothing but the feeling of duty done to reward him, and the thought of him will not rouse others to deeds of valour.

My subject is the Hero-Missionary, and the Heroic Missionary Society. It is hard, that the man must die to be deemed a Hero, but so it has been at all times from the days of Achilles to our own times. Death throws a halo round the departed one. Some examples have been brighter in death than in life: it is another illustration of our Lord's remark about the corn of wheat, "If it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." I have selected three great Characters, Allen Gardiner, Coleridge Patteson, and John Williams, as types of the Hero-Missionary, and the Moravian Missionary Society, as the type of the Heroic Mission.

Life is such a tangled web, that it is only as he approaches the end of his career, that the worker can see the pattern of the web, at which he has been working all his days: he has had only one portion of the pattern exposed to his view, but he has been permitted to work at that faithfully and patiently, though it may be only a leaf or a flower, and he is able to do it truly, strongly, and firmly: but the Hero-Missionary seems in his youth, or in the early part of his career, to have grasped at some purpose unseen to all but himself: he wishes to accomplish something, which the world will not let die; and to some few this is granted. In others the one only life, which the

worker had to offer, is not sufficient: but the Master accepts the will for the deed, as young McCall said on his early death-bed, "If the Lord's will be to take myself, and not the work, which I would do for Him, His Holy will be done."

Ὃνς οἱ Θέοι φιλοῦσι, θνησκοῦσι νέοι.

Heroes, being men of marked character, are deemed by the general public to be eccentric: their very superiority prevents their being duly estimated. The circumstance of their death shakes weak Faith, but the true Christian through death to life sees clearly, how God of seeming evil works lasting good. To die for one's country is a great gain; to die for one's Saviour, to fill up what remains of His sufferings, is sweeter. Such was the life of Allen Gardiner: no doubt he was thought at the time to be an enthusiast, and crazed, and a bore; but the opinion is now changed. His story is simple: he was an officer of the Navy, who lost his young wife early: he thus went *per crucem ad lucem*, and thenceforth consecrated himself to the Missionary-Service heart and soul, and he kept his vow: to be a pioneer-Missionary to the most abandoned Heathen was the great object of his life. He was neither qualified for ordinary Missionary-work, nor would it have satisfied him to have reaped the harvest, which others had sowed: his was a harder and more thankless task, but none the less blessed.

He tried many countries, but could find no opening: his Missionary spirit, like a dove let loose from the ark, wandered about seeking a place of rest: at length he definitely chose South America as his field: he was prevented by the Roman Catholic Priests from settling among the wild tribes on the Continent: he found at length a spot, where even the Spanish Priests would not care to follow him, at the most Southerly point of the island, separated from the Mainland by the Straits of Magellan, within a short distance of the Antarctic Circle, the island of Tierra del Fuego.

The possibilities of the Human family are not to be found in one single race, or at one particular Epoch, or in one Region of the world. Grace is sufficient for them all, and the Missionary, who brings captive to the feet of his Master the poor Eskimo, the half-brutal Fuegian, the Cannibal of Melanesia, or the short, stunted races of Australia, glorifies his Saviour by showing, that the Gospel-Message was designed for all, can be understood by all, that Christ died for all, and that there is no other way of Salvation, but through Him. The Message is so Divine, and yet so clothed in universal Humanity, that it finds its way to the Spiritual necessities of all, and satisfies the heart's cravings. The Student of Missionary chronicles has added this new

weapon to the armoury of the Theologian. Darwin, one of the gentlest and wisest of Philosophers (though he, that is least in the Kingdom of Heaven, is greater than him), when he saw the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, declared, that their mental improvement was beyond the efforts of man: but he lived to replace that hasty opinion by the following: "The lesson of the Missionary is the enchanter's wand."

Both Nature and Man were against Gardiner. The climate rendered the country most dreary and inhospitable: the sky rarely cleared; rainy squalls in summer alternated with the snow and sleet of winter: the winds were furious. The people belonged to the Patagonian race, of a dark colour, with long black hair; they had low foreheads, flat and thick noses, scanty clothing, wretched habitations, and they were arrant thieves, cruel, and, when brought to bay, furious wild beasts: the women possessed some traces of gentleness, but were treated as slaves. Gardiner's first attempt to land and house himself on Land was a failure: the conduct of the natives was such, that he had to retreat, and return to England. Nothing daunted, he determined to have a floating home, and to keep his provisions at the Falkland Islands. He could not collect sufficient funds to buy a suitable ship, so he supplied himself with two decked boats: two catechists and three pious seamen accompanied him. The Ocean-Queen Steamer deposited the boats and men with provisions for six months at Banner Bay in Terra del Fuego: they had given up all the ties of home for Christ's sake, but they were called upon to make a greater Sacrifice, even of their lives, and none of them were ever seen alive again. It reconciles us to our common Humanity, that men are always found, when the cause of Christ requires it, to face the greatest danger at His bidding. These men all died of starvation, Allen Gardiner being the last survivor. When, months later, the frigate, sent out to make inquiries, arrived, their dead bodies were found, and their Journals and letters: one by one they had died, but there was no despair, no imputation of blame to others: "Poor, "weak though we are, our abode is a very Bethel to our Souls, "for we feel and know, that God is here. Asleep or awake, "I am happy beyond the power of expression."

Allen Gardiner penned a farewell letter, expressing his unclouded joy in the Lord, his perfect resignation to His Holy Will, but earnestly imploring, that the Mission should not be abandoned, and sketching out a plan for future operations, which was acted upon. In his death he anticipated the coming of his Master's Kingdom. He rejoiced to see the day-dawn of the Gospel: he saw it, and was glad.

His last words were: "Great and marvellous are the loving-"kindnesses of my gracious God unto me. He has preserved

" me hitherto, and for four days, although without bodily food, " without any feeling of hunger or thirst!"

Here the Journal ends: but one letter was dated a day later: " Yet a little while, and through Grace we may join that blessed " throng, to sing the praises of Christ to all eternity. I neither " hunger nor thirst, though five days without food: marvellous " loving-kindness to me, a sinner!"

I remember the news of this sad tragedy reaching India in 1852, and many a sigh was wafted from India to the South Pole. His life was not given in vain: the Pioneer's work was done: and the Lone-Star-Mission was established, which has worked Northwards into the mainland of South America, and is now spreading itself among the Heathen of Paraguay. Bread cast on the waters is found after many days.

Humanly speaking, but for Allen Gardiner's determination, and the interest excited by the sad end of himself, and his noble companions, this footing would never have been made good. When Nations and Tongues are assembled before the great White Throne, Allen Gardiner will be there with his savages: "Lord! behold, with the talent, which Thou gavest me, I have gathered these poor sheep into Thy fold!"

Differing in everything, in methods, in gifts, in training, in result, but with the same spirit, that of lowly and entire self-Sacrifice, was the career of Coleridge Patteson, Bishop of the Islands of Melanesia, which lie 120° to the West, and in a more Northern latitude. I knew Patteson as a boy at Eton, and he had the advantage of a University-Education, and I well remember Bishop Selwyn the elder going out as Bishop of New Zealand. He also was of the Hero-type, strong, brave, wise, and determined: he had established the Mission in the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands, and he chose Coleridge Patteson to be his coadjutor, and his successor: there is something sad and solemn in the details of the selection of the lad by the Bishop, and the surrender of him by the parents: the mother, like Hannah, consecrated her son to the Lord, and the grand old Father made the great Sacrifice of his eldest boy, for he never saw his face again. How foolish, and even wicked, seem the efforts of parents to retain their children, when the Lord has unmistakably chosen and called them, and when they are fitted for the office! Every act of this beautiful life stands out in the pages of his biography: whether in his solitary ship-cabin, or lonely hut, he was a great writer of letters, and they tell us unconsciously of his exalted character. He had no settled home, but he had a settled plan, devised by Bishop Selwyn, and worked out by himself. He had to deal with a black, woolly-haired Negrito race, savage, inhospitable, cannibal, not so low down in the scale of humanity as the

natives of Tierra del Fuego, for they possessed some arts, and they spoke numerous distinct languages. The Training School on Norfolk island, the Mission-Ship taking up, and putting down, lads at the different islands, thus accustoming the people to his presence, acquiring a knowledge of their languages, and creating a confidence in his kindness: these were his methods. As his blessed ship passed from island to island, it left a track of light, of mercy, and loving-kindness, and his plans seem to be realizing. We read in his Journal: "I think of the "islands, and see them in my dreams, and it seems, as if nothing "had been done; but when I think of what they were a very "short time ago, oh! I do feel thankful indeed, and amazed, "and almost fearful."

He was so far more blessed than Allen Gardiner, for he saw some fruits of his labours and brighter prospects of more fruit: the harvest was ripening: labourers, both European and Native, were gathering round him: the time for putting in the sickle was at hand. "Hundreds of people crowded together, naked, "armed, with uncouth cries and gestures. I cannot talk to "them but by signs: *but they are my children now*. May God "enable me to do my duty by them!"

The great Controller of the lives of men had provided him fellow-labourers from an unexpected quarter: lads, whom he found on Norfolk island, descendants of the Mutineers of the "Bounty," who, having married native women of Tahiti, left to their offspring a legacy of the blood of Europe and Oceania united in their veins in a mixed stream; these lads were endowed with singular sweetness of character, and ardent Faith. Two were killed by poisoned arrows during the lifetime of the Bishop: one died with him. It is well known, that the Bishop was killed at the island of Nikapu: I need not tell the sad story: he died for the sins of others, so closely did he tread in the steps of his Master: a boat floated out containing his body with a palm-branch laid upon the five wounds: and at the age of 46 his warfare was accomplished, his Hero-life was ended. The poor lad, however, lingered a few days in intense agony under his wounds, and made the following remarks, when he saw his leader's body, showing the Spirit, which had been imparted to him by his contact with a Hero: "Seeing people "taken away, when we think, that they are most necessary "to do God's work on earth, makes me think, that we often "think, and talk too much about Christian work: *what God* "*requires is Christian men. He does not need the work*: He only "gives it to form a perfect character of the men, whom He "sends to do it. It is all right now. Do not grieve about "it, because they did not do this thing of themselves, *for God* "*allowed them to do it*. It is very good, because God would have

" it so, because He looks after us, and He understands about us " and now He wills to take away us two (me and the Bishop) " and it is well."

The poor lad's knowledge of the world was limited to Pitcairn island and Norfolk island. His Faith had not been weakened in the schools of learning. The Bishop had by his own Herolife brought Christ home vividly to his imagination, and in his simple eloquence, with dying lips, the poor lad sought to palliate the offences of the ignorant savages, who had killed him in revenge for the wrongs, which they had suffered at the hands of others, and to *justify the ways of God to Man*. Who can say, that Coleridge Patteson lived and died in vain? If you seek his monument, read the annals of the ever-expanding Melanesian Mission, spreading from tribe to tribe, and from island to island.

John Williams belonged to an earlier generation. He had accomplished his course, while Patteson was an Eton boy, before Allen Gardiner had conceived his great idea. He was indeed an *ἀνὴρ ἀνέρων*, and seems to have been specially brought upon the scene by a wise Providence at a moment, when his peculiar gifts were required. Oh! if we could only understand, and be satisfied, that we are all of us but pots in the hands of the Potter, made suitable for the work, which is laid upon us! Williams' education, intellectually and even religiously, had been very defective: the hour of his call came at the appointed time: as he was going to a tavern to meet worldly companions, he was overtaken by a woman of his acquaintance in the streets, who persuaded him to accompany her to a place of Worship, and this chance event was the commencement of his great change of life: he had energy of character, strength of Faith, ardent desire to preach the Gospel, and a wonderful power of conciliation: he could, moreover, turn his hand to anything in the smithy, or carpenter's shop; he proved his capacity to build a seaworthy vessel; he could saw timber or teach in a school: his object was to rouse the people to the duty of introducing new arts, and reasonable requirements. Such was the man, who was sent out to preach the Gospel in the island of Tahiti in 1816; early in his career he wrote to his mother, that he prayed, that he might be faithful unto death, and his prayer was heard, for it was so; he had a heart too large to wish to keep the duty of evangelizing the vast Region of Oceania to one Denomination of Christians; he invited all the Churches of Protestant Christianity to take their part in the holy Crusade.

Early in his career he conceived the idea of evangelizing the whole Region, and he lived to see great progress in carrying it out. His plans were bold and original, but always practical, and *which would work*. There was nothing in him Utopian,

sentimental, or illusory, and success crowned all his endeavours, though he did not live to see it, and half a century's experience has confirmed the justice of his views. He could not rest satisfied with the tiny populations of Raiatea, and Rarotonga (of which island he was the first discoverer : the fervour of his spirit led him to desire, in spite of the inadequacy of his means, to go on from island to island, and plant a living Christianity; for he formed and carried out the bold conception of training converted Heathen to become Teachers and Evangelists in other Heathen islands, a truly Divine method, and blessed beyond his utmost dreams. It seems almost fabulous, if subsequent years had not proved the reality. He came, he saw, he conquered: like a giant he strode over leagues of sea, and anticipated difficulties seemed to vanish before him.

There were no Steamers then, and few sailing-vessels; but he built his own, the "Messenger of Peace," and he dauntlessly navigated the vast realm of Oceania, dotted with many hundred isles; in the last year of his life his exertions in England enabled him to provide a better and larger vessel, and the Steam-Missionary Ship has long superseded his slow means of progress. After his return from England in 1838, he made his first attempt to evangelize the black races in the New Hebrides; he landed with success in 1839 on the islands of Fútuna and Tanna: on the island of Erromanga he was killed and devoured by those, whom he came to save and bless. His last words in his Journal before he started on this fatal voyage were: "None of these "things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so "that I finish my course with joy, and the Message, which I "have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of His "Grace." The last sentence written by him on the preceding evening was: "This is a memorable day." And almost his last words: "Oh, how much depends upon to-morrow!"

The darkness, which for a time shrowded Erromanga, was like the darkness before day, the preceder of an exceeding light, which has overshadowed the New Hebrides. The man, who murdered him, was converted, and two sons of this man became leading Teachers in the Mission-School, which was erected close to the spot, where he had fallen half a century before.

John Williams had been unwilling to build on another's foundation, for he was a pioneer, and the settled desire of his Soul was to preach the Gospel in Regions beyond, and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to his hand; but he paved the way for others. It is a wonder, that he had been spared so long from fever, shipwreck, the poisoned arrow, or accident by land and water: for twenty-three years, he had been permitted to carry on his work, his blessed work, the beginning and continuation and ending of

which had been predestinated at his birth: if he died at the age of forty-three, he had accomplished a work left undone since the beginning of time, the linking of these scattered islands together in one blessed chain. Love to his Saviour, and Souls of men, Faith in the veracity of the Divine Promise as to the universal diffusion of the Gospel, conviction, that the Gospel was suited to and intended for the wants of the most debased of mankind, and the only cure of Human ills: these were the great principles of this Hero-Missionary.

John Williams is described as having no personal interests apart from his people. A Missionary, who is unable to identify himself with the people, among whom he labours, cannot under any circumstances be an efficient labourer, and, if he has any other object in view but this to identify himself, he has mistaken his vocation. To be the bearer of every man's sorrow, the comforter of every man's grief, the strengthener of every man's weaknesses: to do this, and to do it until death: it has been rightly said that this is the object and duty of a Missionary. A man, who never allows himself to forget, that the people are not his equals *according to his European notions*, though in the sight of God they are in very deed his equals, and some in very deed his superiors in knowledge of Christ for the saving of Souls; who cannot overlook the fact, that they are rude, noisy, naked, and in some outward matters even offensive; who cannot admit them at all times into his own simple habitation, but treats them, as if they were servants, and confines his intercourse with them to the hours of his public duty: such a man is destitute of the one great qualification of a Hero-Missionary: such a man will not bring Souls to Christ; his name will not sound stirring in the legends of the converted tribe; he will not be hailed as a Father, on his return, and wept for, as a Father, when he dies: the mention of his name will not stay the attacks of wild Heathen tribes, as it is reported in the Biography of John Williams, that they spared a village *for his sake*.

The Hero-Missionary, with his supernaturally enlarged and enlightened powers of vision, looks over the barriers, which limit the power of the less gifted. He admits indeed, that segregation from the civilized world, want of opportunity, a different climate, a difference of race, an absence of culture, have made men different, but not necessarily inferior: he recognizes the innate weaknesses of the genus *Homo*, which, if uncontrolled, turn men into devils, and the germs of innate goodness, which exist in all, and which, if developed by the touch of the Holy Spirit, can transform some, whether their skins be white, black, brown, yellow, or red, into Angels. It has shocked me to hear how depreciatingly some Missionaries speak even of their own flocks. As regards the people of North

India, I can certify, that they are good and lovable; and in my old age I have learnt to love, and esteem, and honour, men of pure Negro race, who appear in some matters to be even of a higher type than my own countrymen. No doubt Paul was of the highest type of gentleman, and scholar, of his period; yet we find in his writings no assertion of a superiority over his converts, some of whom were slaves, and yet dear brothers; we find in him, though a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and a Roman citizen, no assertion of Caste over the Galatians; he came in contact with all, men of Europe, Asia, and Africa, Jew, and Greek, and Roman, bondmen and free, but none were to him common and unclean. Alas! how far below this standard many of our Missionaries fall!

I now pass to the Heroic Missionary Society. I take as my type "the Moravian, or the Church of the United Brethren"; for the Church and Society are identical. It was the offspring of a bitter persecution by the Roman Catholics in Moravia: a small remnant fled across the boundary of Austria, into Lusatia, and settled on the estate of Count Zinzendorf, and founded their city of Herrnhút. I have visited it, sat in the Council-room, conferred with the leaders of the community, visited their widows, and worn-out Missionaries, in their humble homes, and knelt in their great Friedhof: they were first in the Protestant Mission-field, they are one of the few Associations, that have obtained a footing in every one of the four portions of the non-Christian world; and they deliberately chose the most debased and degraded tribes as the objects of their love, because such as they seemed to need the Gospel most: their agents in Truth wore the garb of Poverty, and were poor in Spirit also: in the countries, where they worked among Slaves, they were ready to become Slaves also, even as our Lord took upon Himself the form of a Slave, "*μορφὴν δούλου λάβων*." With the poor Hottentot they were not ashamed to suffer hardship and persecution, and to maintain, that these poor outcasts had Souls, for which Christ had died. With the Eskimo they lived as brethren, and won them to themselves, content with the poorest and most unsavoury fare, labouring with their own hands, trying not to be a burden to their Church, which was so poor, that it has still to be sustained by the alms of other Denominations, for they were doing work, which no other Society could do: they literally went about as the disciples of Jesus, without scrip or change of garment, and their examples of self-denial won the hearts of their people: in these last days they have opened an asylum for lepers at Jerusalem. Their doctrines were as simple as their practice, "Nothing but Christ crucified": they had a courage, which no danger could daunt, and a Love, which no harsh treatment could efface: who ever heard of a Moravian

appealing to public meetings, or a public Press, or getting up deputations to the Foreign Office of a European Government, to organize armed relief-expeditions, or avenge their slaughtered brethren? They took death, and the spoiling of their goods, joyfully: they had a quiet constancy, which no hardship could exhaust: there were, and are, no Exeter-Halls to trumpet their names, and no Periodicals to puff them up with conventional praise: in their Church there are no rich men to subscribe annual thousands, and yet they have left a mark on the world, which no time can efface. Their types were: singleness of purpose, simplicity of bearing, self-consecration, and contentment with a little. If I wished to praise a Missionary, I should say, that he is worthy of being a Moravian. Many Societies have done well, but this has excelled them all, for it has most nearly approached to the ideal Church, formed after the pattern of the Founder: first and foremost in the great battlefield, yet seeking the last and lowest among the ranks of men: "I was a stranger, and ye took me in: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me." The blessings of those ready to perish have accompanied, and still accompany, the gentle footfall of the Moravian brethren, as they tread the soil of distant and inhospitable climes, unknown, unpraised, but not unrewarded.

The mode of conducting Missions must be heroic also. We have but one life to keep, or lose: how can we spend it in the best way? If Souls are to be won to Christ, it must be by men, or women, whose Souls are overflowing with Love to Christ. I ask not for ascetics, or celibates under vows, or adopters of the native dress, or the turner of the formal prayer-wheel, or the daily celebrant, but such an expression of character on the countenance, such a mode of utterance, such a voice, thoughts that move, words that burn, as display earnestness, and that the Soul of the Missionary is on fire. All Human talents are only so far profitably employed, as they are used to save Souls; all Human knowledge is of no avail, unless it conduces directly or indirectly to the extension of our Master's Kingdom: the simple Gospel outweighs it all, so simple that all can understand, so profound, that no one can get beyond it. The great Heroes, of whom I have spoken, and the great Missionary band of Moravian Heroes, differed from each other essentially, but they have formed the same conception of Christ, *and of their duty*: they looked over the Human fences of Churches, and saw the awful vision of the face of Christ only: they had a burning desire to carry His Message face to face, mouth to mouth, in its naked simplicity: they thought nothing of highly decorated chapels, and Altar-cloths, stoles, music, painted glass, and architecture: they took the living Word to

dying Souls, teaching the poor Heathen to live decent, Holy lives in this transitory world, and through Faith to inherit eternal life hereafter. There was no necessity for hair-shirts or flagellations, for long ceremonies or retreats: theirs was the daily round of Holy duty, whether steering the Mission-Ship, building the Mission-School, or preaching the Mission-Sermon, until the very hour that they are called away, which is the best proof, that their allotted task was done. I would have you realize the dignity, the greatness of the office: it is not a romantic, or sentimental, employment, such as discoursing with Brahmans under a tree, or gathering sweet little children in a School: there is much that is distasteful, and humbling, and sometimes a feeling of despair.

I quote the following from the Chronicle of the London Missionary Society to evidence, that I am not alone in my sentiments as to the qualification of a Missionary: "Thus they "live and work for God and for man, and grow grey in the "Service of both: and at the call of the *Divine Master* they rest "from their labours, *and find a grave in the midst of the scenes "and results of their life's varied toil.* But, though the body "sleeps with the Christian's sleep, they live *still in their works.* "Ignorance or prejudice may write, 'Only a Missionary' upon "the simple stone, which marks the burial-place, but, as of Sir "Christopher Wren in St. Paul's Cathedral, so in some island-"gem of the Ocean, arrayed in a higher than natural beauty "through their presence and labours, a truthful and worthy "inscription will be, 'If you seek a monument, *look around.*' "In ten thousand forms their life shows itself, and will con-"tinue to do so: in the physical aspect of the people, in the "birth-rate and death-rate, in dress, houses, public buildings, "domestic life, employments, Education and literature, Law "and social order, peace between rival factions and tribes, "commercial intercourse with other Nations, interest in, and "acquaintance with, the History and proceedings of people of "distant lands; but, above all, in character and life, in Religion "and Worship, in Christian effort and liberality, in the Christian "tone pervading the whole community, in Jesus Christ received "and followed as the guide of life, and in trust in Him as the "hope in death. Truly the life of such Christian messengers is "one full of immortality. They are among the blessed ones "who, 'turning many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars "for ever and ever.'"

The Hero must not be cast down, must not be diverted from his purpose, must not change his ground. We can admire the perseverance of a bad man in a bad cause; how much more of a good man in a good cause! Though for long years they may have toiled and done nothing, yet at His word they again cast

down their nets. The famous Las Casas had a fixed purpose to protect the poor Natives of America, and he is reported to have done something every day of his life to advance the one great idea, which dominated his existence. Hudson Taylor has put it well: "Go in glad obedience: in fullest confidence, without anxiety, to do a definite work." Such is the high type, such the practice of those Hero-Missionaries, whom I have noticed. They verily knew how to die daily: as servants of the Most High they did not strive, or cry, or murmur, or appeal to the Arm of the Flesh, but suffered even as their great Example had suffered also.

Does the modern Missionary, as a class, rise to this high level? I speak not of one Nation, or one Society, or one Denomination. I have been a close observer of the Missionary in his goings-out and comings-in for half a century, seen them in their fields of work, read their reports in many Languages, visited Training Colleges, and sat in many committee-rooms. I think that there is a falling-off from the Heroic type, and a tendency on their part to make themselves too comfortable, somehow or other to connect the office of Missionary with the opportunity of early marriage, to take the matter too lightly. It is not pretended, that Missionaries must not take proper care of their lives, and protect themselves from the climate: they are bound to do so, and the Missionary Societies are bound to provide them with the means for doing so. Nothing would be more wrong than to fall into the errors of a certain well-known American Mission, where nothing is provided, where the Missionary is supposed to support himself by his labours, and in consequence grows weak and ill on a Native diet unsuited to his European constitution, and in a Native hut. This is a wanton trifling with valuable lives. But it is the tendency of our age to be soft and effeminate and luxurious in everything; there is a general softening of that fibre, on which strength of character, self-denial, and consecration, depend. Young men desire an income, a wife, and a home: they are not very ambitious, not very earnest: they rather shun the hard lives on the track of secular employment, on which they and their contemporaries have started: they covet the improved social position. How much we have fallen from the standard of our countrymen, Columba of Iona, Columbánus, Aidan of Lindisfarne, Gall, Boniface of Exeter! How wide is the difference of the easy-going Missionary of our generation from the type, that has come down to us of the early Christians! Paul gave up all these things for the glory of God, and for the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom. It is time, that severer, loftier, more heroic, sentiments should be pressed home. It seems a shame to make the comparison, but it must be made. No young

Military officer, or Civilian, or Merchant, of the age of 25, whose lot was cast in a foreign country, would burden himself with a family: some might like to do so, but their circumstances forbid it. The outer world, and the Roman Catholic Press, scoff at this conspicuous phase of Protestant Missionary life, which terribly impedes the Lord's work, and entails a vast waste of the alms of the Churches collected to evangelize the Heathen. There may come a time in a Missionary's life, when a helpmate may be of advantage to the work of the Mission, but not in his tender years, when he should be out among his people, prepared for long journeys, and transfers to distant localities. Paul has not been silent in word and example on this subject. Then, again, the English Training is not such as to make a young man prepared to bear hardship. I have visited the Training Colleges of Germany, and they contrast favourably. I found on enquiry that such a thing as an engagement to be married is not permitted. The student there works in the garden and the carpenter's shop, does menial services in the House, and yet is a Hebraist and a Grecian. Such employments sharpen the Intellect, and rouse latent powers. John Williams owed much of his influence to his skill as a blacksmith. Bishop Selwyn the Elder could not have done what he did do, had he not been an expert manager of a ship, and a man fertile in resource.

Let me look at the subject from another point of view. How much do we read in Missionary letters and reports of their families, birth of children, death of children, illness of wife, and domestic cares, while the reader is anxious to know, how the Gospel-warfare goes on, what progress has been made. Only imagine the public dispatch of a General or Governor, in which such details were even alluded to! In private letters to friends such things might be noticed, but not in the documents sent home to be placed before the committee. Nothing strikes a committee-man more than the preponderate proportion of the correspondence, which is occupied with notices of the wives and children of Missionaries, as if the committee were a Board of Guardians of the Poor, the Executive of a Matrimonial Company, the Trustees of an Orphan Home, and not the Directors of a great Association to carry the Gospel to the Heathen. How often a Missionary comes home in full health and vigour, leaving for a time, or for ever, a field of work, for which he is suited, and in which, after some years of pupilage, he has learned to be useful, because his wife is ill! Would the General commanding an expedition, or the Governor of a Province, have done so? How often the Indian Official, or soldier, has to ship off a sick wife, and cannot accompany her, and is doomed never to see her again! We have not far to look to find out what

Paul would have said, and what our Lord did say (Mark, x, 29). Even in the life of John Williams we find mention of the illness of his wife brought much too prominently forward: he was always anticipating the necessity of an early return to England for her sake; but he clung on for 18 years, and she arrived home in excellent health, and outlived him some years. It is against this exaggeration of human affections, that the servant of Christ should struggle valiantly and prayerfully. We require a higher scale of entire consecration, a more dauntless and unreserved surrender of life and its joys.

"Take my life, and let it be
Consecrated, Lord, to Thee."

The glamour of public meetings, and the indiscriminating clamour of Missionary Periodicals, teeming with misplaced, euphemistic, and exaggerated, praise, is enough to destroy the spiritual state of any but the stoutest-hearted Missionary: what wonder, if he becomes puffed up, and thinks himself somebody, and that he has made a great Sacrifice in going to Persia, India, or China, forgetting how much his worldly prospects and social position have been advanced, how well he and his children are looked after, how different in most cases would have been his circumstances, had he followed the profession or trade of his parents and brothers. There are giants amidst the body of Missionaries, for whom nothing is too good, for they would in secular professions have risen to distinction and wealth, but to a very large proportion this would not have happened. The praise of the good, self-denying, consecrated, Missionary is in the heart of all, who care for such things, and many, unknown to him personally, talk lovingly of him, when he is absent, and sadly, when he is dead; but the great Missionary is thinking always of his own infirmity, of how much he has left undone, and how much he could have done better, and rejoicing, that it is given to him to spend and be spent. There is in modern times a far wider spread of Missionary Spirit than in past years, but it is not so deep: it has become a fashion, not a revelation in the mind: a social tendency, not a personal call: a *Profession of a gentleman or a lady*, not the *Consecration of a Christian.* It is a strange feature in modern Missionary Reports to find the word "gentleman" sometimes, and "lady" so often: they are not New Testament words. Our Lord called his Mother "Woman," and Paul spoke of his female associates as "Women."

We find no idle calls on the part of the Heroic Missionary Society, or the survivors and relatives of Hero-Missionaries, for vengeance on the murderers of the slain: this is one of the features of the gradual degeneracy of the age, and the over-

weening self-assertion of a certain section of the British Middle Classes. It is well to have a Giant's strength, but it is not well to use it as a bully. Nothing would have been easier than to have swept the Islands of Rarotonga and Nukapu from sea to sea clean of all their inhabitants, to revenge the deaths of Williams and Patteson; but the Missionary Societies protested against the very notion of retaliation, nor would the British responsible Authorities have tolerated it. The relations of the deceased did not gather excited meetings in British towns, and pass Resolutions, as in later cases, to petition the Government to send expeditions of rescue or intimidation. Such weakness of Faith, such want of sound judgment, such inexcusable misunderstanding of the duty of a Christian man, were reserved to a later age. On the Platform the Missionary proudly, yet humbly, professes, that he carries his life in his hand, ready to live, God willing, and ready to die: if this were not the case, how low the British Missionary would rank after the Swede, the Norwegian, and the Swiss, who have no ships to send, and whose countrymen still are ready to give up their lives, and fill up all that remains of the sufferings of Christ. If a Missionary has not stomach for such warfare, he had better retire into the safe refuge of a London Curacy, or a Lancashire Manufactory, or the secular vocations of his parents and relations, where he will find Heathen to minister to, without risk to his life, or causing alarm to his over anxious relations and the members and secretaries of his committee.

The Home-Missionary remembers, that his service is a life-service, and the pastime of youth, nor the employment of manhood, until a good piece of preferment, and a pleasant home, are provided for him in his native country. Nothing is so disheartening as to see so many instances of this forgetfulness of that first love, and of the words of our Lord (Luke, ix. 62), "No man, having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God." There should be no discharge in this warfare save death, or certificated ill-health of the Missionary himself, not of his wife and his children. It is a matter of congratulation, that we have aged Bishops content to occupy their posts until Death, that we have aged Missionaries, who have not preferred the ties of blood, or the claims of family, to the work, which has been the desire of their youth, the joy of their manhood, and the solace of their old age. Great men desire, when their time comes, to die like warriors on the field of battle, and to be buried under the shadow of the Chapel, which their own hands erected amidst the flock, which their own words had brought to God. "Here am I, Lord, and the children, whom Thou hast given me." It was well said by Bishop Steere, that his death at his post may do much more than his life, and he

practised what he preached, and is buried behind the Communion-table of the Cathedral, which he had himself constructed.

The Hero-Missionary is tender in heart, gentle in words, slow to anger, and easily pacified. He is not insensible of the heinousness of sin, but his heart melts in pity towards the sinner. He does not strike with his hand or stick the bodies of the poor Natives, whose Souls he has come out to try to save; he does not usurp an authority over them, because his face is white, and he is one of a strong Nation, as he remembers, that he is their minister, the servant of servants, as was his Master, who washed the feet of His disciples; he does not tie them up to trees to be flogged, and kept in durance for whole nights, but he attaches them to himself by the silken cords of Love. They came among these poor children of Nature, not to be ministered unto, but to minister.

He may be the son of a noble in his own country, and he is not puffed up, or he may be the son of a country-shopkeeper, and he is not abashed, nor does he strive in his new profession to be conventionally treated as a gentleman, for in his humility he takes in either case the standpoint of being a Christian, occupying the same position, that was occupied by Paul the great scholar and Roman citizen, and by Peter the humble fisherman of Galilee: he seeks not high places, nor great companions, nor first-class-accommodation in Steamers or Railways: he is economic of the funds of the Society, which is his nursing mother; he is not always calling out for grants for his wife, or his children: he does not desire to dwell in a comfortable house, for he minds not high things, and is content with men of low estate: his door is ever open to the people, whom he came to win to Christ: his attire is simple, and he seeks not the company of men of this world, though indirectly the type of the Holy, upright man, which he presents to their eyes, has a reflex blessing on their Souls: though silent, his life is a Sermon to them. He acts up to the ideal of the Christian soldier, which he had conceived in his youth, when the message came to him, when the Holy Spirit overshadowed him: to be brave and strong, yet loving and tender; full of Holy ardour yet self-controlled, and free from spurious excitement; firm in convictions, yet tolerant; firm of purpose, yet merciful and considerate; meek and lowly, yet proud of his calling; fearing God, and fearing no one else.

My friends, you must be thoroughly equipped for the combat with something more than the surface teaching of the ordinary Theological College. One of my fellow-students, fifty-five years ago, at the East India College, was a Jew, a believing Jew and a clever Jew, and he took the highest marks in Paley's "Evidences of Christianity." I asked him, whether he were not entirely con-

vinced, and he replied, that it had not the least effect upon him. Such must often be the teaching of the ordinary Missionary to a Hindu, a Buddhist, a Mahometan, and to a certain degree to the Pagan. It is always easy to speak with contempt of the Indian Fakír, smeared with ashes, and sneer at the prayer-wheel of the Buddhist (something very like which in kind is found in many a Christian Church), and point out the blots in the Mahometan scheme of Salvation: it seems easy to show up the utter abomination of Human Sacrifices; but the Missionary will find that behind these exoteric symbols there is a radical misconception of the problem of Human Nature in the minds of the professors of a false Religion, and behind the poor ignorant devotee he will find men with minds much more subtle than his own, gifted with a power of argument far exceeding his own, appealing to authorities, of which the Missionary is ignorant, and the uninterrupted practice of centuries. The idol is something more to the believer than a bit of wood and stone: the believers are not men of the nineteenth century, and with the impress of European training. To Miracles and prophecies quoted by the Missionary the Teachers and believers of a different Religious conception will quote prophecies and Miracles of their own: to the words of the Bible, and the claim of Revelation, they will oppose the words of their own sacred books, and claim equal supernatural authority: the sequence of historical events, and the facts of Geography, are unknown to them: it becomes at last a struggle for life upon the first principles of Human existence, and the contest must take place upon an arena, of which the poor Theological student of England never dreamt, behind the Altar, out of sight of the Church, in scorn of the Bible, or any Christian authority, and nothing but the outpouring of the Holy Spirit can bring the unbeliever to see, and know, and bow to, the Truth. The Hindu in his prolific Literature works out his great metaphysical question, "What am I? whence came I? whither do I go?"

Ποῦ γενόμαι; πόθεν εἶμι; τίνος χάριν ἦλθον, ἀπῆλθον;

And it ends in Nothingness: his successor the Buddhist makes this Nothingness the object, aim, and the end, of existence: the Mahometan boldly quotes the Old and New Testaments to fashion a system, which can never respond to the yearnings of the Human heart, or satisfy its aspirations: the poor Pagan in his blindness is so far ahead of the modern educated Atheist, that he feels and admits the presence of the Deity and His omnipotence, and tries to appease Him by Sacrifices; with him it is not the cultivation, but the creation of Faith, that has to be undertaken: he is ready, however, to listen to something better,

and welcomes the Teacher, who comes with a semblance of greater knowledge of the great Unknown. We read how, when the first Missionary arrived from Rome in Northumbria, and a Council was summoned to discuss how he should be received, a wise old chieftain remarked, that the life of man seemed to them, in their Heathen ignorance, like the flight of a bird out of the dark winter outside into the warm and lighted chamber, and then out at a window into another world of dark winter at the opposite side; the passage of a moment from a long Unknown Past into a long and Unknown Future: the contemplation of this was crushing; and, if the stranger from Rome could tell them something a little more certain, he should be welcomed. Such is the Spirit, with which a Teacher is welcomed in many a Pagan Community. But is the ordinary Missionary equal to this occasion? Bred in an atmosphere permeated by Darwinism, Pantheism, and Atheism, or in a Church, where more value is placed on the Human surroundings, the Ritual and the externals, than the Eternal Truth, can it be hoped, that he will mount up to the level of the Religion of Religions, the object and aim of Human existence, and with the Bible in his hand and in his heart, and nothing else, grapple with the Hindu, Buddhist, Mahometan, or Pagan, on the common ground of Right and Wrong, Truth and Falsehood, Judgment and Mercy, Sin and Repentance, Pardon and Peace, opening out new worlds of thought to his astonished hearers? The Hero-Missionary can do this. He illustrates his principles, and his doctrines, in his Christlike life and words, and challenges his hearers to show him a better way than the way of self-Sacrifice, self-control, and self-consecration, to produce a higher conception than that of the Fatherhood of God, of Faith in a Redeemer, of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, leading poor weak men to personal Holiness.

There are plenty of men, who will volunteer to go out, and dwell a season amidst the polished Persian, the civilized Arabized races, the Indian, who, with all his faults, is gentle and reasonable, the intelligent Chinese, and the progressive Japanese. They represent Nations on the highest rounds of the ladder of Civilization, our superiors in many Arts and Graces, with their monuments of literature, and Architecture, and their time-honoured customs: they have centuries ago got beyond the epoch of Human Sacrifice, or Cannibalism; they have had in their midst great Sages, who felt after God, if haply they could find Him, men standing on the same platform as Socrates, and Plato, and Pythagoras. There is very little discomfort in such service, and no danger: mere worldlings dwell among such races for the purpose of Commerce, and the service of the State. We do not wish to undervalue such services, for such were the

Missionary operations of Paul among the Greeks and Romans. The process of sapping and mining in some countries has long been going on. Education has brought with it a contempt for Idolatry, but Civilization has brought with it a contempt for all Religions, and a disbelief in the Supernatural, a doubt as to the reality of a Future State, and fantastical notions not authorized by the Bible.

But this is not the higher order of service: it does not mean the same self-Sacrifice; it does not approach so near the services rendered to Man by our Saviour: our Lord abased Himself, when He took the form of a Slave, and became Man for our redemption. He thought it not vile to dwell in the tents of men, and associate with the poor erring children of men. Patteson and John Williams, and the whole army of Moravian Missionaries, learnt to look over the wall of partition, that separates race from race, and to call no one common and unclean: there have been Missionaries, who have had the fortitude given to them to go in, and dwell among lepers, and have succumbed to the disease themselves: there are those, who have found a Grace vouchsafed to them to dwell among the poor, dirty, savage outcasts of the Human family, to submit to insult, hardship, and perils, to die in Spirit every day, and at length breathe out their last breath in some round straw hut, looking to Jesus, yet still thinking of friends and home.

"Dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos."

But there was no murmuring, for they knew how to be humbled but not ashamed, to be cast down but not disheartened, bearing about them the marks of the spear in their sides, and the print of the nails on their hands and feet. The service of such was great and noble: the heart of the worldling beats high, when he hears of such achievements, and he recognizes the grandeur of the life, though he is blind to the motive and the power. Surely there must be joy in Heaven, when one of the miserable savages, to the outward eye nearer the animal than the man, is brought into the fold, and his body becomes the temple of the Holy Ghost, for Christ in very deed died for him also. The self-Sacrificing Missionary teaches the men to be brave, yet not cruel, and the women to be sweet and affectionate, yet not unchaste: out of the stores of his acquired experience he teaches them humble Arts, and the very rudiments of knowledge, the very fundamental of Human Graces, to be decent in act and word, to respect Human life, to recognize property, to be sober and chaste, to Love God as a Father, and cease to fear Him like a Slave, to bow in gratitude to the free offer of pardon: and yet all this is possible: it has been done, it may be done again: it

must be done by some of you, who stand here, and hear me this day: "ἐν τούτῳ νίκα."

It will be nothing wonderful, if in due time we convert the people of India, China, and the extreme Orient. They are not wiser and stronger than were the Greeks and Romans in the days of their greatness, and we knew that the Cross proved sufficient for their conversion. And experience has shown, that the same Cross is sufficient for races, whom Cæsar never knew, of whose existence the Greek Philosophers, and Paul, had not the faintest idea. We thus begin to realize the full meaning of the prophecies of Isaiah: "The Isles shall wait for His Law." And the words of our Lord: "They shall gather His elect from the uttermost parts of the earth." And again, in the Revelation: "Behold a great number, whom no man can number, out of every Nation, and all tribes, and peoples, and tongues."

It is only after an all-round perusal of Missionary reports, that I am able to differentiate the degree of self-Sacrifice of Missionaries in different fields. How light seems the burden of the comfortable Missionary in China and India, when contrasted with that of his brother in Africa or New Guinea! They are indeed Apostles of the ancient type.

There are three classes, in one or other of which you must, as Christian men, range yourselves:

I. Whatever secular station you occupy, whether at home or abroad, you must place the duty of assisting the evangelizing of mankind in the very first rank of duties, for nothing can approach it in importance: if your lot takes you to non-Christian countries, you will find plenty of opportunities to serve the cause, and bitterly you will regret in your old age, if you neglect your opportunities.

II. If you have a call to go forth as a Missionary to the civilized non-Christian Nations, if you find yourself in possession of special gifts, consecrate them: do not take a worldly view of the subject, and mix up a Mission to a dying world with visions of early Matrimony, social advantage, and a pleasant career. Mere worldlings act thus. Many a soldier, many a student of Nature, many a Ruler of men, have risen far above such a low level of Human aspirations. The Athlete, and the Mechanic, give you a lesson. Show to the Heathen, that you come among them, understanding the Law of self-Sacrifice, and that you come not, as the haughty Briton, one who lords it over, and sometimes strikes or ill-uses the lower races, but as their brother and their servant for Christ's sake.

III. But let me show a more excellent way to those, who are strong in body, strong in spirit, and also have worked out the sublime idea of self-Sacrifice and self-consecration. The call will come to some of you, as it has come to others, in your

dreams by night, in your visions by day, as you walk along, or are in prayer, or in the midnight-watches. It will gradually overpower you, and make you captive, and at length you will call out with a loud voice, "Send me, Lord, for I am ready." For still many a sunny island of the South Seas, many a retired valley of the great central Plateau of Asia, many a dark forest-clad Savannah of the great valley of the Kongo, many a wild tribe of South America, and, alas! our own fellow-subjects, the neglected, ill-treated Australian aborigines, and the poor Bushmen of the Cape Colony, are waiting, waiting for the moving of the waters of the Fountain of Life, and for some one to help them down; lifting up their eyes for the sight of the blessed feet of those, who bring the Gospel-message: calling, calling for their man, the Allen Gardiner, and Patteson, and Williams, of their generation: they are standing in your midst, though not as yet revealed to the eyes of men. In the long years of centuries no Prophet or Evangelist has ever come near these poor heathen; they have laid out of the course of the Revelation of the Gospel: they are waiting for one, who, in his life as well as his words, will illustrate to them the Life and Passion of our Lord and their Lord: they ask not for the refinement, nor the fantasies, of modern religious thought and practice, but with dumb voices they ask the men of the Nineteenth Century and civilized Europe to teach them to clothe their nakedness, to dwell in decent dwellings, to cluster in villages, to live with one consort, and to respect Human life, to do all things in a Christian way, and to realize the presence of the Risen Saviour. In the last desperate struggling of Heathenism it may be, that the man of God, who thus appears like an Angel among them, will be killed, and devoured: but his death will prove the dawn of the new life: over the martyr-tomb will spring up the new Chapel, and the younger generation, who witnessed the slaughter, and partook of the terrible feast, will, by the Grace of God, be converted and made new men, and, like Paul, become Evangelists. When their day of Grace comes, and they understand the matter, like the Jews at Jerusalem a few days after the Crucifixion, they will be pricked to the heart. History is always repeating itself: but on this generation, the men of your age and country, rests the duty of completing the work, till the Gospel cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. At the present moment there are Regions still unevangelized, sufferings for Christ's sake not yet suffered, and crowns of Martyrs and Confessors not yet won. The resources of Christianity, the capacities of Christian men, are not yet exhausted.

Finally, my dear friends, suffer me to say to you one word more, and this word applies not only to the Missionary, whose vocation is the highest of earthly vocations, but to each one of

us, however humble and prosaic our special vocation may be. What were we created for? Why are we kept alive, except to do some special work, which is marked out for us by the inexorable teaching of circumstances, circumstances which are controlled by the omniscience of God! How can we succeed in any work, if our attempts are not sanctified by prayer! "Labora et Ora," for true prayer is something done in the service of the Master, followed by praise for being selected to do it, not the empty litany, or the conventional prayer-meeting. Say what we like, we are all *day-labourers*, and he serves his God best, who does his day's work in the best manner and in the best spirit. None miss so entirely the mainspring of Human action, as those, who strive to dissociate Religion from the simple round, the common task, of the most prosaic, the most unromantic, the most depressing lot in life.

It is not success, that sanctifies the work, for many of the best of us in our noblest undertakings do not succeed. We are thwarted by some narrow-minded obstructors standing on the next round of the ladder above us; we are baffled at every turn, and at length laid aside by Poverty, Sickness, or Death. It is not striving that wins: the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. We must not look for the selfish satisfaction of thinking, that we have done something; we must not hope for the applause of bystanders, for the foolish multitude generally praise the wrong person, or praise the right person for the wrong thing. We must find our reward in the work itself: something each day accomplished; something done; some kindly word spoken; some cup of water offered to the suffering; some noble thought cherished, some achievement, which the world ought not willingly to let die, shadowed forth, thought out, conceived, if not actually brought forth. Good work, earnest work, prayerful work, can never be without a blessing to the worker, which will follow him after life's endless toil and endeavour to his rest: and what greater work than the saving of a soul!

I once stood at the mouth of the great Panjáb Salt-Mine on the River Jhílam, and watched the long procession of women, children, and men, of young and old, slowly advancing towards me, toiling up the steep incline, each with head bent, and back curved under the burden of rock-salt, which they brought from the bowels to the surface of the earth. This was their hard and palpable day's labour. To the strength of each the burden was adjusted; the young daily grew into capacity to bear heavier, the old daily felt their strength less equal to their diminishing load, but all rested night after night wearied with their daily round, and all each morning rose to the consciousness of a day's sweating and straining, and a risk of accidents and disease, and the dark River to be crossed at last.

Tears started in my eyes, as I thought of the sad procession of my contemporaries, whom during my own life I have seen toiling and striving, lifting their heavy burdens, or sinking by the way under them. I thought of the strong and enthusiastic, too eager for the strife, who fell years ago; the patient and uncomplaining, who toiled on till within the last few years; the yearly diminishing group of fellow-labourers with yearly-diminishing force; and the dark unknown Future before me.

But there is no prison so deep, that its depths are not reached by some ray of God's interminable day, and, as I looked into the faces of the salt-bearers, I became aware, that one ray of light reached to the lowest slope of their dungeon, and, as they advanced upwards, it ever became brighter and brighter, shining hopefully in their uplifted eyes, and gladdening their hearts with the thought of home, and rest, and of labour, sanctified for the sake of the little ones, the old ones, the sick ones, to whose comforts their earnings ministered. The Hero-Missionary places the Heathen, to whom he goes as Christ's Ambassador, in that corner of his heart, where other men place their families.

Nay, more. God's great lessons are taught in His works, and in His creatures. As each labourer reached the outer world, and flung down his burden, his eyes insensibly turned up with a look of thankfulness and acknowledgment to the kindly light, which had led him, and then each unconsciously shrouded his eyes with his hands, as if unable to bear the full glow of unutterable gladness, which the Grace of God sends to testify to the sanctity and dignity of labour, however humble and contracted the sphere: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful *over a few things*. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!"

Henry Martyn's Hall, Cambridge, January, 1888–1895.

3. On the Duty of a Missionary in the Hour of Personal Peril.

"Can a woman forget her sucking child? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee!" *Isaiah*, xlix, 15.

"Entreat me not to leave thee: where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me." *Ruth*, i, 16, 17.

The question to be calmly considered is, under what circumstance is a Christian Missionary, or a Christian soldier, at liberty, under fear of death, or personal suffering, to abandon his post? The danger comes suddenly; the young Missionary (for I do not venture to give advice to the old and experienced) should reflect beforehand, and be confirmed in his own mind, as to what his duty requires, before the hour of peril arrives.

Any volunteer martyrdom, any unnecessary Sacrifice of life, any ostentatious and arrogant thrusting oneself into danger, was condemned by the early Church, and is still more unjustifiable now.

There are three combinations of circumstances which may arise: let us consider each separately.

A new Mission may have been founded, and no converts made. Popular tumult, or Official oppression, may render the position of the Missionary insupportable, and certainly render his labour useless. He has no other alternative but to withdraw, even with Sacrifice of houses and goods. He may possibly do so prematurely: he may be wanting in nerve, or tact, and be unfit for such a post of honour and danger; but his retirement would only be blamed, if blamed at all, as a want of judgment. Instances of such cases have occurred in the withdrawal both of Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions. Moreover, if there be any meaning in the oft-repeated phrase, "an open and closed door," it is clear, that the Lord has closed the door for the time at least. In these days the Divine command is not communicated by the voice of Prophets, or visions and dreams, but by the march of outward events; and we must not attempt by the Arm of the Flesh, by gunboats, or cannon, or aid of fighting commercial Companies, to retain a position, which is not retainable by the unaided peaceful valour of the Missionary. No blessing can rest on a Gospel preached under the protection of cannon and rifles, or connected with commercial profit. This is a dangerous error, into which Missionary Societies have in these last days openly fallen, and which some Societies seem not to avoid as much as they ought, notably in Equatorial Africa.

The second combination of circumstances arises, when a

Missionary has been successful in founding a Church, and the Ruler of the country, either from caprice, or jealousy of the new influences, or downright Religious intolerance, determines to eject the foreign Missionary, seizes him, plunders him, imprisons him, and puts him on board a vessel to convey him from the shores, or takes him to the frontier and expels him. This is *force majeur*, and the Missionary has nothing to do but submit, and find some refuge, until the tyranny be overpast, and he can get back again. This kind of treatment has often happened to Missionaries in former centuries. Sad as was the necessity to leave their flocks, they could not resist the superior force brought against them; the shepherds were smitten, if not by death in this case, but by forcible exile, and the sheep scattered. The same thing has happened repeatedly any time during the last half century in Abyssinia, both to Protestants and Roman Catholics. We can hardly imagine the sorrow, which good, earnest Missionaries must have felt, when the shores of their adopted country faded in the distance, and they could too accurately imagine the perils and sufferings of the poor native converts. Having done his own duty, he can comfort himself with the reflection, that the Lord cares for His own children; that the whole History of the Church tells us how persecution strengthens a rising Church, and brings out strength of character.

"Sanguis martyrum Semen Ecclesiæ."

The third combination of circumstances is the most painful, and on which the thoughts of friends of Missions must be fixed. A flourishing Church is founded, and a persecution is commenced, rendering the situation of the Missionary one of extreme danger, and tempting a half-hearted man to seek safety by flight; but here the problem divides itself:

(1) Shall he fly *with* his flock? or (2) leave them to take their chance, and save himself and family?

Let us think out both alternatives.

Our Lord, in Matthew's Gospel, says, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another." This does not imply, that the pastor is to flee, and the sheep be left to be killed. Peter was among the hearers of our Lord on this occasion, and we shall see further on how he applied it. But if pastor and flock can both escape, no blame can attach. We read how, 348 A.D., Ulfilas, Missionary Bishop among the Goths, north of the River Danube, during a heavy persecution, determined to withdraw himself and his flock from its reach to the south bank of the river. He settled in Mæsia, in the country now known as Bulgaria. In Africa it may be possible, that a Missionary labouring among

Nomad tribes should remove his flock from persecution, and seek a quiet life elsewhere. In Europe, we know how the Moravians fled from Roman Catholic persecution in Bohemia to Saxony, and founded Herrnhút; how the Huguenots fled from persecution in France to England, and the Pilgrim-Fathers fled from England to North America: the whole Church fled together.

But in the second alternative, when the European Missionary, losing heart, or fearing for his family, deserts his people (we put the case hypothetically), what shall be said? Our Lord, in John's Gospel, says: "But he that is an hireling, and not "the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf "coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth; and the wolf "catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep."

Peter must have heard these words also. It is narrated how thirty years later he fled from Rome to escape death at the hands of Nero. About six miles out of the walls on the Appian Way he met his Lord proceeding to Rome, and carrying His Cross. The Apostle cried out, "Domine, quo vadis?"—"Lord, whither goeth "Thou?" The reply was, "Romam iterum crucificari"—"To "Rome again to be crucified." The humbled sinner turned back at once to Rome, and submitted to his fate, and in token of deep humility was crucified with his head downwards. On the spot connected with this legend now stands a Chapel, and often as I visit Rome, I never fail to find my way to it, for it conveys a lesson to all time, that no man, who has put his hand to the plough, should turn back. Peter was a fisherman from the Sea of Galilee, and yet was not unwilling to die with, and for, strangers to his race and Language at Rome. The European should not grudge the same Sacrifice for the inhabitants of the shores of the lakes of Equatorial Africa.

In the next generation Polycarp suffered martyrdom at Smyrna, at the age of ninety or more, and it is recorded, that by his death he shielded his congregation from further persecution. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, in the Decian persecutions in 250 A.D., had been compelled for a time to seek safety in retreat, but in 253 A.D. he returned to his post, and suffered martyrdom. Alban, an Englishman, refused to save himself by denying the Faith, and suffered martyrdom at Verulam, in Hertfordshire, 304 A.D. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, in North Africa, died at his post during the siege of that city by the Vandals, in 430 A.D. In 755 Boniface, an Englishman from Devonshire, but the apostle of Burgundy, was killed by a mob, while engaged in his labour of trying to convert the Pagans in Friesland.

To descend from things spiritual to things secular, we read how Gordon of Khartúm had many opportunities of personal escape from that beleaguered city, but he declined to abandon

his Native troops and their families, and he fell with them, and is covered with undying glory, as the man who was staunch and unselfish. In the British Army there are Native regiments, brought together and trained, and commanded by English Officers: it would be inconceivable, that in the hour of peril the Officers could retire on board the ships, and leave their soldiers to their chance: but in what way does a Christian Church so far differ from a military regiment? The converts have been brought together, trained, and baptized by the European Missionary. He must show them the way how a Christian lives, and, as Havelock said to Outram at Lucknow: "Come and see how a Christian dies." In the Indian Mutinies of 1857 many district Officers could have escaped, had they forgotten their duty to their Government, and many, with their wives and children, died at their posts.

In this heroism and self-abnegation consists the greatness of character, and any practical deviation from the golden rule of "dying with their flock" would indicate a great weakening of the fibre of the Christian Missionary. It is not within the bounds of probability, that any fear of death would have induced Bishop Patteson, and John Williams, to desert their poor sheep in the Southern Islands just at the moment, when their presence to sustain, comfort, and maintain, them in the Faith, was most needed. In the Korea, Annam, and many parts of the world, we read, how Roman Catholic Missionaries have perished with their converts, or submitted to a lengthened imprisonment.

The death under such circumstances is a blessed martyrdom: we must be cautious not to use this phrase too freely. A man is said to be a martyr to the gout, or any other disease, as a conventional phrase; but it is not right to say, that a Missionary who perishes from disease, like Bishop Parker, or is killed for purely political reasons, like Bishop Hannington, is a martyr. His death was not brought about by a witnessing for the Faith. Had Joseph Thomson, the African traveller, pushed on from Kavirondo to the U-Sogo country, he would probably have suffered the same fate, but not have been called a martyr for trying to enter the Kingdom of U-Ganda by the back door. The History of the Church tells us, what a martyr is from the time of Cyprian, and Ignatius, and Polycarp, to the time of Cranmer, one who dies sooner than deny His Lord, either by word, or by deed, in deserting the post entrusted to him. There may be many good men, who have not the Grace of thus enduring to the end, for it is a special Grace. Aged priests and strong men have swerved from the trial, succumbed, or fled, while young girls and men of ordinary type, with nothing of the hero or saint in their outward appearance, have testified unto death. The young Missionary

should count the cost, and look upon a violent death as one of the contingencies, which he must be prepared to face. *Per crucem ad lucem!* If not equal to it, he had better stay at home.

A young Missionary named Arnot, who had been many years in Africa, in 1889 closed his address to the Royal Geographical Society, in my presence, as follows: "If they give me honour, "I shall let them see, that all honour belongs to Thee. The "one reason for my success in Africa *was the reality of the presence* "*and power of God with me night and day.*"

I have alluded to the word "family," and some further remarks are required. After a careful consideration of the subject for many years, I have come to the firm conviction, that a Missionary in Equatorial Africa, East or West, at a distance of, say, fifty miles from the coast, should not be encumbered with a family. He is like the captain of a ship, the soldier on a campaign, the explorer of unknown countries, and should not be weakened in the hour of peril by personal and home considerations, calculated to unnerve him. Women are quite as dauntless, quite as full of high enthusiasm, as men; but in savage countries they are exposed by the Law of Nature to a double form of death, not only the death by the sword or the stake, which, as history tells us, they are ready to meet as unflinchingly as their brothers; but they are exposed to the risk of a worse death, *i.e.* a life of shame. It appears to me to be wicked on the part of a committee to expose them to such contingencies. China, Japan, India, Syria, South Africa, the coasts of East and West Equatorial Africa, are fields suitable for women's work, and that work is abundant; but it should be a rule absolute, that as regards Equatorial Africa, no woman should be allowed to be sent to a Mission in the interior. Independently of the dangers above alluded to, it is a cruel thing to send young wives to undergo the perils of maternity far from all reasonable comforts. I have seen a procession, as it were, of young women pass from the committee-room into African graves, with no possible advantage as regards Mission-work to compensate for the frightful Sacrifice of life.

Prayers are offered weekly in some Churches for the safety of our Missionaries in Africa. Is that sufficient? The very object of Missions is to convert the Heathen, and build up Native Churches: we should pray that these poor converts may be strengthened in the day of trial; and that the Missionary, the prolongation of whose short span of life is a small matter, may have Grace given to him to do his duty in the moment of extreme necessity, and witness a good confession: "Be thou faithful until death, and I will give thee the crown of life."

Church-Work, February 18th, 1889–1895.

B. Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods in the Mission-Fields.

A great deal has lately appeared in print on the above subjects in relation to the home-ministry. With regard to that I have nothing to say, except to express my aversion to any form of vow to the Lord of celibacy for a term of years, or for lifetime, and to any scheme of possible absolution from such vows by a Bishop, or anybody else. A vow should not be made rashly, and without good cause, but if made *ex animo*, it should be kept: "Better it is, that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow, and not pay." My remarks apply now exclusively to the foreign Mission-field, nor would I place on the volunteers for that portion of the Lord's Service any burden, which they ought not in equity to bear. I ask no more than that, which was demanded from the fellows of Colleges in former years, that for a stipulated term of years, say ten from the date of their entering upon their ordination, they should not marry. After the age of, say, thirty-three, they should be free to do as they may wish. As regards the woman-worker in the field, on her I would place no limit of time at all. I must leave it to her conscience after a perusal of I Cor. vii, 34: it will be the sure test, how far she has consecrated the whole of her *youthful* talents, time, energies, and opportunities, to the work of the Lord. Ten years of adult single life may be to her a blessing also, and increase her usefulness in many ways.

Anyone, who has dwelt, as I have, twenty-five years in daily contact with Missionaries, must know how large a portion of the Missionary's wife's time is taken up in her domestic cares, and how for long-recurring periods she can do nothing, *absolutely nothing*, for the Mission; how long illnesses entail separation, abandonment of the field, sometimes accompanied by her husband, whose career is cut short just at its commencement. I shall recur to this subject further on. I wish to impress upon the young Missionary, that in undertaking family-cares in extreme youth, below the age above alluded to, he is doing what is manifestly wrong, and unworthy of his high *calling*. Nobody forced him to come out to undertake the glorious profession of preaching the Gospel: he chose it, or in many cases the Lord chose him: in the presence of his fellows he avowed, that he had been called to the work. Now, the work requires self-consecration, self-Sacrifice, a readiness to go where he is ordered, to live out in tents or in rude huts, to bear hardship like a good soldier, to spend and be spent, to be content with a little; to set the example to Native friends, Native converts, and Native catechists, of the great Law of self-Sacrifice; dwell-

ing in their midst; in some cases wearing their dress, sharing their simple fare with them on the road, on the river, in the hut, in the tent; speaking their language as one of them, and being all things to them. Such is the high duty of the young Evangelist: he gives the flower of his youth, the undivided freshness of his faculties, he cares for nothing in the fulness of his zeal but the Lord's work. The men of the world meet him on the road, and mark him in his humble residence, and recognize all the signs of the Evangelist: it is true, that the young soldier, the young magistrate, and the young Merchant, by the necessity of their position, keep clear of family-entanglements, and give their hearts to the Service of their earthly employer, with a view to get themselves forward in the world, to put by economies for middle life and declining years. They would deem it madness to encumber themselves with a family until they saw a way to support them: is the Missionary to fall to a lower level, not only to cramp his means of usefulness, and his power to discharge his duties, but to be a burden to the great Society, that sends him out, and is unwillingly forced to squander its resources in the support of useless wives and unnecessary children, who ought not to have come into existence?

It is interesting to quote the opinions of two very competent members of the Indian Civil Service on this subject.

Sir W. Hunter remarks that "A fresh impulse has arisen from "the private efforts of small fraternities animated by a highly "concentrated devotion. These little communities bring to "their work the highest culture of the West, and also that type "of ascetic zeal and self-renunciation, which in India from the "time of Búddha down to the latest movement of Hinduism or "Islam has always been the popular idea of Missionary life: "without some show of self-Sacrifice *the Hindu will not believe* "*in the sincerity of the messenger or the truth of the Message.* A "man with a wife and half a dozen children may be a pleasant "sight in an English parsonage, but is a standing absurdity in "a Heathen Mission-house."

It is obvious, that this is going too far in one direction: I am not asking the Missionary to lead a celibate life, but I am pointing out to young men below thirty-three, that it would be wise to postpone their marriage so as to secure the success of their consecrated work. Whether they marry at thirty-three, or at what has been the favourite time in past years, twenty-six, the result of olive-branches will be the same. I remember once in India talking over the subject with a German Missionary: his reply went to the point: "I married," he said, "at the age of forty, and had twelve children; if I had married at twenty-three, I could hardly have had more": in fact, Missionaries are a very prolific class.

Sir Bartle Frere, in his book on Indian Missions, seems to go to extremes in the other direction, and is opposed to brotherhoods altogether. He writes thus: "No doubt there are times, "when any prudent soldier of the Cross should be, like Paul, "unencumbered by any worldly ties, however dear and sacred, "and the energy of some is due to entire freedom from all calls "of domestic and social duty; but in the long run, and looking "to the majority of cases, the whole of the work, which the "Christian Church has to do, my opinion is decidedly against "celibate agency. Celibacy enters largely into the teaching "of all false Creeds; it springs from the weak, not the strong, "side of poor Human Nature; it is held in high honour by the "vulgar, accompanied in mediæval legends by details of hair "shirts, dirt, and discomfort, but it fails everywhere. None of "the Holy men in the Old Testament, or the Saints in the New "Testament, practised it."

In reply to my honoured and lamented friend, I must add, that such is not the character of the celibacy now suggested. No one pretends to look at it, as a virtue, or a merit, but only a means to obtain an end, and a detail of administration. If anyone were to put forward his celibacy as a sign of superior sanctity, he is evidently not qualified to be a Missionary, and has failed to find the secret of Christian duty. When he has won his spurs by a decade of celibate activity, he will take his place, God willing, among the married pastors and fathers of the flock, and exhibit to the Natives the blessings of a happy Christian family.

Nor is evidence wanting of the happiness of the Community-life now recommended. I quote the opinion of a Missionary of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi, 1880: "Of the blessings "of our Community-life, both in its stimulus to devotion and "in the mutual help and comfort, which each one receives from "the rest, I need hardly say much here. It is a life to which I "was accustomed during my years in London before I came to "India, and therefore one, to which I have a natural leaning, "apart from its manifest superiority as a system of carrying on "Missionary work in such a country as India. Those, who "have not had experience of it, can have little idea of the "blessing of united Communion, united prayer, and occasional "quiet days of devotion; and after his daily round the tired "and harassed bazaar-preacher is cheered up, as he rejoins his "brethren in the evening; and the itinerator after his lonely "tour in the villages is sure of a hearty welcome home."

Some years ago, at the annual meeting of the Universities' Mission to East Africa, I heard a young Missionary use similar expressions in a sober strain of calm satisfaction, which convinced me of the reality of his feelings. I can realize these

feelings myself. I spent ten years entirely alone, or with one or two celibate companions, in the midst of the people, over whose secular interests I had to watch. I remember how greatly the work was advanced by entire freedom from family and social duties and cares, how subjects of doubt could be discussed earnestly and thoroughly, how before the dawn I was in the saddle surrounded by the Natives, who came to accompany me, how my heart went out to them, because *they were the sole objects of my interest*: if such were the case in Community-life, or solitary life, while employed on earthly business, how much more, when the heart is given to Spiritual business by spiritually-minded men!

This touches upon another side of the question; obviously on account of the climate and surroundings of some Regions, no Missionary, whether old or young, should be married at all. A late Bishop wrote in 1886: "Mrs. ——'s illness, and Mrs. "——'s late dangerous confinement, make him bring once "more the marriage-question forward. Thinks now, that he "did wrong in consenting to newly-married women going as "far as ——, and now withdraws it, and feels conscientiously "bound to protest against such women proceeding beyond ——. "Will not, therefore, consent to a clergyman taking a newly-"married wife beyond those limits; and, as he has no authority "over laymen, must refuse to acknowledge any layman who "does so."

What makes the subject more grotesque is, that a young Missionary not long ago started a new idea of associated evangelists to conduct work on much more economical methods, and, of course, celibates; but, while his plans were maturing, he met a young girl, married her, and took her out into the Association, and she died a few years afterwards. On the West Coast of Africa the pioneer-Missionaries of three Societies have taken out young wives into deadly climates, entirely unprovided with suitable habitations and ordinary comforts, and look round for commendation of excited religionists in Exeter Hall, as leaders of Faith-Missions, or rather of Folly-enterprises. We have again to consider the danger, to which female life and honour are exposed in solitary advanced stations, which ought to have been occupied by men alone. How much anxiety was felt some years ago in Eastern Equatorial Africa to rescue women during the time of the revolt against the Germans, some of the women being incapacitated for movement by the state of their health, or their babies. The question is asked, "Why were they there?" Would women be found, especially young wives, in campaigns such as that of the Crimea or the invasion of Abyssinia? Why should soldiers, sent out to fight the Lord's battles, encumber themselves? I have received letters from Missionaries in the African

fields, stating that the presence of young wives was not only useless as regards Missionary work, but dangerous. It is all nonsense to say, that the presence of children in Missionary work aids the prosecution of the work of Evangelization. One enthusiastic Missionary's wife tells us, that peace was immediately made betwixt belligerent Natives at the sight of a mother and her baby. If that were the case, we should have to go to the other extreme, and rule that no unmarried Missionaries, or barren wives of Missionaries, or Missionaries, whose families are grown up, should be allowed. Bishop Taylor, in America, goes a step further, and counts all the children among the effective force of his Mission. We start at the information, that a new Missionary was born last night. I heard with astonishment two remarks made in committee by a Missionary secretary: (1) that the Missionaries came generally from a stratum of society, where the sexes married at puberty; (2) that Missionaries in non-European countries ought to be married, as a safeguard against possible unchastity. I distinctly condemn, and repudiate, both these arguments. Many Missionaries come from the same stratum of Society as the Officers of Her Majesty's Army, Navy, and Civil Services; and, as regards the latter argument, the numerous sad cases of moral lapses, which we have to deplore, occurred, without exception, in the case of widowers or married men. Of the brave band of celibate Missionaries in India and Africa, I have never heard, in spite of close inquiry, of a single discreditable story, either of concubinage, or a quasi-marriage with a Heathen. Another view of the case is the family-embarrassment, which it causes. England is become strewed with "returned empty bottles," men who have turned back from the plough, forgotten their first love, because their wives were sick. I have heard orders passed in committee to send for Missionaries from distant stations in the field to come home to England to their sick wives. Even Bishops are not free from this weakness. One Colonial Bishop left his duty, because his wife was sick, and another because his daughter was dying. Even the duties of children to their parents are exaggerated in the case of Missionaries. I read of Missionaries leaving their field to visit a sick parent after only two years' absence. We, who have been about ten years at a stretch away from our homes, and have received the sad news, sent by telegram or letter, of a parent's death, know what the sorrow means, but cannot justify the desertion of the duties of life and the spiritual duties, through an exaggeration of human affections, more especially, when it is done *at the expense of a Missionary Society*. In the annual reports I read of husbands leaving important stations, abandoning their flocks, to accompany a wife home, at the expense of a Society. How many a public servant in

India has asked for a week's leave, and taken his family down to the nearest seaport, and commended them to the care of friends, never perhaps afterwards to see them again, and manfully returned to his duties, which, though secular, were his life-duties! And some Missionaries have done so, and even done more. Bishop Hannington, and Bishop Steere, and Bishop Tucker, feeling themselves called to perilous duty, were not unwilling to do what Lord Napier of Magdála, and Lord Wolseley, and many other brave soldiers, have done, and what every Officer of the Navy of all ranks does, viz., left their families at home. It is a comfort to think, that the Church of England has still a fund of devotion and godly enthusiasm, on which it can draw. And many Missionaries have done likewise, but all are not worthy of the high office. Does the foolish young man, who, at the age of twenty-six, takes on himself such responsibility, look forward twenty years, when he will be only forty-six? I have heard men in early middle age pleading for an extra grant for education of children. One Missionary told me, that he married on the very day of his Ordination, and he seemed to think, that he had done a clever thing in becoming *Reverendus et Benedictus* at the same time. Setting aside the extreme improvidence from a worldly point of view, it is not Mission-Service: there is nothing of the grace of self-denial and self-Sacrifice. In the Acts of the Apostles, in the early History of the Christian Church (before the introduction of the enforced celibacy of the Roman Church), we find nothing to warrant the idea, that a man must be married to be a Missionary. If the young aspirant to the high office cannot rise to the level of his vocation, is not equal to the task, and considers matrimony a necessary ingredient of Gospel-preaching, he had better select some other profession. Such sentiments are unworthy, and show an absence of a true feeling on the subject of Missions.

The Missionary Societies' annual reports and Periodicals bear testimony to the prevailing weakness (shall I say "effeminacy"?) of the period. I read all, and make extracts, in my earnest study of the Mission-subject, of its wants and its weaknesses, its triumphs and its failures; some extracts are sad, some ludicrous. I must give some, as they lie before me, that my readers may understand, how the grand story of the Gospel to the Heathen is interrupted by perpetual harping on the "wife and baby" theme. No one but a member of a Missionary committee could imagine the state of affairs. A Missionary writes that "he must have a larger allowance, because he has two grandmothers and a baby to feed." No secular employé could have been so deficient in conception of the ridiculous as to write thus. In a really interesting account of the German Leper-Asylum at Jerusalem, and excellent remarks about the

Spiritual state of the poor sufferers, we come to this bathos: "On the 9th of February we were rejoiced with the birth of a little son, and gave him the name of John." We have only to imagine a clergyman announcing from the pulpit, that his wife had been confined. Another report runs: "During the year I have baptized two infants, a little daughter of our own, and the child of a Christian teacher." The report was of work done among Jews. Why chronicle the baptism of two Gentile infants? So entirely in the American Missions is a man supposed to be entitled to the company of a wife, that a husband is described "as with rare self-denial holding the fort alone." In High Church Missions the brethren in the field beg the Home-committee to send out an additional "priest," but to the German Missions they ask for a "Geschwister," a married pair, or "a brother and sister." In American reports the demand is for "families": the Gospel cannot be preached without the comfort of wife and children. Full details are given of the arrangements for the movement of these families; the birth and death of a baby seems to excite more interest, and certainly happens much oftener, than the conversion of a Heathen! We have long accounts in some reports of a "little Jack," sad words over the death of a "little Robbie": domestic events are chronicled with painful detail. How astonished the Governor of a Province or a military commander, would be to receive from his subordinates such details of domestic life! It seems to argue an absence of better stuff to chronicle, when a man turns to his nursery: what shall be said of the compilers of the report, when they insert such stuff? It is an insult to the serious readers of a Missionary report, and accounts for their lack of popularity; it is not, that sympathy is not felt for brethren, who are sick or bereaved, but such things should be kept out of the public dispatches, as not bearing on the great subject of Missions.

I give another extract, not older than 1888: "Mr. and Mrs. "—— and baby returned to ——, and immediately went back "to England, and left this week, and the committee has the "great satisfaction of knowing, that they all recovered their "health since their arrival in England."

Imagine any secular Government carried on on such principles, and think of the scorn of the atheist, and the contempt of the Roman Catholic Missionary, at the style of such notices, the gravity of which the compiler of the report hardly seems to realize; as in Missionary reports all facts, that tell against the Mission, are systematically ignored, the devotion of the above-named Missionary was presumably deemed creditable.

And, when a committee of management tries to enforce stricter rules, gently to draw the reins tighter, when it suggests to a Missionary, that he should not leave his post to accompany

a sick wife to England, when it objects to send out at the expense of the Society children of a certain age, who will have to be sent back again in a few years at the expense of the Society, every kind of remonstrance is made. I received in December, 1894, a letter, a copy of which I insert: I neither know the writer, nor the case, nor did I take the least notice of it, but the writer is certainly a Missionary. I am violating no confidence, and I quote it only to indicate the spirit: "I am sure, that "you would not do a harsh or cruel thing in cold blood in the "name of Religion; yet your committee has forbidden my "brother to bring out his only son, because that boy is four "years old. Everyone knows that up to eight this climate is "safe. Can you tell me what right you have to interfere with "the tenderest heart-ties, and make a rule for a Missionary, "that you know your own rector would think you mad to "propose to him, or to one of his curates? Why should you "lay a heavy burden on us in the field, which you dare not to "touch with your own fingers? If money be wasted on luxuries, "will money be blessed that you save, if the hire of labourers, "which is kept back, crieth in the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth? "The mother's heart is wrenched, the father is driven against "his will; the heartiest tender love is trifled with, and all for "what? Who originated the scheme? Why was it not pressed "in other cases? I am sure, that the insistence of this rule is "unjust, unkind, and unnecessary: it must be cancelled. I now "ask, that my four-years-old child's passage-money be refunded "to me *as a matter of right*!"

Does not this read, as if the committee had robbed this indignant declaimer of his paternal inheritance, though in reality it had lifted him up from a humble position of life, taught him Latin and Greek at a preparatory School, trained him at a College, fed and clothed him, given him a title for ordination, paid for his canonicals, his outfit, and supported him and his family. It is clear, that in many cases domestic ties quite outweigh all consideration of self-Sacrifice, gratitude, and even honesty. To have sent that child out, and brought it back in a few years, would have cost more than the united collections of six average English parishes for the purpose of evangelizing the Heathen.

We have fallen from our high standard of the Mission-idea. It is often forgotten, that this is the second time, that the Lord has called upon the British islands to take a foremost part in the Evangelization of the non-Christian World. At a period in History before Mahomet had arisen in Arabia, before the Church of Rome had commenced its downward course, before even Augustine had landed in Kent, Patrick had gone forth from the Clyde to Ireland and founded the Church there: after

him Columba had left Ireland to found the great Mission-centre of Iona: after them Columbánus had gone forth to convert Burgundy, and Aidan to found Lindisfarne, and bring Northumbria to Christ: after them came Willibrod and Boniface: at a period when the North of Europe was as Heathen as Africa, and much more cruel, the men of the British islands, of our own race, went forth in celibacy, in poverty, in suffering, to work with their hands to sustain life, never to see their homes again. Some portions of the type of these great Apostles have clung to the modern Religious orders of the Church of Rome: the Protestant Missionary has fallen entirely from the ideal: he must have a wife at puberty, and a family, supported by the alms of the Churches; he must have salaries, houses, comforts, conveyances, pensions, and thousands spent on the Education of his children; he considers himself at liberty to be educated at the expense of the Churches, and spend a few years in the foreign field, and then for his own convenience, or because a wife, or one of his numerous children, is sick, to leave his flock and go home, and perhaps never return, because something more comfortable is available in Great Britain. And yet the words of our Lord seem very clear: "He that loveth his father "or mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me." "No "man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is "fit for the Kingdom of God." Add to these Luke, xiv, 26. This is just what our early Missionaries of the type of Columba and Boniface *did*: it is just what the modern degenerate type do not. In the Report of one single Missionary Society for the year 1889 I find hundreds of children of Missionaries clothed, fed, and educated for secular occupations, at the cost of thousands of pounds collected as alms for the conversion of the Heathen. Hundreds might be converted by the expansion of our Missions, if our funds were not absorbed, wasted, misapplied, by this unjustifiable expenditure. What shall be thought of such expressions as this in Missionary Reports of last year? "Mr. —— has felt *obliged* to return home for a lengthened absence from the Mission, as his wife's health precluded her from joining him."

It may be asked, what kind of emolument, stipend, salary, subsistence, allowance, by whatever name called, does an ordinary Missionary of one of the great Societies receive? In the Indian Army, a second lieutenant receives 202 rupees per month; a lieutenant, 256; a captain, 415: such an officer's career in these grades lasts on an average twenty years; he finds his own outfit, passage-money, unless he comes out in a troopship; he pays his own house-rent; his wife and children have no allowance; after his death there is a small pension for them under certain conditions.

In the Missionary Societies, where Matrimony is allowed, a scale of something of this kind may be assumed:

1. Three years at a preparatory School or Training-College, free from all cost.
2. Pocket-money, clothes, outfit, travelling in England.
3. Passage-money: every kind of expense paid.
4. Railway or travelling expenses in the Missionary-field.
5. Books and Instructors in Languages.
6. Unmarried allowances, 144 rupees per mensem.
7. House-rent, furniture, house servants, conveyances.
8. Medical attendance.
9. Outfit for wife, passage-money, additional furniture, toties quoties.
10. Additional married allowance, 63 rupees per mensem.
11. Medical charges for confinement, surgical expenses, a repeating item.
12. Allowance for each child, passage-money of sending them out to the field, when adults.
13. Furlough, passage, allowances, to and fro.
14. Children's Home up to age of 16, final grant.
15. Renewal of outfit, furniture, and conveyance on return to field.
16. Retiring allowance, closing grants, pension to widows.

This is not the highest view of the subject, but it is a view, from which the subject ought to be regarded. Collections are made in Churches under the influence of prayer; little children bring their pennies, and collecting-boxes are handed about: it is not right, that early marriages should be tolerated, causing such intolerable expenditure. I repeat again, that I am not in favour of celibate Missions, and I wish to see the Missionaries free from vulgar cares, and with a decent sufficiency: but why should they marry while still so young? Why should they set up a wife and six children any more than a carriage and six horses? Think of young widows, perhaps below twenty-five: in some cases they have never got out to the field, or done a stroke of Missionary work, and yet the funds of the Society are saddled with a charge of (say) £ 50 for a lifetime. The number of children thus supported amounts to hundreds. In some Societies no provision at all is made for the children of the worker, and the assistance of friends and private help are drawn upon: the deferring of the date of marriage till after a period of ten years' Service, or the attainment of thirty-three years of age, would greatly reduce this really most deplorable head of expenditure: and with regard to Church of England Missions, it must be recollected that with the increasing poverty

of the home clergy, and the prospect of Disestablishment drawing nearer every year, the burden of such charges will increase at a rate far exceeding that of the income, and cripple the means of usefulness. The number of recruits to the Mission-field from such Homes for Missionaries' children is comparatively small: it is asserted, that the average charge for inmates exceeds that of the average of Institutions for the orphans of Officers of the Army and other classes of Society: and their very existence plays into the hands of those, who press the necessity of celibacy under vows in the foreign Mission-field, which, however, objectionable for other reasons, has at least the merit of economy. As it is now, vast sums contributed for the conversion of the Heathen never get out of England: the real cure is, that every shilling should go into the field, that is sent for Missions, and that separate funds should be created, and distinct collections made for the home-expenditure. I anticipate the date, when contributions will be labelled, "not to be spent in Homes for children, or any purpose not *directly* connected with Evangelization of the non-Christian world." And who can pretend that the maintenance of a young family of a young couple can have any relation to the preaching of the Gospel? It causes the enemy to scoff, it gives offence to friends: it is openly asserted, and not disputed, that many persons have become Missionaries to enable them to marry early. The admission of a Missionary to Service, who is already burdened with a large family totally unprovided for, seems a tempting of God's providence. The offhand way, in which Matrimony is talked of as a necessity of existence, is an instance of the effeminacy of the age, and the absence of robust self-consecration. I heard a member of a committee remark with regard to an agent of a Missionary Society, who had a sick wife in England, that it was wrong of the committee not to allow him to come home every year to comfort her, arguing that the duties of husband and wife were paramount to the duty *previously assumed* to preach the Gospel. If this be conceded, absolute celibacy must become the condition of Mission Service.

I here quote the words of one of the greatest of Missionaries (Carey): "Remember that the money, which you will expend, "is neither ours, nor yours, for it has been consecrated to God, "and every unnecessary expenditure will be robbing God, and "appropriating to unnecessary secular uses, what is sacred, and "consecrated to Christ and His cause. Missionary funds are in "their very circumstances the most sacred, and important, of "anything of this kind on Earth."

I am glad to read distinct evidence of a reaction. The following Circular has been issued regarding the scheme for Associated Evangelists:

"Church Missionary Society, *March*, 1890.

"The committee has sanctioned a scheme for the employ-
"ment of bands of Associated Evangelists, Lay and Clerical,
"who, living together, could be maintained at a comparatively
"small cost to the funds of the Society.

"The scheme necessarily implies, that the *members of the*
"*band should be unmarried*, and *none should join who contemplate*
"*early marriage*. At the same time the committee do not
"require any pledge of celibacy. Should any member of the
"band, after experience, desire to change his state in this
"respect, the committee will be prepared to bring him home.

"The millions of India being scattered in villages, that
"Empire affords special facilities for the employment of such
"an agency. One band is already at work in the Nuddea
"district of Bangál; other centres have been selected, and will
"be occupied as soon as possible.

"The committee has sanctioned similar schemes for Ceylon
"and China.

"Each band will be under the leadership of an experienced
"clergyman, and there is no reason why any members of the
"band should not be in Holy Orders, nor why Lay-graduates
"of the Universities should not volunteer for this work.

"But the scheme also affords a very favourable opening for
"men, who have not had the advantages of a liberal Education,
"but whose hearts the Lord has stirred with the desire to
"be permitted to carry the glad tidings of Salvation to the
"Heathen. The qualifications in such men on which the com-
"mittee lay special stress are: Real spirituality, with a vivid
"apprehension of a personal union with Christ. An intelligent
"acquaintance with Holy Scripture, and with Christian doc-
"trine, as there set forth, and a good knowledge of the prayer-
"book and Articles, together with a hearty assent to them.
"Experience and proved capacity in work for the Spiritual
"good of others. Force of character and powers of endurance.
"Satisfactory medical testimony as to physical fitness. The
"committee will be glad to enter into communication with
"young men of not less than twenty-two years of age, who
"think themselves called by God to this special work."

Young Missionaries actually in the field have voluntarily offered to share their home, and their allowances, with a like-minded brother, securing thus a friend and fellow-labourer without the distraction and obstruction, and weakening, of purpose which necessarily accompanies the husband of a young wife, and very young children, in uncongenial climates. I allude with praise to a paper by the Rev. A. Clifford, Secretary to the C.M.S. in Bangál, which was read by him before the Calcutta

Diocesan Conference, February 19, 1889. No one could have expressed a stronger opinion in favour of "Community-life as a Missionary Method" than he has, and he states, that three young lay Missionaries have already joined an ordained Missionary in such a Community in a rural district, and prepared for active evangelizing work. Communities of women in suitable places would be the complement to the above arrangement. It remains now for all Missionary Societies to refuse absolutely to permit the Marriage of Missionaries before they have served ten years, or at least attained the age of thirty-three. How utterly reckless young people are may be illustrated by the intelligence which reached England only last month. No Missionary Associations are more full of Faith and zeal than the China Inland Mission, and the Harley House Mission: they are zealous beyond their means, and their Faith is more elastic than their banker's account. Month after month it is recorded in their Periodical organs, that funds are wanting. There is no reserve fund, no guarantee, and no provision for the sick or the widow; if the parent-Association became embarrassed, the labourers in the field would starve, and yet two of the youngest members, the children of the leaders of the two Associations in the Far East, went in for Matrimony, and it seems to be a cause for rejoicing. It is possible, that Timothy, and Titus, and Luke, and Mark, and other of Paul's companions, may have been wishful to unite themselves to one or other of the sweet women, who ministered unto the Apostle, Phœbe, or Persis the beloved, or Triphéna, or Triphósa; but the compiler of the Acts of the Apostles was occupied with the grandeur of his subject, and did not descend to the level of chronicling with joy the union of Missionaries, or the birth of infants. In one Missionary Periodical I read how an enterprise to West Africa was "crowned" by the Marriage of two of the Missionaries.

A man is much more likely to make a good choice of a helpmate, when he knows the work, which he requires help in, than if *in statu pupillari* at the Missionary College he asks the little girl, whom he has met in the Sunday-School, or the young person in the shop adjoining that of his father, to go with him. The Sisterhoods will, in due course, supply such good helpmates, and there is no restriction on their age beyond their own sense of duty to their Lord, or a special term of engagement made with their Society. In the first decade of Missionary-life sisters and brothers are more useful than husbands and wives. This remark was made to me by a friend in India more than thirty years ago, and I heartily endorse it. Priscilla and Aquila indeed did exceptional service; but we want more of the type of Luke and Mary, fewer Marthas, who are

cumbered with domestic service, and none of the Demas-type, who turn their back on the Mission-field, loving the present world in the shape of a sick wife, or a comfortable living at home. If men are really called to God's special Service in foreign parts, and are made so much of by admirers in Exeter Hall, they must just make a sacrifice of their lives and comforts. It is idle to talk of "Sacrifice," when a Missionary marries at the expense of a Missionary Society ten years earlier than his brother in some trade or profession at home can afford to do. Even down to the day that I write this, College-students do not hesitate to engage themselves. In a letter from India, I gathered, that some thought that by early Marriage they were doing the right thing for the cause of Missions; the Evangelical name of the Church has become the laughing-stock of the High Church and the Roman Catholics, to whom the work of the Mission is the *first, last, sole, lifelong*, object of their desire.

These are not the words of one, who is ignorant of Mission-work, as exhibited in the field, or discussed *ad nauseam* in the committee-room, nor of one who is hostile to, or contemptuous of, the cause, but of one, who for fifty years has studied the subject, not of one Society, of one branch of the Church, of one Church, of one Nation, or of the Protestant Churches only; but in its entirety; who has read many volumes, and written many pages, on the subject, which have been reprinted in India, Europe, Australia, and America. We have come to the parting of the ways. Is it not a cruel thing to marry at an early age, and take a poor, thoughtless, useless, girl to the Kongo, the Niger, the Masai country, the Victoria Nyanza, far up to Garanganja in Central Africa, far from medical aid and the ordinary decencies of civilized wives, entailing sickness, death, and waste of expenditure, leaving no results but untimely graves of young mothers, and poor children, and disconsolate widowers? Why not steer a middle course, reserving Matrimony to a later period, and a more settled Mission-field?

Church-Work, London, July, 1890–1895.

C. The Work of Women.

1. The Female Evangelist.
2. Public Ministry of Women.
3. Proposal to admit Women as Members of Religious committees.
4. What Women have received from the Bible, and what Services they can render in return.
5. Women's Work in the Church of Rome.
6. Work of Roman Catholic Women in British India.

1. The Female Evangelist.

The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto leaven, which a *woman* took, and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.—*Matt.* xiii, 33.

And the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps.—*Matt.* xxv, 4.

I beseech thee also, good yokefellow, help these women, *for they laboured with me in the Gospel* . . . whose names are in the book of life.—*Philip.* iv, 3.

Half the population of India, or about one hundred and thirty-five millions, are women. There, as in other parts of the world, the women are most easily influenced by Religious convictions, and to them is confided the control of the tender years of the male population; and, though women in India do not appear in public, it is a mistake to suppose, that within the walls of their homes their influence is not very great, for good or for evil. From time immemorial, in Northern India, women have been secluded either absolutely within brick walls, or debarred by understood etiquette from holding conversation with the other sex. I remember an old Native, who had travelled much in India, remarking, that it would be better to lose one's way on a journey, than ask it of a woman, as it might involve the traveller in trouble. Nor do I think, that it is either likely, or desirable, that for some generations the rule should be broken; it might lead to greater evils. Women are exceedingly troublesome in Courts of Justice, when they break through the barrier of custom, and appear either as litigants or witnesses. Until a great change comes over the structure of Indian society in India, it is as well, that in railways, and in Churches, as they are in Schools and hospitals, the sexes should be separated, and a decent reserve maintained by men in alluding even to their existence.

Noble efforts have been made during the last quarter of a century by special Societies to approach the women in cities and towns, where they are absolutely secluded. The Female

Medical Missionary has appeared, to the delight and admiration of all. Female Teachers, and that blessed combination of syllables, "the Bible Woman," and the Scripture-reader, the house-to-house Visitor, the composer of Tracts and Stories specially for the use of women, and other indirect channels of female influence, have come into existence. A recognized component part of the fully-equipped Mission must be a "Female Evangelist."

Can Female Evangelists, gifted with power of utterance, and equipped with Spiritual knowledge, be found, and, if found, how can they be employed? Let me consider the points separately.

Now no one, who has attended Religious meetings of late, can fail to be aware, that a new power has come into existence, and a very sweet and healthy one. Paul may have set his face against Women speaking in Churches, and usurping the functions of an ordained minister; but this scarcely comprises Prayer-meetings, and village-itinerations; and the teaching of the Old Testament is against such restrictions, as two most noble passages in the Old Testament proceeded from the lips of Women, Deborah and Hannah; and just in the dawn of the New Covenant the Holy Spirit spoke through the mouth of a Woman, the Mother of our Lord, in strains of unsurpassed beauty and eloquence, showing unmistakably, that God is no respecter of sexes. The Revisers of the Old Testament have done good Service in communicating to the public the right interpretation of Psalm lxviii, 11, for the word is in the feminine gender: "The Lord giveth the Word: the women, that publish the tidings, are a great host." This was long well known to Hebrew Scholars, though the Revisers of 1611, for reasons best known to themselves, entirely lost sight of the correct interpretation. However, the fact is now made known most opportunely; but it presupposes the existence of natural Gifts, and a careful instruction. Female Evangelists can be found, natural Gifts can be developed, and suitable instruction can be conveyed; and, further, the sooner this measure be adopted, the better. A new army of soldiers, an auxiliary force, to supplement the regular forces, is summoned into the field.

Then comes the question, How can they be employed? I have myself lived many years alone in the villages of Upper India, and marked the habits of the people. To the British Ruler, in the midst of his subject-people, all things are possible, if he evinces sympathy and Love, and respect for their customs, and a tolerance for their Religion. He may do pretty well what he likes, within the limits of honour and virtue, if he does it in a Christian way; but he soon finds out, that the people, though they know him, and confide in him, would rather, that he did not enter their homes, or talk to their women, old or young,

or even allude to them in conversation. It is contrary to the etiquette of the country, and their feelings would be hurt, if he did so. The bystanders would titter, if he asked a friend after his wife's health. In the villages there is no absolute seclusion; but a decent woman would veil herself, or turn her face to the wall, or beat a retreat, if in the road or street she came suddenly upon men. The Missionary must feel the same difficulty, and perhaps more intensely, as he is not so well known, and is not surrounded with the prestige of authority. The Female Evangelist will find her work in the villages all ready for her.

The attempt has for some years been made with wonderful success in Northern India. In the Monthly Periodical of the Church of England Zanána Society are most sweet and encouraging letters. One from the pen of Miss Tucker (A.L.O.E.) speaks to the heart, as she expresses her own feelings. As I read it, the same feeling comes over me, a desire to be young again, and back again among my own people, the inhabitants of the Panjáb, among whom I lived so many years, alone and happy, in spite of war and tumult. It was part of our system, that the District-Officer should dwell in tents amidst his people, without guards, ruling by Moral influence, and the feeling of gratitude for benefits received. I can conceive no happier life, when in the employment of an earthly Ruler: how much more so when in the Service of our King! Memory goes back gladly over the interval of fifty years to the white tent pitched in the outskirts of the village in the mango-grove, where I have passed laborious hours, devoted in sincerity and single-mindedness to the benefit of the people, who crowded round the alien, and yet beloved, Ruler. I recall the evening-walk with a long train of followers, through the streets and the gardens, down by the stream, or over the heather. I hear again the cry of the peacock, the cooing of the doves, and the barking of the dogs. I see again the slanting rays of the sun, shedding glory through the grove, the white figures glancing through the shade, the rows of elephants, horses, and camels. Oh, that I could be young again, and go forth to be an Evangelist, where once I was Ruler and Judge, and filled the part of an earthly Providence, to contented Millions! I can at least encourage others to go.

I do not admit for a moment, that the villagers of Northern India, scores of whom I have known and loved, are in a state of Moral darkness beyond that of European Nations, who personally know not Christ. If this were the case, the Courts of Law, Civil and Criminal, would have disclosed it. I have decided thousands of cases, and not discovered it. But these villagers are in a Moral twilight, and the Sun of Righteousness has not risen before their eyes. If the Holy Spirit speaks to their consciences (and does it not speak?), it is with a muffled and half-audible voice. Are

they to blame? No Evangelist or Prophet has ever come to them; for long ages they have been left outside the influence of any Soul-revival.

To the village-women the appearance of a Female Evangelist must be, as it were, the vision of an Angel from Heaven: to their untutored eyes she appears taller in stature, fairer in face, fairer in speech, than anything mortal that they had dreamt of before: bold and fearless, without immodesty; pure in word and action, and yet with features unveiled; wise, yet condescending to talk to the ignorant and the little children; prudent, and self-constrained, yet still a Woman, loving and tender. In Hindú Legends the Poets have written about Sitá and Damáyantı, and painted them with the colour of every earthly virtue, showing that they knew what a virtuous Woman should be: yet such as they never appeared to the sight of poor village-women, even in their dreams, until suddenly their eyes, their ears, and their hearts, seem to realize, faintly and confusedly, the Beauty of Holiness, when they begin to hold converse, only too brief, with their sweet and loving visitor, who, smitten with the wondrous desire to save Souls, has come across the Sea from some unknown country to comfort and help them. Short as is her stay, she has, as it were with a magic wand, let loose a new fountain of hopes, of fears, and desires: she has told them, perhaps in faltering accents, of Righteousness and Judgment, of Sin, Repentance, and a free pardon through the blessed merits of a Saviour. This day has Salvation come to this Indian Village!

It is notorious, that the supply of male agents, both Spiritual and secular, falls far short of the demand. All the Missions are below the nominal and necessary strength. What is to be done? My suggestion is: "Make a fuller use of Women. Call upon that sex, which no longer deserves the conventional epithet of *the weaker*, or *less wise*, to supply the vacuum, and stand in the gap." But they must have precisely the same allowances, be provided with similar accommodation, and placed on the same footing, as the male Missionary. The Missionary's wife is no doubt as much a Missionary in theory and practice as her husband, but her hands are very full already. The proposal to employ special medical Women, and special Educational Women, and special Bible-Women, has been accepted, and is part of our system, I rejoice, that I was the fortunate suggester at the Bible-House of the measure with regard to Bible-Women. It has been found most acceptable everywhere. In some Missions combinations have been made by the Missionary Societies and the Bible Society, under which a class of Bible-selling Evangelists, both male and female, is coming into existence. All the lines seem to be converging in this direction. I am merely formularizing, and bringing forward in a general and popular form of description

a Method, which is already in practice, and which harmonizes with the tendencies and requirements of the age, as well as the aspiration of godly Women, who desire to take their full share in the work of their Lord. Hitherto they have been kept in the second rank, or even left behind in the tents in charge of the stuff. The order has gone forth, "Up, Women, and at them!"

I suggested in 1895 at the London Jews Society, that one of the Women-workers among the Jews in London should give the address at the annual breakfast. An archdeacon, who was present, said, "Are you joking?" The Clergy would not listen to the suggestion, and yet Priscilla helped Aquila to show the way more perfectly to Apollos, and the Souls of Women are as dear in the sight of the Lord as those of men, and Women are much more fit to make addresses in a Mission Hall than old worn-out Clergymen.

For a great part of my life I have been in Authority, with scores of male agents, European and Native, under my orders, and I have always insisted upon Training, as a condition precedent. An untrained servant, however honest, well-intentioned, and willing, is of comparatively little use. A Women's Board of Management is essential to the selection, training, and control of female agents. Set a Woman to manage women. No female agent should be entertained without the approval of that Board. We have a Medical committee for our medical requirements; a Clerical committee for selection of Missionaries; a Financial committee for our Finance. The female agent is a speciality, the diagnosis of which exceeds the skill of the surgeon, the clergyman, or the financier. The matter is too high for the Lay committee without professional advice. The second step is, that female agents must be trained at some establishment specially devoted to the subject. We spend annually thousands in our Training Colleges for men, and no money is spent to a better purpose: let us not grudge what is required to refine, and place the mint-mark of Training and instruction on that purity, and consecrated talent, and that life-devotion, which is better than fine gold. I am more and more convinced, that the Spiritual side of a Missionary's duty depends as much upon Training and godly instruction, as it is admitted on all hands with regard to the medical and Educational side. I look with misgiving upon the haphazard mode, in which female agents have hitherto been supplied. It is wonderful, that they have been as good and efficient as they undoubtedly are. The Epoch for the simple, God-fearing, Scripture-loving, but otherwise uninstructed, Missionary, whether man or woman, is past. Arms of precision are required to fight the Lord's battles.

The disparity of the number of the sexes in this country is notorious. In every town there is a sweet superfluity of Women, to whom a vocation is not marked out, or sought for in vain, or at least not found. Endowed with talents, Education, and Spirituality, they stand, as it were, in the market-place of this great world, seeking employment. The brothers have gone forth in their prime to fight the Queen's battles, or carry on the great life-war in the ranks of their contemporaries. The sisters remain at home. The simple round, the common task, may be sufficient, where there is a round, and there is a task. But many even in early life have outlived the natural ties, which held them to the spot, where they were born, and they stand wistfully, and with weary spirit, looking out into the dim and remote future, with the inaudible cry of the heart: "My life, what shall I do with it? Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" The dove, let loose from the Ark, finds no place, on which it can rest its foot, and returns in despair.

In the Middle Ages, or in Roman Catholic countries, such flowers would be left to bloom away, undesired and unprofitable, in the sealed garden of the Convent; such nobility of character, such fervency of devotion, such capacity for God's work, would be crushed by an idle Ritual of Chapel-services, or be allowed to burn itself out as foolishly, as vainly, as the waxen tapers on the Altar. In Protestant countries there is an opening for better things. The tending of the sick-bed in the Hospital, the Soul-introspection during the midnight watch betwixt the dead and the dying, is a better chastisement of the proud and egotistic Spirit than the self-inflicted lash of the Abbess and the Nun. The conveying of the Gospel-blessing from village to village in India is more pleasing and profitable than the cold, cheerless chant of the midnight-Mass, where sanctity is only to be purchased by idleness.

Some may fall, and some have fallen by the roadside, as they enter the vineyard, or before even they have stretched out their hand to the tending the vines. The Lord considers the Will, not the deed, and, if the Soul's desire is to serve the Master, what matter whether He recalls the servant in the morn, or at noon, or at sunset, or whether He prefers the servant to the work, which that servant proposed to do? And, if the summons comes in a far country, what matter whence the enfranchised Soul takes its flight? Some may die in the carefully guarded home of their earthly parents; some in the solitary rest-house in India; some in the round straw hut in Africa. This is but the mode of transition. The object and end of the Life's labour, and journey, are the same.

Courage, Sister, be not cast down! Others have trod this path before you. When the Lord cometh, and reckoneth with His

servants, it will be found, that thy talent has gained five talents, that thy self-devotion has saved Souls. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!

London, 1885–1895.

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2. The Public Ministry of Women.

The importance of Women in home life, in the Hospital, in the School, in the visitation of the poor, and the general organization of the parish on the material side, goes without saying. The subject before us is to inquire: How far can the unquestioned talents, devotion, piety, and gifts of our sisters be utilized in the public Spiritual ministry for the saving of Souls?

Let misconceptions be cleared away. The verses in the Epistle to the Corinthians are supposed to close the subject to discussion: "Let women keep silence in the churches," etc. Paul wrote with reference to the existing necessity, and the moral capacity of the women at Corinth, in the same way that he wrote to Philemon with reference to the existing necessity, of dealing with Slaves. He had not in his thoughts the Holy Women of Europe of the Nineteenth century. In the same Epistle we read, that the Churches alluded to were rooms in private houses, as in that early period there were no buildings set apart for Worship. If his advice be taken literally, it must mean, that Women are to keep silence in every assembly of Christians. Their alternative was to consult their husbands. In that age Marriage took place in childhood, and no respectable woman was single. In the present age there are many single women, and many widows, all fit for the Service of the Lord, and, moreover, the husbands of many married women are, confessedly, totally unfit to teach their wives or anyone. We may lay this passage reverently aside, and consider the subject on its intrinsic merits without reference to Authority, for, in fact, it is a new phenomenon of the present Epoch.

Every good Gift, every perfect Gift, is from above; and those to whom a Heavenly Gift is lent, are bound to use it, and not to fold up the talent in a napkin, and no more blessed Gift has been conceded to God's poor creatures than the power of influencing others by gracious and wholesome words. There is a diversity of mode, in which such Gifts can be employed. The Bible-woman and Zenana-visitor enter the home of the non-Christian Oriental, closed absolutely to the foot of a male, and talk and read to, and pray with, the inmates. The visitor of the Hospital, or the trained woman-doctor, while in discharge

of their secular and benevolent duties, avail themselves of the opportunity of conveying the Gospel Message to the Souls of women, secluded by ancient custom from free intercourse with their fellows. The Female Evangelist passes from village to village in Oriental countries, and gathers the women together, and expounds to them the way of Salvation. To the untutored minds of these poor women she appears as an Angel from Heaven, unveiled, yet not immodest; fearless and strong, yet still a Woman, loving and tender; wise and prudent, yet condescending to hold sweet intercourse with, and by her words penetrate into, the Souls of poor, ignorant, Indian women and little children. Salvation is thus brought to the very door of hundreds, who knew not Christ, and who never would have known Him, had not the lips of Women been unsealed by the special outpouring in these last days of the Holy Spirit.

Passing upwards, we find Women acting as elected Churchwardens, as members of committees of Religious Societies, as Secretaries, as deputations on platforms, in Council-chambers, in the private study; and, wherever they are met, they are valued.

It is rash to say that the gift of prophecy has ceased in one of the senses of that word, *not* that of predicting future events, but of opening the hearts of men to the reception of Gospel-Truth: it is narrowing of the possibilities of Salvation; it is a refusal to make use of the weapons, with which the Spirit has armed our sisters. Women were always, and ever will be, more devout than their brothers. Now we find them unconsciously, and from no human forethought, ready to carry on the battle.

An American minister writes from India, that in the National Indian Congress there were Female delegates, and one of them, of high caste, appeared on the platform unveiled, and delivered an address in English. In the other end of the world, and in another level of Civilization, I read how, in a council of North American Indians, a woman took a leading part, such as Holy women used to take in the early centuries of the Hebrew Nation. The story is so unique, that I give it in detail: "When "the Quakers visited the Indians near Susquehanna in 1706, "they, accompanied by an interpreter, met the Council of the "Tribe, who all spoke in turn: one of them was a Woman: "they remarked that *some women were wiser than some men*, and "that they had not done anything for many years without the "Counsel of the ancient grave Woman, who spoke much in "their Council. She remarked that she looked on the coming "of the Quakers as something more than an ordinary event, as "they did not come to buy or sell, or get gain: but they came "in Love and respect to them, and desired their well-being "both here and hereafter." "North American Indians and The Friends," p. 65. In an assembly of drunken men and abandoned

women in an English city a Woman can get a hearing, and exert a blessed influence, while a man is powerless.

The Holy Spirit makes use of their hearts, their song, their voices, to carry His Message. They find themselves, without Human Training, in possession of this Gift, but are they not to use it, because the conventional tyranny of centuries has placed half mankind in subjection? But in the beginning it was not so, for male and female created He them. We must recollect, that the Devil makes use of female eloquence and female grace, to decoy poor weak Souls into forms of deadly error. Each form of anti-Christ has its prophetess. And are we to shut out one powerful means of Grace, to leave in the tent amidst the stuff a powerful and enthusiastic auxiliary, while a totally inadequate, and only partially efficient, force of men wages an unequal war against sin and unbelief? If anyone feels to the full the value of a redeemed Soul, he will welcome these new allies, even as a cohort of Angels, which the Lord in these last days had sent to carry on the warfare. In the last generation how often must the clergy have looked down from their pulpits on the vision of upturned faces of Holy Women, listening to Gospel-Truth, and profiting in their own Souls, but unable to impart to others; and some must have wished, that those, who were dumb by mere force of custom, might find a voice; and, behold, in these last days, there has been an outpouring of the Spirit, as in the vision of the Prophet Joel, and the fulfilment of the day of Pentecost, on the daughters and handmaidens.

Far be it from me to suggest that Women should be admitted to Ordination, or to the Pulpit, in a consecrated place of Worship; but to everything short of that, viz., to the assembly, to the Mission-hall, the hospital-Chapel, the club-room, the cabin of the ship, the tent in the encampment, the hillside amidst the miners, the great halls of industry of the manufacturers, the workhouse of the poor; in fact, to every conceivable place, where the human voice can be heard, where men and women congregate, and when there are Souls to be saved. There can be no standing on ceremony, or privilege, or etiquette, among those, who think sadly on a dying Soul. "Nobody ever spoke to me," said a poor dying young Officer in India to a friend, who visited him in his last hours. Had there been no Woman in his neighbourhood to awaken his slumbering conscience, or was she held back from speaking?

In the whole of His ministry our Lord was accompanied by Women: they as well as His male disciples were learning their lesson: Women were present at the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and on the day of Pentecost. The man of Macedonia, of whom so much with such little relevancy is

made, as appearing to Paul, was really a Woman. The Gospel-Message finds its entry, when some preparation has been made, when there are prepared receptive hearts, prepared wills, and praying spirits: it was precisely at the Προσευχή, or Place of Prayer by the riverside at Philippi, that Paul found the devout Women assembled, and the first convert made out of Asia mentioned by name was a Woman, Lydia of Thyatira in Asia Minor, but, as she and her household were settled in Philippi, she was the firstfruits of Europe: she was one that worshipped God, before she met Paul; and she was unwittingly the cause of the first persecution of the Gospel in Europe.

In Thessalonica we hear of the "chief Women, not a few being added"; at Berea we read of "Greek Women of rank." The tribute paid by Paul to the Women, who helped him, was remarkable; John wrote one of his three Epistles to a Woman; Priscilla and Aquila together set Apollos right in certain doctrines, and in the greeting of Paul in the last Chapter of the Romans the name of that Woman precedes that of the man. Those, who unduly press the argument, that Women were to keep silence in the Churches, may be reminded that this rule did not apply in the Temple at Jerusalem, for Anna, the Prophetess in the Temple, spake of Jesus to all them, that looked for redemption.

Since receiving a request to write a paper on this subject, I attended a great annual Missionary Meeting in London. Two male Missionaries from China spoke, and spoke well. They were followed by a young Woman, who had laboured four years among the Women of China. Her words were gentle and low, but still heard throughout the vast hall. There were no tricks of oratory, but her clasped hands gave emphasis to her story. The Holy Spirit spoke through her unmistakably: if the object of speaking is to touch hearts, to evoke noble emotions, to suggest thoughts, that will not die, but remain as an abiding possession, she succeeded. We seemed to hear the Women of China pleading, "Come over and help us." The hour was late; many a train was missed that afternoon, for of the two thousand, who filled that hall, none dared to stir, and, when she ceased, some lent forward, as if she were still speaking, for they were not satiated and desired more. Can such Gifts be deemed valueless and to be pushed aside to make room for the amiable old clergyman, whose day of utterance is past, or the young neophyte, concerning whom it is doubtful, whether the day will ever come at all?

Religious Review of Reviews, 1892–1895.

3. Proposal to Admit Women as Members of Religious Committees.

Dear Friend,

I beg to intimate to you that I have given notice, that I intend on July 17 to propose the following resolution: "That women be eligible to seats on the committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society."

This does not imply, that there *must be a certain number* of women on the committee, but that, if the name of a woman be proposed, it shall not be ruled out by the chairman, on the ground, that women are, under the organic laws and regulations, or unbroken custom, ineligible. Whatever may have been the practice in past years, there is nothing in the laws, which justifies exclusion.

I recognize unmistakably, that the Women of the twentieth century will be fit for, and therefore entitled to, a much larger share in the administration of Religious and benevolent Associations: our sisters have generally more leisure than their brothers; they are animated by more fervour, and more Holy zeal; in many instances they have exhibited unequalled devotion, and great capacity.

In many quarters the battle has been won. No Board of Parochial Guardians, no Hospital-committee, no Missionary-committee for the selection of female agents, or the administration of Associations for the conversion of women, would give satisfaction, if composed entirely of men. More than this, learned Societies, such as the Royal Asiatic, Zoological, Botanical, Statistical, Anthropological Societies, and the British Association, admit Women to membership, and place no bar on their election to the governing body, *if deemed fit*.

In our own Society what would our district-Secretaries do without the persistent, stirring, and able, assistance of the women of the community? Some years back I was fortunate enough to persuade our committee to introduce Bible-Women into Asiatic countries. Later on I proposed, that the post of Honorary Life Governor should be conferred on Women: it was rejected in committee, but the idea gained ground, and was gradually accepted, and on entering the committee one day, I found, that my rejected resolution was being carried. We already employ Women as translators, and proof-correctors, and I feel sure, that, as time goes on, new doors for sanctified influence will be opened to them. If the world consists of 1400 Millions,

half that enormous number are women. Are we to place half the population of the world under a disadvantage?

When two years ago I took leave of the committee of the Church Missionary Society, after half a century of membership of the Society, my final proposal was to admit Women to the committee, because in very deed the names of several Women most competent for that office, must have occurred to all. However, two members of the General committee, who knew little of the work of Missions, or of the onerous duties of the Group and Corresponding committees, moved the previous question, and without discussion the matter was dropped, but I myself feel a solemn conviction, that the new century will not open upon us without the presence in all Religious committees of one, two, or more godly Women. We are plainly resisting the enlightened and holy tendencies of the age in excluding our qualified sisters from the fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations, and the display of their undoubted capacity for giving wise counsel, for controlling details of administration, especially as regards female converts, and for representing their sex in the foremost ranks of their Master's battle against ignorance and sin.

My connection with all Associations must soon end: I have given such time, talents, and money, to the most blessed work of the Bible-Society, as were at my disposal; but I wish to be remembered after my departure as one, who for many years strove to remove the social inequalities of the two sexes in every department of secular and Spiritual life.

I trust that my friends, during the interval, which will elapse before the Resolution is brought forward, will think out, and discuss among themselves, this important subject, so that, if the Resolution be not accepted, the public may be informed what were the solid reasons for rejecting it.

Yours faithfully,

Robert N. Cust,

Vice-President of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

June 24, 1893–1895.

N.B. I was left in a minority of only two members, but I feel confident, that sooner or later the Reform must be carried.

4. What Women have Received from the Bible, and what Services they can Render in Return.

The kingdom of Heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal.

Since the earliest Epochs and in all countries, women have been more or less oppressed by the stronger sex: whether in a high Oriental civilization, or in the low level of the barbarian of North America, Africa, and Oceania. But from the earliest days, wherever the Spirit of the Bible prevailed, women were treated with respect, Love, and honour: there existed, indeed, Polygamy up to the time of the Captivity, but we find no trace of it after the return from Exile. Daughter, sister, mother, were words accompanied with a blessing, as they suggested blessings. The Jews had much to learn of our Lord, but in this particular there was less cause for reproof. By placing the mark of His disapproval on divorce He corrected the only flaw in the relation of the sexes. Throughout the Epistles of Paul we find tender salutations, full of respect and love to his dear female fellow-workers, and no doubt they were worthy of the honour, though History is silent as to the nature of their Services to him personally. Nothing, however, is more striking in the Gospel-narratives than the fearless and persistent devotion of the daughters of Jerusalem to their Lord, who had been deserted by his male followers with the exception of John. First at the Sepulchre; last at the Cross!

It would occupy too much space to chronicle what Women have done for the work of Missions. I wish only to record how much they have done and are doing for the British and Foreign Bible Society.

1. What would become of our local organizations in this country, if Women were not forward in every detail! How altered the appearance of audiences, if Women were not present to hear the speakers! How vain would be the efforts of Secretaries and deputations without those "sisters, who laboured much in the Lord!" How strange, on our annual gatherings, would Exeter Hall appear in the absence of the devout Women, a great multitude, who show so impressively, by their numbers, how deep is their devotion to the work of their Lord!

2. Love is more valuable than wealth; still, to carry on this great work, money is required, and if the gold and silver in our treasure-house could cry out, how many coins would say, "Directly or indirectly, by the influence of mother, daughter, and wife, a woman sent me." If Eve tempted man to sin, to how many good actions have women led men by good example and gentle persuasion!

3. In the foreign field Women have not been absent, in their labours in the Depôt or as colporteurs. We all recollect the notable instance of that good lady at Neufchatel, who so many years, without remuneration, from simple love of the Book, kept the Depôt, and did the work of a silent Evangelist. Some years ago, at Moscow, I was in the Depôt, when a Woman entered and began to fill her empty sack with Bibles, and I found that she was a book-hawker, who went her daily round, content with the small percentage upon her sales. She looked for her full tale of wages for her work to Heaven, and to her Master there.

4. In the home-field we bless the name of Bible-Women, and of the dear departed friend, who set on foot the enterprise. In the streets and the homes of the poor, in the docks and the manufactories, wherever sinners are collected together, there Bible-women are found. Not many, that are wise in things of this world; not many that are great, as man calculates greatness; nor may they be beautiful to the eye, that sees only the outward form; they are only humble handmaidens of the Lord, but their names will be written among the Angels.

5. In Oriental countries, where women are by the custom of the country secluded from the men, what chance would a poor woman have to know the truth but for the appearance of her sister from Europe and North America, some to teach, some to heal, and some to bear about the Book of Life, to read it to ears, which never heard the story of the Precious Promises before, to leave it in the hands of those, who have found out its value? Is not this the leaven, which a Woman took and hid in a measure of meal? Will it not be remembered in the great day, when all things are revealed?

6. Let me allude to even higher things. All Gifts come from the Lord, and as they belong to Him, to Him must the firstfruits and the last gleanings be rendered. Women have not been wanting, to whom the great Gift has been granted of a sanctified power of rendering the meaning of inspired words in the Hebrew and Greek into the Vernacular spoken by the Natives. Let us reflect how mighty such a Gift is; how blessed are they who have been chosen to exercise this Gift. Some may have converted souls by their living voice; this is a great Grace, but to the sister, whose voice speaks beyond the grave we must say, "Thou excellest them all!"

Thus I have noticed briefly the good work of our sisters. The Lord will reward them!

Is the intellect of any man so crass, and his experience so limited, that he is not aware, that a Woman can be as eloquent as men, when a subject occupies her thoughts?

British and Foreign Bible Society, July, 1890–1895.

5. Women's Work and the Church of Rome.

One of the most interesting developments of the Missionary spirit of modern times is that of Woman's work among Heathen and Mahometan women. When we see secular Institutions like Lady Dufferin's Fund start, we rejoice, because it is Christ's Work done, though without the blessed accompaniment of Christ's Word. But what shall be said of the Papal development of this movement? I have received a pamphlet in the English Language from high Roman Catholic quarters, headed "The Missionary Catechists of Mary Immaculate." It goes over all the reasons for making the movement, the necessity, and the opportunity, and then follow these words: "Mary seems to "wish to respond to the solemn proclamation of the Immaculate "Conception in preparing the liberation of Eve's poor daughters. "She has inspired Christian Souls with the thought of founding "under her high patronage a work of prayer and Sacrifice. "Pope Leo XIII has enriched by precious Indulgences the "work of Mary Immaculate."

From India a Bishop writes: "My heart, inundated with joy, "overflowed in thanksgiving before the Blessed Sacrament, and "the Altar of Mary Immaculate, who has inspired generous "Souls with the thought of rehabilitation of Pagan women."

From China a Bishop writes: "I pray the Virgin Immaculate "to extend the mantle of her protection more and more over "a work, that must be so pleasing to her. . . The Eagle of "Patmos saw a multitude led to kneel at the feet of the Lamb "by the voice of the devoted soldiers of Mary Immaculate."

The author of this pamphlet goes on to say: "To these in- "numerable approbations of the work of Mary Immaculate "must be added that gratitude, which our zealous Missionaries "lay at the feet of our Saviour, and His Immaculate Mother, "when they bear witness to the fruits already attained by its "means. I now see to whom after God we owe the muscle of "our perseverance, viz., to the prayers and good works of the "Association of Mary Immaculate.

"Of so many supplications, made to Mary Immaculate, and "presented by that sweet Mother of God at the foot of the "throne of her Son Jesus, the fruit should be to inspire numbers "of Christian Women with the heroic resolution of hastening to "the succour of their poor Pagan sisters, and leading them "to filial tenderness towards the Blessed Virgin, who is the "dispenser of all God's Graces."

A Missionary in China writes: "I pray to God to move the Council of the Association to have confidence in the Virgin Immaculate."

The Council, speaking for itself, says: "Witness of the rapid "development attained under the visible protection of the "Blessed Virgin, the Council with entire confidence in its "august patron faces the great work. The associates of Mary "Immaculate are finally exhorted to redouble the ardour of their "prayers, and the generosity of their voluntary Sacrifices, in "order that the patronage of the most Blessed Virgin may day "by day display itself more powerfully over this work, of which "after God she alone has the whole glory."

This paper was printed at St. Andrew's Press, Barnet, in Great Britain, and circulated in February, 1888. It reads like a romantic legend of the dark Middle Ages: the odd statement of the date and place of printing may recall the reader from the world of wonderful romance, and priestly delusion, to the hard facts. Throughout there is not one word quoted from the Bible, so rich in appropriate passages, no allusion the most distant, to the Holy Spirit, and only a passing notice of our Saviour, as a kind of lay figure, and a conventional use of the phrase "after God." All power, all willingness to help, all motive to good works, all aspirations to holiness and work of charity, are centred in the person of the lowly handmaid of the Lord, the Virgin Mother, who is fondly and fancifully, without any authority of Scripture, presumed to be omnipresent, omniscient, cognizant of all that is going on in the world, with power to inspire the hearts of her devotees, with an ear open to their prayers, and the only medium of God's Graces. Can it be doubted that in the Roman Catholic Church there exists a Quaternity, *not* a Trinity, or, if a Trinity, that the Virgin Immaculate has usurped the place, and the functions, of the Holy Spirit?

February, 1888–1895.

6. Work of Roman Catholic Women in British India.

It is an interesting and instructive sight to see how Women's work is conducted by the Church of Rome. The Women here alluded to come from Savoy, in France, work under the Monks of St. Francis of Sales, and, sixteen in number, live entirely on the monthly allowance of one hundred and fifty Rupees, made by the British Government in the Educational Department. I make a few quotations from a report of the Superior General of the Missionaries given in the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith, in the Number of September, 1892, published in London, now on my table.

These religious Women have their Mother-home at Chavanod, near Annecy (Savoy), "under the protecting shadow of France": they have devoted themselves to the Salvation of Souls in India since 1886. The station of Amraoti is to the West of Nagpúr: a tract of ground was purchased for their dwellings, etc.: in order to assure themselves of the means of living it was necessary to have a School, to which the British Government would accord a grant. By degrees the little girls came to it—Christians, alas! mostly Protestants! and then the Natives.

The Sisters, while they taught, studied English, Maráthi, and Hindustáni: they were *dispensed* from that point of their Rule, which forbids the use of a pianoforte, and gave lessons: as the Priest wrote, "they take flies with their honey, and Maráthi with the piano."

The good God has visibly protected the community: not a Sister has died. They have a dispensary in the city, which is called Nazareth: the Sisters commenced by making use of one *remedy only*, "*water from Lourdes*," and the cures wrought were numerous enough to increase their reputation: but, as they did not wish *to tempt God*, they studied pharmacy, and prepared medicines: they became popular, and the moment arrived for which they had longed: little children were brought to the dispensary with the hand of death upon them, and when the only remedy for them was the best of all remedies the waters of Baptism. More than one Mother, *without knowing it*, carried away a little Christian in her arms, who died on the road, to live for ever in Heaven: but these *conquests* were rare.

When a poor child in its agony is brought to them, what joy! The Sisters divide the duties: one engages the attention of the public by dressing wounds; the other collects herself, says a prayer, and produces the blue flask, a small bottle of holy water: the parents look on: the Sister washes the *baby's head, and it is given back better than cured, saved for eternity*!

The baptisms *in extremis* in 1891 exceeded 600: some Brahmins finally attempted to cast suspicion on this new kind of remedy, and accused the Sisters of killing the children with charmed waters.

"At times a heart-broken mother comes: her child, unable to "be moved, lies dying in her hut: would the Great Lady come "and see it? And like an angel, the daughter of the Cross trips "from her cart, and discovers a child half dead, *and speedily the "water from the blue flask presents one of the elect to Paradise*!"

The Sisters take care not to eat, except when out of sight, for they would lose their prestige, *and would no longer be considered of noble caste*, if they were seen taking food in public.

Parents overcome with misery offer to let the Sisters take one of their children under their charge for ever: *sometimes rupees are given in exchange*: a triumphal entry is made into the orphanage! In such cases there is no hurry to baptize: Baptism is not administered until the child understands the meaning of it. (Do the Sisters understand the meaning?)

Prudence, and the Law of the Church, forbid Baptism, except in danger of death, to the children of infidels against the wish, and without the knowledge, of, their Parents or Guardians: the Nuns meet with poor creatures, whose illness *is not serious enough to render it lawful to baptize them*: the Sisters have to be careful not to arouse suspicion by taking too frequent steps in the matter: they go back as soon as they may to the village, and make inquiries: the child is dead, and tears are shed, while a Sister of the Cross writes this bad news in a letter.

Another centre of operations is at Ellichpúr.

It will be remarked, that in the practice of these poor women there is gross deceit, grovelling superstition, purchase of human flesh for money, and an entire failure to realize the Precious Promises of the Gospel: and all this is supported by grants from a State-Educational-Department: of real Hospital work, and honest primary Education, there is no mention, nor do we read of a single adult convert: *so much the better*: perhaps the making use of the waters of Lourdes to cure diseases in India, and producing a *blue flask of holy water* to baptize a dying, or even a dead, child, while the bystanders believe, that a medical lineament is being applied, indicates a conception of Religion far below that of a Mahometan, infinitely below that of a Buddhist, and slightly below that of a sensible Hindu.

September 28, 1892–1895.

D.—The Native Teacher.

Address at Strangeways, Manchester.

The Isles shall wait on Me.—Isaiah, lx, 9.

The speaker, who preceded me, has dwelt on the Lord's work in India, that country, the interests of which are so near to my heart. Twenty-five years' residence has taught me to love the people, whose Languages and customs have become to me as familiar as my own. India has been indeed the joy of my youth and manhood. The speaker, who follows me, will treat of Africa, the land of my adoption, the solace of my old age, to which I have consecrated twenty-five years of study. India and Africa are the popular, and best known, topics of Missionary interest. Their populations can only be counted in hundreds of millions. I seek to interest you this day in the story of the Gospel in the islands of the South Sea; the shaking of the olive-tree; the gleaning grapes, when the vintage is done; the few sheep left in the wilderness: yet God's Grace has been marvellously evidenced in these islands, the utmost ends of the world, concerning the existence of which neither Prophet nor Evangelist had the remotest conception. Isaiah, in a moment of inspiration, cried out on three several occasions:

"The Isles shall wait for His Law" (xlii, 4). "The Isles shall wait on Me and on Mine arm shall they trust" (l, 5). "Surely the Isles shall wait for Me, to bring thy sons from far, unto the name of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because He has glorified thee" (lx, 9).

Our Blessed Lord told His disciples:

"That in those days the Son of Man would gather His elect from the four winds, from the uttermost parts of the earth" (Mark, xiii, 27).

It is only in this generation, that the magnificence of the prediction can be realized in its fulness.

The world is generally considered to consist of four continents; but lying outside them in the bosom of the Pacific are fairy Regions, sealed and secluded gardens of the Ocean, where "Day never shuts her eye": Regions which were dreamt of by the Poet Horace:

"Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus; Arva Beata,
Petamus Arva, divites et Insulas."

In later days Tennyson has described them in a few wondrous lines:

" there to wander far away
On from island unto island at the gateways of the Day,
Larger constellations burning, mellow moons and happy skies,
Breadth of tropic shade and palms in cluster, knots of Paradise:
Never comes the trader, never floats an European flag.
Slides the bird o'er lustrous woodland, swings the trailer from the crag;
Droops the heavy-blossomed bower, hangs the heavy-fruited tree,
Summer-isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of sea."

These Regions have been marked by frightful crimes, Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, Sorcery, and by the murders of Cook and La Perouse, the explorers, and John Williams and Patteson, the Missionaries. Yet God did not leave them for ever without a witness, and at the close of last century Missionaries found their way to Tahiti from England: later on, Hawaii and Mikronesia were occupied by an American Mission: soon afterwards, New Zealand was evangelized from England, as well as Samoa, Fiji, the Loyalty islands, the New Hebrides, Bank's islands, Santa Cruz, Solomon islands, and New Guinea. Never, since the days of Pentecost, had there been so plentiful an outpouring of the Spirit, for God chose men of the humblest station to be His messengers, and the Divine method of sending out Native Teachers two and two to evangelize their own countrymen was adopted with wonderful success by all Protestant Denominations. Those, who have travelled in tropical climates, know how at night the ship leaves behind it a long and broad brilliant furrow of light, marking for many leagues the course, which has been taken. Such is the light left behind in their annual visits by the Missionary Ships, the " John Williams," the " Wesley," the " Southern Cross," and the " Dayspring," the memories of unselfish acts of kindness, devotion to the best interests of the islanders, and the desire to elevate them, and protect them from their own cruel customs, and from the vicious trader, and heartless man-stealer, who came from Europe.

The Region of Oceania has sometimes been called Australasia, as being a southern extension of Asia; but the name of Oceania is more suitable. With certain exceptions it is South of the Equator and North of the Tropic of Capricorn. Estimated by its land-area, it is only a little larger than Europe; estimated by the surface on the face of the Globe, over which the islands are spread, the area occupied exceeds that of Asia, for it stretches from Australia on the West to Easter island on the East, from the Sandwich islands North of the Equator to the Southern point of New Zealand. It does not include Malaisia: it may be

said of Oceania, that it is entirely outside the influence of Asiatic Religions and culture.

The four Subdivisions are: I. Polynesia; II. Melanesia: III. Mikronesia; IV. Australia. The last may be omitted from this discussion, as little or nothing has been done to evangelize the Natives, and this is a heavy blot on the Churches of Australia, which undertakes to send out Missions to New Guinea, while 80,000 of the Queen's subjects at their very door know not the Saviour, and have not one Translation of the Bible in their numerous Languages in circulation.

Polynesia includes the Groups of the Paumotu, Society, Harvey or Cook, Marquesas, Sandwich, Ellis, Samoa, Tonga, and New Zealand. The number of islands is very great, and the beauty of the scenery, and the fertility of the soil, notorious. Their existence may be said to have been certified by Tasman in 1642, but they were first brought to notice by Captain Cook, who, in the first of his celebrated voyages, visited Tahiti, and in his last perished at the Sandwich islands. The population is one race, and they all speak closely connected Languages: though a noble race, tall, fair, agreeable, and beautiful, they were Nature-worshippers and Cannibals; but they are now nearly entirely Christians. The London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the American Board of Foreign Missions, and the Church Missionary Society, have accomplished this noble work: the Marquesas, Paumotu, and the Islands of Wallis and Horn, are mainly Roman Catholic. Great Britain has taken possession of New Zealand; France of Tahiti, Paumotu, and Marquesas. Other Groups maintain a precarious independence.

To the West of Polynesia lies the Region of Melanesia. The British Colony of Fiji is on the extreme Eastern flank, and a necklace of islands extends in a semicircular sweep to the great island of New Guinea, the whole of which is included, and has been divided between Holland, Great Britain, and Germany. France is in possession of the islands of New Caledonia, and the Isle of Pines; the remainder are for the moment independent, but the end seems approaching. The population speak a multiplicity of totally different Languages: they are black, inhospitable, savages. Still the Grace of God has been found sufficient to carry the Gospel to a large number, and the work is being pushed forward at different points by the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the Presbyterian Associations of Scotland, Australia, and Canada, and the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England. Perils of no ordinary character had to be encountered: perils of the deep, for the steamship through an unsurveyed sea was the only means of communication; perils of the climate, perils from cruel,

treacherous savages, whose worst passions had been roused by the injuries inflicted upon them by the men-stealers from Australia and Fiji, and the depravity caused by the introduction of intoxicating liquors, and foul diseases. Difficulties presented themselves of no ordinary character, to secure safe and decent protection from the weather, to provide supplies of food, to train Native Teachers, to collect Scholars from distant islands, and to master the strangely different Languages.

Mikronesia lies wholly North of the Equator, consisting of the Caroline islands, belonging to Spain, the Marshall islands recently annexed by Germany, and the Gilbert islands. The population is gentle, hospitable, free from savage and criminal habits, speaking, however, several distinct Languages. The American Board of Foreign Missions has prosecuted its quiet labours with marked success.

It is not my object in this paper to state in detail the particular work done by different Missionaries. Still less is it my object to fall into the too common error of unduly glorifying individuals. In the long list of heroes, above all tower the names of John Williams and James Patteson, for they were selected by Divine Providence for the honour of sealing their Faith by the offer of their lives; and I call particular attention to the fact, that no wish was expressed by their friends, nor attempt made by the British Government, to avenge their lives, though nothing in their cases could have been easier. The true-hearted Missionary trusts not in the staff of a broken reed, the Arm of the Flesh, but in the Lord his God.

One characteristic feature of the labours in all these Regions has been the Translation of the Bible, or of portions, into the Languages of the tribes, as they came under Missionary influence. The versions thus prepared, and published by the Bible-Societies, came upon the Scholars of Europe with all the freshness of a new Revelation. It is indeed wonderful to handle Translations into the Languages of Tahiti, Rarotonga, the Marquesas, Hawaii, Samoa, Niue, Tonga, and Maori, in Polynesia; of Fiji, Rótuma, Maré, Lifu, Uvea, Aneityum, Tanna, Nguna, Fútuna, Erromanga, Aniwa, Faté, Mota, Florida, and Isabel, in the Groups of the Loyalty, New Hebrides, Banks', and Solomon islands, in the Language of the islands of Murray, and Saibai in Torres Straits, and the Duke of York island, and New Britain, in St. George's Strait, and Mafúr, Motu, and South Cape in New Guinea, all in Melanesia. Add to this versions in the Languages of Kusai, Ebon, Gilbert Islands, Ponapé, and Mortlock islands, all in Mikronesia. Nowhere is the precious Gift of the Bible more valued than by these newly-converted races: the people of Samoa remitted the whole cost of the expense of printing their version: when a Mission-ship touches at a port, whole

editions are sold off before the ship is unloaded. Free gifts to the Bible Society are tendered by less wealthy islands in the form of arrowroot grown specially for the purpose. When the French Priests tried to wean the people of Tahiti from their Bibles, they found, that all their efforts were in vain: so firm a hold had the Blessed Book been able to lay on the Souls and consciences of these unsophisticated races, who read, and believed, and practised.

But another still more wonderful characteristic feature has distinguished the Mission-work of Polynesia and Melanesia from that of every other Region in the world. I allude to the universal and successful employment of Native Teachers, acting independently of the European Missionaries, who trained young men, collected in central spots, and then sent them out, two and two, to the different islands occupied by Heathen Cannibals. When the Mission-ship returned the following year, it was found, that these devoted men had either worked a wonderful change in the island, or had been killed and devoured. A few extracts tell the story with lifelike fidelity.

In 1876 a Samoan Teacher was left on the island of Nanomanga, seventy-five miles N.W.: it was the third time that the attempt had been made. In 1877 the island was visited by the Missionary with great anxiety for the safety of the poor man and his wife. A canoe came off, and the Native, being asked after the Teacher, replied in broken English, "He good man," and the Teacher soon came on board, and told, how the temple of the Heathen-deity had been destroyed, that a Chapel had been built, that the King and many of the chiefs had become Christians: out of the whole island 150 were Christians and 86 still Heathen.

In 1840 a party of Native Christians from Samoa visited Niue, or Savage island, in hopes of preaching the Gospel. They were not allowed to land, but three Natives came off to their ship, and were conveyed to Samoa. One of them, named Peniamina, felt the Power of the Gospel, and longed to convey it to his home. He tried in 1842, but failed; in 1846 he tried again. A chief of the island had come to Samoa, and being favourably impressed with Christianity, the two were conveyed to Niue. The chief swam ashore, told the people, that a Teacher wished to come, and the chiefs agreed. The sea was so rough that no boat could be used. Peniamina put his books into a cask, and jumped into the sea, and on October 26th, 1846, stood as a Teacher on his own island. He was ill-treated and robbed, but his life was spared. When the Mission-ship came back, after two years, it was found, that the work was done, that Religious services had commenced, and that they were willing to receive a Samoan Teacher. Paulo and his wife landed in October, 1849.

At first they were dreadfully ill-treated, but they bore it with patience. Paulo laboured thirteen years and a half, and translated a portion of the New Testament into the Language: he taught hundreds to write; he taught them house-building and carpentry; he preached the Gospel, and converted a great many: he found them naked savages, he left them a community of civilized professing Christians.

After much faithful labour, the Isle of Tonga was brought to Christ. The Missionary urged on the Tonga Teachers the claim of the neighbouring island of Fiji for help: two of the younger and best men at once offered themselves willingly, and were sent. Teachers from Tonga island were sent to Rotuma island, 800 miles distant, and were the first to learn the Rotuma Language, and preach the Gospel.

The mortality among the Polynesian Teachers, who had volunteered to carry the Gospel to the black Cannibal races of Melanesia, was estimated by Bishop Selwyn, who had opportunity of seeing their work, at fifty, mostly from Samoa and Rarotonga; yet no better proof could be desired of the earnestness of the Christian converts in these islands than their readiness to volunteer for the most perilous posts, in order to prepare the way for the European Missionary. Of two Teachers sent to New Caledonia, long before the French occupation, one asked to be removed; he feared for his life: the other was ready to stay, or try some other island; he wished to live and die in the service of Christ. It was proposed to remove him to the more peaceful Island of Maré: he replied that he might as well be killed in New Caledonia as at Maré.

In the Isles of Pines, close by, the lives of the Teachers were in constant jeopardy. They were surrounded by men thirsting for their blood. Taunga said: "Come on, kill us; we are not afraid. Close our lips in death, but remember that you will not thereby silence the Word of God." The murderers were daunted, and desisted.

Teachers often had to leave, but they tried after a season to return, and with success. When killed, they were always devoured. There were some strange contrasts. In Maré there were two Teachers: one died of consumption, and the Natives wept, as if he had been one of themselves, and their fear was lest the other should die also; they supplied him with food, and would not let him run any risk.

From the Island of Aniwa, in the New Hebrides, the Natives sent out three of themselves as Teachers and Evangelists to help to give the Gospel to a Heathen island; yet about fifteen years ago all the inhabitants were Heathen Cannibals, in a state of nudity; now they are all professed Christians, and conduct night and morning family-Worship.

On the Island of Faté four Samoa Teachers were left. Some died from the climate; two settled with their wives and children at the express request of the Natives, but within three weeks they were all killed and devoured. Five years later three Rarotonga Teachers volunteered to renew the attempt, and succeeded, and an English Missionary soon followed. At this same island of Rarotonga, some time previously, Papeiha and another landed with their wives; but they were so ill-treated and plundered, that they had to retreat. Papeiha volunteered to stay alone, and in a little more than a year the entire population was engaged in building a Chapel. If any attempt was made to remove a favourité Teacher, the men and women rose up to retain him by force.

The people of Niua Tobatabu were anxious to spread the glad tidings of the Gospel to a neighbouring island, and they sent a canoe, which foundered, and the Teacher was drowned. His body was washed ashore, and his hand still grasped a bundle of Scripture-books, from which he was not parted in his watery grave: we may well believe, that by the precious Truths, which he was so anxious to carry to others, he himself was strengthened in his last hour: the Great Master did not permit him to accomplish his loving intentions.

The Native Teachers were indeed on one side weak: they could not conduct their hearers beyond the point, to which they had themselves attained. They could read and write, and were single minded, believing, praying, and zealous, and their labours received a manifold blessing. On the other hand, they were the best pioneers: the gap between the European and the low barbarian was too great to be at once spanned. The Native Teacher squatted in the hut, and told in simple words the story of Jesus: he had more opportunities of bringing the matter home to the consciences and hearts of his ignorant audience; they knew what he himself had been, and now was; he could tell them what had wrought the wondrous change. There must also be in the Polynesian race a power and a dignity, for when it came to the time, that the Papuans of New Guinea should be evangelized, they laughed at their dark congeners from the New Hebrides, but obeyed the Polynesians of Rarotonga and Samoa. There was a wonderful facility and readiness for talk among the Polynesians; they were not troubled with bashfulness, and they made very active agents. A visitor to the Mission remarked, that at first sight it appeared strange to see a man clad in some grotesque dress, such as the old coat of a soldier, or nothing but a cotton wrapper round the loins, stand up and lead the devotions of a people; but the strangeness was all on the visitor's side. These men all occupied a good position in the estimation of their fellow-worshippers,

and expressed themselves in a way, that was true to the feelings and wants of all, as is evidenced by reading many of the prayers, which they have uttered, and which have been recorded. No attempt appears to have been made to provide for their sustenance, while they were acquiring a new Language totally different from their own. They had to cultivate plantations for the support of their family; all the salary, which they received, was about five to ten pounds per annum for the purpose of purchasing a stock of clothing. They suffered great privations from the climate, insufficient nourishment, and bad dwelling-houses; and, until the change of the dispositions of the people came, lived in constant fear for the lives of all, and the honour of their females. It makes the relative position of the British Missionary, with all his requirements, appear very small in the scale of consecration and devotion, when weighed in the great balance, in which all God's creatures are in His sight equal. We speak with pride of the African redeemed slave, or the first generation of redeemed slaves, standing out bravely in his new profession; but these Polynesians were something worse. It is a misfortune, not a shame, to have been a slave; but some of these teachers belonged themselves to Cannibal races; they had taken part in Human Sacrifices, child-murder, and Idolatrous abominations, and yet the Grace of God had so worked upon them, that they counted their lives as nothing compared to the Cross of Christ; they gave a reality in the nineteenth century to the eleventh chapter of Hebrews; they were neither wise nor great, nor powerful, but they were faithful in life, and constant in death.

I give another story to show, that women were not wanting in this holy war. I have already noted, that the wives always accompanied the Teachers. In Rarotonga a Native Teacher once expressed to his Missionary his desire to get married, "akaipoipo vaine." The Missionary expressed his concurrence, and asked if he had thought of any one: "Yes, I have been thinking of Maria, the daughter of another Teacher."

On being asked, if he had made known his desires to her, he replied, that he had not spoken to her, but that he had been looking at her for a long time. On being told, that something more than looking was necessary, he produced a letter, which ran as follows: "I, Akatangi, have been now appointed to go as "a Native Teacher to the Heathen in the dark lands westwards. "I have been looking at you for a long time, and I desire, that "you will go with me. If you love Jesus, if you love the "Heathen, and if you love me, let us go together. Think of "this, and let me know. Blessings on you from Jesus. Amen. "Na Akatangi."

A Deacon of the Church conveyed this letter to Maria, who, on

being told whence it came, betrayed an expression of countenance, which showed, that his looking at her had produced no unfavourable impression, and on reading it, she was pleased to accept, with her parents' consent. They were married, went to Eromanga, the scene of the murder of John Williams, the two Gordons, and Mrs. Gordon, and lived with, and converted, the murderer of John Williams.

Perhaps, in some such way Timothy, or Titus, or Luke the beloved physician, wooed and won one of those chaste and sweet women, who were honoured by the Love of the Apostle Paul: Phebé, a "succourer of many and of myself also"; Tryphena and Tryphosa, "who laboured in the Lord," or "the beloved Persis." A respect for the weaker sex, and the gentle ties of pure conjugal Love, had been one of the earliest evidences of the new Christian life, and the women were worthy of the men, brave and faithful. We have to try to imagine what was meant in these words: "Go with me to the savages of Melanesia, to live or to die."

So they went on in the glory of their youth, and self consecration. We hear no more of them: they may on some sad day have been killed and devoured by their Cannibal flock, to whom they came bringing life everlasting, cheerfully surrendering their bodies to Him, to whom they had entrusted their Souls, in the morning of their pure and unsullied lives, or they may have lived on, to be the centres of a family, or a village, of Christian men and women, who had forgotten, as well as abandoned, their bad old customs. All these things lie in the hand of the Almighty, and, as far as poor Human creatures were concerned, it mattered not, if they had given their hearts to God. But what a lesson it is to the gilded and pampered youth of this so-called Christian country, where the cost of self-Sacrifice is so closely calculated, and where in many a heart the question has never presented itself, "What shall I render unto the Lord?"

Thus far I have alluded with honour, and praise, and fervent congratulation, to the labours of our brethren of the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Presbyterian Missionary Societies of the Free Church of Scotland, Australia and Canada, who have laboured with such success in Polynesia, and in Fiji, the Loyalty islands, and the New Hebrides, which last three are a part of Melanesia. As I proceed onwards I come into contact with the great and venerable names of Bishop Selwyn, the elder, and Bishop Patteson, who approached the Region from New Zealand. In their conceptions of Church-organization they were very far apart from their excellent predecessors, but they were both large-hearted men, and recognized good and true work, when they saw it. Bishop Selwyn writes: "I am much drawn to the L.M.S. by the Native Teachers, men,

" who in the infancy of their Faith have left home and friends " to live among men of another speech, and in the lowest depths " of barbarism, as the pioneers of the Gospel, by which the " European Missionary may enter and take possession. My " feelings are so strong and so full of affection towards these " faithful men, with whom the affinity of the Maori Language to " their Native idioms enables me to communicate freely, that " I lose no opportunity of showing them kindness."

The Bishop, however, saw the objection, that it was not likely, that men of that class would make much impression on the Heathen mind: he thought, also, that it was lowering to the whole character of Mission-work to confide to a subordinate agency the preliminary operations of a Mission, which, by the nature of the case, involve greater danger and require more self-denial. If there be danger of life to the British Missionaries, surely (said he) this is part of the duty, which the servants and soldiers of the Cross, who are best acquainted with their Master's Will, would claim for themselves. If there be no danger, then the chief argument for Native agency falls to the ground: it seems foreign to the high and self denying principle of Christian Love to expose a fellow-creature to danger, because his life is held to be of less value than that of his British brethren.

My reply is, that in the sight of God the life of the ignorant Polynesian Teacher is not of less value than that of the Doctor of Divinity from England. But the Admiral and General do not volunteer on the forlorn hopes; they leave it to the younger and less distinguished men: there are portions of the Mission duties, which the Native Teacher could not discharge; they can keep no accounts, write no reports, superintend no great organization; but they can hold the fort, they can pave the way, they can conciliate good will, they can bear up under the climate and hard life; if they fall, their place can be filled; when men like Selwyn and Patteson fall, the vacancy is hard to supply. And the good Bishop did not act up to the above expressed opinion. He organized a still more refined and elaborate system of Native Teachers. The maximum of success hoped for was the loan of a few lads from the different islands, born and bred in heathenism, on whom the influence of Christianity could be brought to bear. The Bishop had a vision of groups of boys entrusted to his care, and then returning to their homes, as in some sort Missionaries, and again and again coming to the College, first at Auckland in New Zealand, and subsequently at Norfolk island, or Sugar Loaf, *alias* Mota, island, in the Banks' islands Group, for further Training. Some would, in course of time, be ordained, and be sent back with a force, which no European could hope to possess, to impress the hearts and consciences of their Heathen brethren, and to build up a Church of Christ in these islands.

And his dream has been realized. It was set on foot by Patteson, the son of his adoption, and brought to perfection by Bishop Selwyn the younger, his son after the flesh. It was rightly considered, that without Training Native Teachers were quite incapable of conveying definite Truth to the Natives; yet the Gospel-Message, if rightly understood, and freed from the hard shell of Dogma and shibboleth, is very simple. Bishop Patteson expressed himself, that the careful Training of picked Scholars for future Missionaries was the most important part of his work, that he must provide for the multiplication of Native Missionaries to aid the permanent development of his Mission. He soon threw some of his own fire into the party of Melanesian lads, all speaking different Languages, but taught to understand the one *lingua franca* of Mota. This was a sample of his catechism:

Q. What means does God employ to make His Will known to us?
A. He uses men to teach.
Q. Can they do so by themselves?
A. No; but God makes them able.
Q. How have *you* heard the Gospel?
A. Because God sent *you* to us.
Q. How are the people still in ignorance to hear it?
(The Scholars looked shy, and some said softly),
A. *We must teach them.*
Yes, indeed you must, replied the Bishop.

The material was supplied in abundance, as the good Ship, the *Southern Cross*, performed its annual voyage of mercy from island to island. Selwyn the elder had said, *that the white corks were only to float the black net*, and so it proved. In the last year of his life (and I knew him and Selwyn, when I was a boy at Eton), Bishop Patteson writes: "The elder Scholars talk and "arrange among themselves plans for helping the Natives of the "other islands. Edward of Mota volunteers to go to Florida; "B. and his wife to Santa Maria; Robert P. and his wife to "Matlav; John Nona to Savo, and Andrew Lalena also. This "is very comfortable to me: it is *bonâ fide* giving up home and "country: it is an indication of a real desire to make known "the Gospel to other lands. So long as they will do this, so "long I think, that we may have the blessed assurance, that "God's Holy Spirit is indeed working in their hearts. *Dear "fellows! it makes me thankful.*"

Within the year a Native canoe floated out with the tide, bearing a body, marked with five wounds, and a palm-branch. The Bishop had shown the Melanesian lads the way to live and to die, and many instances have occurred, both before and after,

of their readiness to take up the Cross for the Spiritual welfare of the Heathen, their neighbours, but still strangers to them in blood, Language, and customs.

The time came, when the feet of the messengers of Good Tidings were to advance further North, and occupy the island of New Guinea, the greatest in the world, and the smaller islands in Torres Straits to the South, and the Duke of York's Island in St. George's Straits to the North. The pioneer European Missionaries advanced with their volunteer army of Native Teachers from the islands of the South Sea, from Tahiti, Rarotonga, Samoa, and the Loyalty islands, twenty-eight in number. They had counted the cost and were ready: when their labours had continued for more than ten years, they had helped to raise up a School of Native Teachers, who belonged to New Guinea. So sure it is, that the Lord's harvest is ever ready, if we only have Faith enough to go in and gather it; and in Murray island was established a Training Institution of one hundred New Guinea boys to hand on the lamp to the Regions beyond. No more recruits were sent for from the distant Southern islands: they had accomplished their blessed work, and, as the New Guinea staff of Native Teachers became efficient, the old men from Rarotonga and Tonga, on whom the climate had told prejudicially, were sent back laden with blessings, blessings from those, that had been once ready to perish, to their island-homes. There is still much land to occupy: the advancing lines of the London Missionary Society are but on the South-West coast; the Church of Australia proposes to occupy stations here also: the Wesleyan Society is as yet only on the islands of New Britain, New Ireland, and the Duke of York's island; but, working on the same lines, they will advance conquering and to conquer.

Are these things true? Are they only the fancy-pictures of excited piety? One Traveller, well known as an explorer, Mr. Wilfrid Powell, passes a severe judgment on the want of tact and patience, evidenced by some of them in New Britain; but he narrates as an eye-witness, how the bodies of four Teachers were sold in pieces to the Cannibal inhabitants of the village, and an attempt was made (fortunately in vain) to get hold of their wives and children. Mr. Powell took part in the rescue, and writes as an eye-witness of the perils, to which these intrepid servants of the Cross were exposed. On the South of New Guinea Mr. Lyne, an Australian Newspaper-reporter, quotes the report of a Missionary to the following effect: "How valuable were the "labours of the South Sea islanders (men of Rarotonga and "elsewhere)! The Teacher at Fort Moresby is one of the "foremost men; when the European gold-seekers were sick, he "went inland to carry them in and tend them; yet his father "was a Cannibal. At the East end of New Guinea, where

" Cannibalism still flourishes, the Teacher is a Loyalty islander,
" and has himself been a Cannibal. These cases show what the
" Gospel can do. The perils, to which they are exposed, are
" very great. The murder of a number of them is still fresh in
" our memory, and they have perils from wild beasts also."

Mr. Lyne had accompanied the expedition, which was sent to annex the Southern part of the island, and he knew what he was writing. Mr. Romilly, the Special Commissioner for New Guinea, writes that the Missionaries commenced a system of planting Native Teachers along the South coast of New Guinea; some died of fever; some were murdered by the Natives; but their general success in establishing a firm footing, and gaining an ascendency over the Natives, wherever they have been, shows clearly, that they are intelligent and courageous men, with a great aptitude for Languages. It is to them that the *white man in difficulties always turns for protection*, and it is always accorded him.

Time would fail to tell of other Missions and other countries; the short of the matter is, wherever Missions have flourished, it will be found, that Native Teachers have been employed; wherever they have been trusted, they have never disappointed expectations.

Round the inhabitants of the poor islands of the South Sea still hover the phantoms of dying Heathendom, the gods of the water and of the land, which their ancestors had blindly worshipped. In a remarkably practical way the early Missionaries had learned the Grace to wait God's time; to be rebuffed, but not cast down; to be persecuted, but not abashed. As their own coral zoophytes went on slowly and slowly building their reefs, which last for ever, so the Grace of God was found working out of sight; but the fruits were visible. From island to island the fight went on, until the whole of Polynesia was conquered to Christ; each island had its martyr-tomb, its first Christian, the solorn hope that invaded the island. The Natives devoured the Saint, and yet the doctrine preached by that Saint fed them with a new life, and passed into the flesh and blood of their children. The fight in Melanesia will still last many a long year. To some islands the Message will have come too late, for the man-stealers and liquor-dealers, aided by European diseases, previously unknown, will have done their fatal work. The weak new Christians cannot entirely rid themselves of the old idea of Nature-Worship: the fearful hurricanes, the famine, the epidemic, the blight, suggest to them that, though their temples and Worship were destroyed, the god of Nature still hungered for human Sacrifices, still claimed their hecatombs. In some islands, notably Easter island, the gigantic Idols cut out of the rock cannot be effaced, except by blasting the everlasting hills. So

they remain, like the great Monuments of Egypt, in their awful solitude.

What, then, sustained this wonderful family of Teachers, ready to hand, as if they had been waiting to be sent; ready to go, men or women, wherever they were sent? The answer is, *that they were armed with Truth.* It was that alone, which could give victory in such an unequal struggle. Their strength lay in their simple, fresh, unsophisticated, virgin, Christianity; a Heaven-sent reverence for a Spiritual Teacher springs from the very Spirituality, that is taught. There is a reality in God's embassy: Death will not kill it; ill-treatment will not get rid of it; Devils hear and tremble, but the savage children of Nature listen, and are astonished, accept, and believe. These Teachers were not wise, nor highly educated; but they had the free Gift of a beautiful Language, and a marvellous Gift of acquiring new Languages, and in their simple Faith in what they had been so lately taught themselves, they took their hearers back to the hidden, and hitherto unrealized, sources of human existence. They found a standing-room for argument behind the Altars, behind the Idols, behind the shibboleths, and led on to the fundamental axioms of right and wrong, which can be found in the depths of every human heart, if we know how to look for it. They showed to their hearers, that the Service of God consisted not in words or magic forms, or ceremonies, or Dogma, or Ritual, or prayer-wheels, but in personal contact with the Risen Saviour; in personal Holiness of thought, word, and deed; in gentleness and Love to all without exception; in obedience to the everlasting Law of Duty, which lifts the head to the heavens, and still leaves the feet touching the hard floor of daily life. Without Christ such attainments passed all poor human strength. Christ must be the motive Power, for Christianity is Christ.

These examples, these touching stories, have come up from these unknown Regions for our use, for the use of the nascent Christian Churches of the great and civilized countries of India, China, and Japan. The unconverted Heathen had found out, that it was well to die for the welfare of one's people: the Christian discovered, that it was still better to live for them, though this proved a much longer, more tedious, and difficult, Service. It was out of all human expectation and worldly experience, that converted Cannibals and cruel Idolaters should, under the touch of God's Spirit, not only become Christians, but become daring and constant Evangelists. God's Greatness flows round our Littleness, and His Rest encompasses our Restlessness. One thing is clear, that there are no more islands to discover and convert, no new Language to be found out; but in the vast populations of India and China there are millions, to whom the Gospel is an unknown

thing, and will remain so, unless the Native Churches at once become the centres of Missionary effort, and send out their Native Teachers. None of the frightful perils, which attend the South-Sea-Teachers, need be feared. If the Native Churches of India rise to the level of their opportunities and obligations, they may become rays of light in Asia and Africa, as the Polynesian Churches have been in Oceania. God is not slack in supplying His agents, if the heart of Man is roused to a sense of the dignity, and the greatness, of the work.

Without doubt, those who love their Master, and believe His Precious Promises, will rejoice, even when one poor island, after expenditure of labour, and precious lives, is added to His Kingdom. The value of redeemed Souls is not estimated in earthly balances, or by human calculations. The Lord knoweth them that are His. But it is a cause of encouragement for the Future, and thanksgiving for the past, to regard this blessed chain of Missions spread like a necklace of pearls from the shores of New Guinea and Australia right up to the gates of the Morning in Easter island, almost within touch of South America. Our knowledge of the Languages and customs of these races has been collected solely by the Missionaries. The Civilization of these ends of the world was not to be accomplished by Guns or Ships of War. Commerce, Statecraft or Colonization, would not help these helpless races for the short period of existence left to them by the ruthless Law of Progress: it has rather aided their destruction by substituting Rum, Gunpowder, and loathsome diseases, for Cannibalism, Human Sacrifices, and Witchcraft. But the Missionary Spirit of Europe and America has proved equal to the occasion, and a voice stronger than that of the lust of Gold, Earth-greed, and annexation, has been heard. Instead of *seeking* for gold, the true-hearted Missionary has *given* something better than fine gold: instead of sending out foreign Governors and Captains to rule over these tribes, a domination for good has been established over their Souls by men of their own colour and race, but who have been transformed into Angels of light by the life-giving influences of the Holy Spirit. Instead of attempting to annex these far-off islands to an Earthly Kingdom, the Messengers of Good Tidings have given to these inhabitants of the ends of the world an inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven. A stream of light has been left on the waters to mark the course of the Mission-Ship, the light of Human Knowledge, Christian culture, and Divine Pardon. The one great object of Human existence is to discover the Knowledge of God's dealings with his creatures, and the one great Duty of those creatures is to love, honour, and worship that great Creator, no longer unknown. This object has been obtained: this Duty has been performed.

Nov. 1895.

E. Missionaries in Africa.

Concluding Chapter of "Africa Rediviva," 1891.

I have not cared to notice the strength of the Missionary parties, ordained or lay: nor would the notice remain true for six months, death and disease make sad havoc in the ranks. Ten recruits arrive, and of them half die or go home. Nor have I ventured on the thorny question of counting adherents, Church-members, baptized persons, communicants, or inquirers. In the first generation such totals mean nothing, for there is little consistency, or stability of conduct, in converts; but the children, that are born of, and brought up by, Christian parents represent a fact: the children collected in the Schools for regular teaching represent a still more important fact. Baptism from the point of view of this Essay means nothing, as the Agents of the Church of Rome baptize "in articulo mortis," or with very inadequate previous instruction, and some Protestant Churches do not baptize at all, or defer the rite until adult years, before which date the convert may have died. As far as I can judge, there is great laxness of statement on the part of all. An earthly army would be very badly off, if the registers were not kept with greater accuracy, and upon some universally accepted principle.

Woman's work is entirely omitted, not that it does not exist, or that it is by me undervalued. In both classes of Missionary Societies it exists in abundance, and of the highest quality, but it is necessarily ancillary to that of the ordained Missionary. The Kaiserwerth Deaconesses of Egypt however represent an entirely independent organization. There is a great field for Female work in Africa, and a great reputation for the sex to maintain. In the early centuries we read of Katharína, Perpetua, Felicitas, and Monica, and Women will never be wanting, ready to live or die, when the Lord's work has to be done. I rejoice to read of Syrian Women, and Negresses, being found ready to join the Sisterhoods. To send a young European or American married woman into the Equatorial Regions with the possibility of maternity without the surroundings of decent Civilized life is a downright wickedness. Do we read of any such folly in the great Missions of the early centuries, in those of Columba, Columbánus, or Boniface? Celibates, and celibates alone, supply the material for the Missionary Army in climates, and environments, hostile to ordinary domestic life. No Woman, under any circumstances, should penetrate more than one hundred miles from the Coast

in the Equatorial Regions: elsewhere they are a blessing and a necessity, but only in the form of Sisterhoods, until the surroundings of Civilized life have sprung up. We have lamentable instances of death and disease; of graves of poor young Women, whose lives were thrown away without any result; of the craven retirement from his chosen and consecrated work of a so-called soldier of Christ, because his wife could not stand the climate; the reports of Missionary Societies, instead of telling us of the new birth of children of God amidst the long-neglected Africans, are full of lamentations about the death of white babies, who ought never to have come into existence. I know, that these remarks will draw down upon me the censure of those, who are committed to the opposite policy, who have gone in for youthful Matrimony, and who do not see the absurdity and un-Scriptural half-heartedness of their position. Think of a Missionary leaving his sacred duties, his Chapel, his School, his class of converts, his cluster of inquirers, to proceed to a better climate for the confinement of his wife! If a soldier or public Officer in British India were to do this, the world would cry out, and justly so. I heard this year (1891) on a Missionary platform a Colonial Bishop, who ought to have known better, say, that the exhibition of a white baby to the simple African or Indian people *was favourable to conversion*. This seems to my mind sheer folly. As a matter of surprise, and excitement of interest, the exhibition of a spaniel, or still more of a ferret, would have the same effect. It seems monstrous to anticipate any Spiritual advantage from a Missionary's nursery.

Is this a proper paragraph for a Missionary report of labours among the Heathen? I copy it from a Periodical dated July, 1891, now lying on my table.

Naissance de Violette.

April 9, 1891. "J'ai la joie de vous annoncer la naissance "de notre *nouvelle* enfant, une petite Violette, née la 4 Avril "à onze heures de matin. Notre chere fillette, image de son "frère aîné, est vigoureuse, et sa mère a de quoi entretenir ses "bonnes dispositions." Then he goes on to describe details of the confinement. It was foolish to write such things, but still more foolish to print them in a serious Religious journal, and circulate it to subscribers: there should be a chaste reserve on such subjects: they are the accidents of material life, not the objects of Spiritual life.

I pointed out this passage to an ex-Missionary of the neo-Latin race, who defended it, and remarked, that subscribers to the Mission naturally took a great interest in the domestic events

of their Missionaries. This shows how low the type and ideal of a Missionary has fallen. Gallus and Columbánus worked their way in 611 A.D. to the Lake of Constance, and founded the Monastery of St. Gall, at a time, when Helvetia was little better than Africa in the scale of Christian belief. They gave up all for Christ. What should we think of Venerable Bede in his priceless volume, had he recorded such stuff as the passage above quoted?

Some writers with light-heartedness allude to trained Sisters being sent up to the remote stations on the Kongo, to Lake Tanganyika, and Victoria Nyanza: will any live to return, and will any live at all? and in case of rebellions and uprisings, what would become of them? We have a sad illustration in the fate of the poor Sisters of the Institute of Verona left at Khartúm. It is true, that such Sisters may be Native females trained for the purpose: of these some may be widows, or married women may be made use of; but, when it comes to have to deal with bodies of celibate Native Women, the head of the Mission will have a problem to deal with of unparalleled difficulty, for the Women of Africa and Asia are not as the Women of Europe, at least of that class of Women in Europe, who would enter Sisterhoods. Scandals have arisen in India under a realm of Law: in Africa, and in Regions beyond the limits of any fixed Civil Government, the difficulties will be greater.

So of all records of the invaluable services of the Medical men, and Medical Societies, of the Educationists, and the Fraternities, who devote themselves to this blessed work, of the Industrial Teachers, the Artificers, the Engineers of Steamers, and the Lay Brothers generally, I make no mention, not because I undervalue their services, but because the detail of Methods does not fall within my present scope.

The names of the Foreign Societies are necessarily translated into English: perhaps some of these names are too fanciful. The first object of a name is, that it should explain itself. So also the nationality of each Society is given, except in the case of such world-wide known congregations, as Jesuits, Franciscans, Capuchins, etc., which belong to Christianity, rather than any nationality.

A Bishop lately remarked, that a great part of the time of the *wise* was wasted in trying to control, or remedy the effects of the unwisdom of the *good*: and it is so. In no other effort of mankind does the will-worship, the ἐθελοθρησκεία, more strongly and painfully develope itself than in the starting of a Mission, nor in any class of Publications is more fatuous nonsense written entirely in good faith than in Missionary narratives or reports. The national egoism of the Briton, and Frenchman, is con-

spicuously painful on a subject, where boasting should be excluded. Nothing so wild and mad as the schemes of the solitary itinerant, who does not know a word of the Language, but undertakes a ride on a camel through South Africa, and to preach through an interpreter! The isolated Missionary, and the "one family" Mission, like shadows pass over the paper of the recording chronicler, and they are gone. One night of cholera, or two days of fever, puts an end to them. While I have been drawing up these returns, I have received replies to queries, and had to expunge entries too trustingly made upon data collected a few years ago. There are some organizations, which, humanly speaking, will last as long as Human hearts are open to the influences of pity and devotion, of sympathy with the sad state of others, of gratitude for their own happier state, and recognition of the Hand, which gives. The fate of every Missionary organization must be sooner or later to die, unless it is based on a permanent Congregation, Brotherhood, or Association, renewing itself in a spontaneous way, the same great reservoir, though the water changes from year to year, whose object is to send out recruits, and maintain those, that represent them in the Lord's warfare. We learnt this lesson from Benedict in the fifth century. There must be fixed and understood Methods, tried, though elastic, rules, a selection of suitable agents, and a Training of them in their new duties: there must be a trust in Spiritual guidance, and yet a means of tapping the fountain of material resources. Only those, who for many years have had their eyes on Africa, are aware of the great wreckage, through which they have to find their way.

(1) Schemes proposed grandiloquently, but never carried out.
(2) Schemes commenced, but owing to the death of some leading person abandoned.
(3) Schemes too weak to be of any permanent use: mere subjects of Personal glorification on platforms to imperfectly instructed audiences: Egoism and will-worship of the worst character.
(4) Schemes crushed out by violence, or gagged by expulsion, or starved to death by having no root in a Christian country.

And what shall be said of the Methods used to get in funds, of the unreal and fictitious transcendentalism of the Missionary Periodical, in which all is praise, and no allusion is made to mistakes or worse: of the traps set to catch children, and the violent attacks made upon others so as to meet the prejudices, and the worst weaknesses, of the reader? What more acceptable in a French Journal than to paint the ineptitude, the stupidity,

the utter want of success of la Société biblique, l'hérétique Anglais, le ministre Methodiste, le Pseudo-Evèque? What more acceptable in an English Journal than a hit against the Priests of Rome, all called Jesuits, the untruthfulness of their conversions, the insidious character of their Methods? I must admit, that some Periodicals on both sides are free from such blemishes, and in no one paper of the vast literature in the Languages of Europe, which have passed under my eye, have I ever met the least insinuation or innuendo against Moral character: in fact, it is clearly a device to get in funds, and some Protestant Periodicals attack the Opium-Trade with the same object. One result is, that the general public sternly declines to read anything about Missions, or to subscribe the smallest sum, because the form, in which it is placed before their eye, is so unnatural, and the real merit of the enterprize is disguised by conventional and highly-seasoned phraseology. All earnest students of the great Movement deplore the tall "ad captandum" talk of the official, who has got hold of the Society's Printing, for the committee itself is neither consulted, nor in most cases is capable of controlling the ideosyncracies of the "man at the inkpot," whose conventional style, favourite quotations from the O.T., and stock-phrases are so well known. There are some Missionary Periodicals, which I regularly read out of a sense of duty to the great subject, to which I have devoted my life's thoughts, but the phraseology, and the mode of treatment, quite go against my intellectual stomach, or in other words I take them *medicinally*, and I quite realize, why in many families of good people a Missionary Periodical is not allowed on the table, not that the subject-matter is objected to, but the sensational, pharisaical, self-laudatory, and narrow-minded style, which is calculated to render the ordinary reader hostile, not to the subject, but the mode of presenting the subject.

It must be admitted, that the Civilization of Africa after a Christian type will never be worked out by the Men of Commerce, who flock thither with liquor and lethal weapons, or by the high-handed men, who go out as Governors, or Military Commanders: even if these last had the will, they have neither the knowledge, nor the leisure: they stay a very short time, and have to inflict punishment upon so-called rebels, who are really patriots of the Bruce and William Tell type: to burn, and destroy, and to kill. This leads me to remark, that the Missionary should carefully avoid any connexion with Commerce. In Algiers I visited the Trappist Convent, and found these excellent men distilling liquor, and I was pressed to taste it. In a Mahometan country this seemed a singularly inappropriate manufactory. If there is a form of Missionary effort worse than that backed up by Gun-boats, it is the first appearance of the true Faith amidst a people,

one of whose few merits is total abstinence, in the form of Spirituous liquor. The African has survived Slavery, Slave-trade, Tribal-wars, Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, and Murder for Witchcraft: is he to fall a victim to the distilleries of London, France, Germany, and the United States? I read, how Missionaries made presents of Rum to the King of St. Salvador on the Kongo; on the Niger at one time the ordinary wage of the day-labourer was paid in Gin. Every visit to a Native was preceded and concluded by a "dash" of liquor. Strong drink seemed to be the beginning and end and continuance of life, and respectable families in Europe and North America live in an atmosphere of piety and refinement on the unhallowed profits of this accursed trade, and are not ashamed.

Another rock to be avoided is the following. In the Middle Ages there is no question, that the Missionary operations commenced by the patronage of some fanatic Sovereign, himself an unrepentant and profligate sinner, or a pious Queen, or even of a licentious Royal Mistress. The Arm of the Flesh was too much sought after, and I must admit, that in the Church of Rome there is still evidence of a hankering for such support. I read how arrangements were made with the King of Portugal to enable French Missionaries to settle on the River Shiré and on Lake Nyása. Now it so happens, that this Region is in the British sphere of influence, and the French Missionaries are heartily welcome: what reason was there then for negociations with Portugal? (Missions Catholiques d'Afrique: Bethune, p. 182.) Missions must be supplied with means by the individuals and Churches of Nations, not by the Secular Government, and on arriving in Africa they must work upwards through the Natives of the country, and not downwards from the ignorant, often infidel, local Governor. The Lord's Treasury, situated in the hearts of His people, is never empty. Universal Toleration is the greatest of Earthly Powers. All that the honest Missionary requires is a free field, and no favour, or prejudice, such as he has always found in the last half century in British India. If funds are wanted let the call be made to Christian Hearts, not to the antechamber of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, or to a profligate Monarch.

What shall be said of presents of lethal weapons made by Missionaries to Chiefs or influential people, of Natives of Africa flogged, fired into, and even put to death by Missionaries? What shall be said of secret-service-money supplied by Governments to Missionaries in order to advance National interests? What shall be said of thousands of Pounds collected from the supporters of a Mission to enable a Chartered Commercial Company to maintain its hold in a Region, which it had unlawfully invaded, and to slaughter Christian converts of another

Denomination? What shall be said of intrigues at home, or in Africa, to secure Parliamentary majorities, protection of Consuls, the influence of Ambassadors, or of craft and chicanery made use of by one set of Missionaries to outwit, or anticipate, or exclude, another? Missionaries must recollect, that the scorching glare of public opinion is now fixed on them, and that they act under the burning electric light of a Public Press in all the Languages of Europe. Things done in a corner of Africa will be proclaimed in the streets of Paris, London, New York, Berlin, and even Rome.

Some Missionary books with regard to Africa are quite sickening. I instance two: a young English woman, used to the comforts of European life, appeals in favour of the Women of Africa: so far I am with her. But the two Females are in the antipodes of human culture, racial habits, and personal wants, and the exaggeration of the appeal is ridiculous: the instances of cruelty are magnified, the position of the African Woman is painfully travestied, as if comfort and decency, and Holiness, and Christian Faith, could only co-exist with the secondary wants, and Civilized ways, the smart dresses, the cooked food, and the culture of London and Paris. Those, who have had years of experience in British India, can realize with how little food, raiment, and kindly treatment, an Asiatic and African Woman is satisfied, and how unwise it would be to connect the Christian Religion, which in its origin is Asiatic, and a Gospel, which was intended for the poor, with the environments, and snares, of Middle Class European culture. Let them be Christians, but still remain Africans, on their own platform of human Civilization.

I have to thank the compiler of Bethune's Mission Catholiques d'Afrique for much information, but it is a marvel, how he could have written some passages. It is possible to understand, that the Egoism of a Frenchman, an Englishman, or a German, might induce him unwisely to write a book about Christian Missions in Africa, of which the main object seems to be to puff up his own Nation, and to show how very important his people have been, and how nothing even in Africa can be done without them. The good taste of such a book might be doubted. But that the member of a Nation like Belgium, a mere geographical, or rather political, expression, transferred by the chance of war from Germany, Spain, France, and Holland, should permeate a book on African Missions with praise of his own Nation, is an astonishing literary phenomenon. There is also a bad spirit through the work, constant sneers against Great Britain, France, and Holland, an entire ignoring, not only of the vastness, and devotedness of Protestant effort in the same field, but of their very existence, which implies a total

ignorance of the general subject, a suppression of a Truth amounting to a suggestion of the false. To me it seems impossible to write an account of Protestant Missions in Africa without noticing the presence, the importance, and the zeal, of the Missionaries of the Church of Rome, as the Missions are geographically so closely interlaced. The Author alludes to the Intolerance of the British Authorities, as if he had never heard of the serene indifference to any form of Religious conception, which is the glory of the Rulers of British India: and besides

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

Surely the Inquisition of Spain, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Annals of the Missions of the Church of Rome in past years, tell the one story, "semper, ubique, ab omnibus," of determined opposition to the work of any other Church but her own. Let us be silent as to the bad past, and, wiser in our generation, each, in his own way, try to spread the Gospel of the common Saviour.

Another feature of the book is the jaunty air of prophecy, which pervades the whole: where there has been no success, immediate success is expected: where there is only a beginning of an effort, a magnificent work is fondly predicted. Those, who have studied the work of Missions from the time of Benedict to the present Epoch, know how uncertain are the issues of life and death, success and failure. I read with astonishment the barefaced statement, that the French Missionary was the pioneer of the influence of France in Tunis and on the Kongo. It may have been so, but it is to be hoped, that it was incidental, and not the object of the Mission: and it is stated, that occasionally the Religion of Christ is called by the Natives "the French Religion." This must be the result of very imperfect teaching; and what will the Propaganda of Rome say to this? The work of the Church of Rome in Great Britain is rightly called the "Italian Mission."

May I be very bold? As regards Africa, where, since the times of Aristotle till now, there is always something new,

Ἀεὶ φέρει Λιβύη τι καίνον,

cannot there be a truce, a concordat, a partition, a *modus vivendi*, a benevolent recognition of the great merits of the individual in each of the two armies, of the Christian Graces, which are the charm of the combatants on either side? Sometimes the secret seems to come out, that there is a mutual respect for each other. Hear what a Roman Missionary at Bagamóyo wrote:

"Il suffit de parler à quelques protestants sincères pour se
' convaincre, que entre eux et nous il n'y a que des meprises,
" des equivoques, des erreurs, des *préjuges d'Education*."

The English Missionary, who reports the death of Mackay at Usambiró, writes:

"I wish that I could have been here to nurse him a bit: his
" brother Missionary was helplessly ill himself, and sent off to
" Bukumbi to the French Priest to help him, but *ere the good*
" *Samaritan came*, our dear friend had died."

From the Niger I quote a letter from a Missionary of Rome to the late Sir John Marshall:

"Father Zappa came to see me off, and so did Mr. Macaulay,
" the Protestant Minister, with whom we had been on the best
" of terms from the first. I introduced them to each other,
" assuring Father Zappa, that he *would find a friend in Mr.*
" *Macaulay*."

And again:

"A Protestant Missionary at Asába on the Niger in 1888,
" in returning thanks for a toast, included the Missionary of
" Rome, and expressed his regard for him, adding that on
" the Niger there was room for both, and *that all might unite*
" *to raise the Natives out of their savage state*."

I read how in U-ganda the differences between the converts of the two Churches appear to be *political* rather than *Religious*, and now that the political question is settled, the bad feeling will subside: it is a misfortune, if the representatives of the two parties, instead of preaching to their ignorant hearers the great central Truths, as fixed by the great Councils of the early centuries, in which they both absolutely agree, should be tempted to dwell upon the points, on which they differ: they thus seem to be preaching a rival Gospel, when it is not so, and, if this continues, the Pagan hearer will become a sceptic: the same Christian Graces, and purity of life, are manifest in both: for the Protestant to go out of his way, and tell his simple flock, that the Missionaries of Rome are Idolaters, because they have Images in their Church, is as wrong as for the Missionary of Rome to teach that the Protestants, because they refuse to pray to other than the Three Persons of the Trinity, are Atheists: the Moral Law of both parties is absolutely identical, and the way of Salvation that is preached is the same.

I think that the majority of Protestants would be ready absolutely to abstain from uttering or printing anything hard against their fellow-labourers of Rome: the discussion of human Methods is allowable: the imputation of motives is unjustifiable: the idle abuse is unworthy of a Christian. As long as men are men, they will be tempted to justify themselves,

and claim undue praise, and to question the reality, or undervalue, the work, of another: I read the reports of all: the usual thing is to state

(1) That all the conversions of the other side are *nominal*.
(2) That the other party makes use of unlimited resources to induce people to be baptized.
(3) That the other party uses the influence of Chiefs and Consuls.
(4) That the people *love them and hate the other party*. Stock-quotations of speeches by Natives appear with only change of words in rival Publications: it is a mournful instance of the weakness of good men.

Very few indeed read the reports of the other side: they often do not know each other's Language:

"Damnant, quod non intelligunt."

Can we not hope that good and honest men, holding fast to the great Central Truths of Faith, Hope, and Love, with the awful problem of the near approach of Christ's second coming, and in view of the abject necessity of the African races, and the opportunity now afforded *for a season*, can be induced to look over the fences, which, reaching only breast-high, separate Churches from Churches, and Nations from Nations, and fix their eyes solely on the form of the Crucified Saviour. In the Day of Judgment it will not be asked of the pious African freedman, whether he was a Roman, or a Protestant, but whether he loved the Lord, and tried to lay hold on the means of Salvation, which the last decade of the Nineteenth Century had so wonderfully brought to him by the hands of men, on all of whom God's blessing will rest. Let the French and British Missionary abstain from unseemly conflict in the presence of Mahometan and Pagan in Central Africa, remembering what happened to the Early Church in North Africa: the unseemly quarrels with the Donatists and the Arians were quenched by the utter destruction of all by the Mahometan, and the conversion of Europe was delayed for centuries by ceaseless Theological controversies. In a Region of entire Toleration, at an Epoch, when such persecution, as seemed good to Charlemagne in the Ninth Century, and the Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century, is impossible, because men's thoughts have become wider with the progress of the Sun, when all good men recognize the differing, yet equally good, Gifts of their neighbours, and are ready to offer to each other every possible material assistance, it may be possible to

make a new departure, a Holy Truce. Let Ephraim no more vex Judah, or Judah vex Ephraim: in the Crimean War the difference of Creed, and nationality, and the mighty History of the two great rival Nations, were forgotten, or rolled up and put away by the soldiers of France and Great Britain in the presence of a common foe. Oh! let it be so now in the presence of a more deadly antagonist with the soldiers of Christ!

And let me urge another consideration: the opportunity of Evangelizing Africa may not last: the Arm of Europe may be shortened: the Power of Great Britain and France may disappear as the Power of the Empire of Rome vanished: their Commerce may "fade away like the dyes of Tyre, or moulder like the palaces of Venice." The Missionary goes out to do a specific work at an Epoch fixed by God, who has opened a great door, which has been closed since the Creation of the world: let him reflect that in opposing the Christians, with whom he does not agree, he is retarding the coming of Christ's Kingdom. To the Pagan Polytheist, to the Mahometan, who denies the Divinity of Christ, to the Infidel unscrupulous intruder, who would try and destroy the lives of the men, and the Morals of the Women, he should not yield for an instant: his eye should not pity, nor his tongue spare, for they are the emissaries of Satan, but they cannot say this of each other. They must cast their thoughts forward to the Day of Judgment, and think what reply will they have to give to the great question: "How hast thou employed thy talents?"

Will the Missionary of Rome say: "Lord! I saw heretics "preaching in Africa what I had been taught in my European "Seminary to consider 'Error.' I admit that they were good, "holy, and benevolent men, and preached Thee Crucified; "but I opposed them, got up a party against them, encouraged "my converts to oppose theirs: if, as in centuries past, I had "had the power, I would have tortured them, and burnt them, "and uprooted their congregations: for Thy sake, Lord, and "for the People of Africa!"

Will the Protestant Missionary say: "Lord! I found the "Missionaries of Rome coming as wolves into my flock, as "rivals into my pasture, as hostile neighbours into my city. "I admit that personally they were amiable and good. When "I was sick, I sent for them; when I was in danger from a "common foe, I joined with them, and shared their fare, and "means of escape; yet I hardened the minds of my flock "against them; I spoke evil of them; I tried to get them "ejected from my part of Africa; I prevailed on the Chief of "a neighbouring tribe to exclude them; I refused to see the "great goodness, the devotion, and the charity, under the "exterior, which they assumed, and which I had been taught

" in my Theological School in Europe and N. America to detest
" and condemn, and thus for ten years the poor Africans die I
" without the chance of being Christians, for I preferred that
" they should die Pagans rather than Papists: for Thy sake,
" Lord, and for the People of Africa!"

We dare not imagine the reply. We have only His Words to fall back on:

"Other sheep I have, which are not of this *fold*: these also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and they shall become one *flock* and one *Shepherd*." - John, x, 16.

And again:

"I pray, that they may be one, even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they all also may be in Us."—John, xvii, 21.

I remark how agreeable it is to writers on the side of the Church of Rome to quote the words of Protestants, or in fact of men apparently without Religious element in them at all, men living without God in the world, in favour of their work, as contrasted with those of the Protestants. Now before any one takes the opinion of another person as to the merits of a horse, a commercial company, or a literary work, he satisfies himself, whether the person giving the opinion has any knowledge of the subject: when I glance down the names of the non-Catholics (for I cannot admit some of them to be Protestants) I find rarely any name, which is of any value: if it had suited him or her, or if it should suit them hereafter to turn round, and abuse the Missionaries of Rome, and say false and unkind things about their converts, I should treat their remarks with the same profound contempt: is there then no test of excellence of Method, of devotedness of the worker, of God's blessing on the work, or what men foolishly call God's blessing, *i.e.*, success, for God's blessing sometimes comes in the form of affliction? I quote the words of a deceased Bishop, and I will not state to what Church he belonged.

" We must allow the principle that, wherever we see the fruits
" of the Spirit, we must refer them to the works of the Spirit,
" and acknowledge not only theoretically, but practically, that
" from Him, and Him alone, proceed all Holy desires, all good
" counsel, and all just works. We shall be able then to rejoice
" at any good work done, though not done by ourselves, and
" done outside our own Church, perhaps in ways, which we do
" not think desirable, and of which we cannot approve, because
" of the good work, that has been done by the Grace of our
" Father in Heaven, by the help and blessing of our Lord. We
" may not be able to agree, as regards Church-Government, or
" Doctrine, or the best mode of bringing the Truth of Christ
" home to individual Souls, and keeping alive the Divine life

" quickened in them by the Grace of the Holy Spirit: but there " is one subject, in which we can all agree, *that it is the Duty*, " *which we owe to God and to Man, to do all the good we can* " *within the circle of our influence.*" I should not think much of the man, who, owing to different views of Church-Government, could not recognize the excellence of the work of good Père Horner at Bagamóyo, of the industrious Trappists of Marian Hill, of the English Universities-Mission in East Africa, of the Spanish Benedictines at New Nourse in Western Australia. It was remarked by a great English writer of last century, that he did not envy the feelings of the man, whose heart was not touched, when he visited Iona, and thought of Columba, and no doubt many a kind-hearted Missionary of Rome has looked, perhaps with a sigh, but still a sigh of human sympathy, at the outward prosperity, and the internal peacefulness, of a Protestant Missionary Station in British India, or South Africa. When our friends of the Church of Rome omit all notice of the Schools and Hospitals, and Churches, of Protestant Missions, it looks, as if they were afraid of letting their supporters know, that there are other agencies in the fields of a gigantic nature with the same meritorious object. When our Protestant friends allow in their Publications and Meetings no allusions to be made to the great efforts of the Church of Rome, except in terms of depreciation and condemnation, how like they are to the ostrich hiding his head in the sand!

I was conversing with an African Missionary of a Protestant Society on the possibility of such a concordat working. His reply was, that individuals of the Missions of the Church of Rome were most amiable and pleasant; but it seemed, as far as his experience helped him, impossible for them to abstain from intruding into their neighbour's vineyard, and trying to decoy away their neighbour's flock. It is sad to hear this, and difficult to believe it; but at any rate the course of the Protestant Missionary is clear: he will admit at once, that such is not the policy of the Protestant Churches: our Lord's reply to His disciples will not warrant it (Mark, ix, 38). The great cities, and capital towns, in every Region, are the common property of all the Churches. In rural districts care should be taken not to sit down within a reasonable distance of a Mission of the Church of Rome, and abstain from all attempts at proselytism. The resources of the Protestant Societies are admitted to be vastly in excess of those of the Church of Rome, and the non-Christian area in Africa is practically boundless: there can therefore be no justification for collision, either on grounds of economy, or want of space.

A wise Governor of an African Province, a Consul General, who knows his work, will recognize the extreme value of the

Missionary Stations within his Region. He will not, for one instant, allow himself to be influenced by them or guided. The idea of a Governor or Consul General being selected to such posts on account of his Religion, or at the request of a Cardinal, or a Protestant Missionary Society, is so monstrous, that no Government would listen to such an application; but, whoever may be the Official, he will recognize that the presence of an honest, independent man, dwelling in peace among the people, is a great factor in his administration, whether that man be a German, a Frenchman, an American, or an Englishman, or a subject of one of the smaller Continental nationalities. The man of Commerce, or the land-grabber, is naturally an object of suspicion; but we may take it as an axiom, that a true Missionary, whether of Rome, or some Protestant Denomination, can be trusted, so long as he keeps himself to his own Holy vocation. Armed bodies of so-called Crusaders must be deported at once from the Region, and let no Missionary attempt to set up a Court of Justice, except within his own flock and enforced by Spiritual penalties: any attempt to form an imperium in imperio, establish a walled station, or usurp a jurisdiction, should be sternly put down. The Missionary's weapons are not carnal. There can be no benefit allowed to Clergy. If they offend the Laws of the Colony, which gives them shelter, they will be punished. In British India such is the case, and the reason why no Missionary has ever been punished is simply because the Missionaries of all nationalities and Creeds have been good honest men, *who never broke the Law*.

The use of certain terms should be guarded. Why describe Bishop Hannington as a Christian martyr? He was trying to work his way from the Coast by a route to U-Ganda, which was not permitted by the arbitrary Sovereign, who in a fit of abject fear of invasion ordered him to be killed: the same fate would have fallen to Joseph Thompson, the explorer, if he had not wisely stopped short of U-Sogo. The word "Martyr" means a witness to Christian Faith: we have plenty of instances from the time of Cyprian to that of Cranmer. The word is laxly used when applied to martyrs to the pestilential climate, or the severity of a long journey. And Missionaries must not in some cases try to appropriate the credit of a Martyr on a Missionary platform, while they and their friends are teazing the Foreign Office to give them material protection. It is not a part of Christian Duty for men to expose themselves to certain risks, in spite of warnings from the Official Authorities, and then to set up a howl for Protection by a distant European Government, and pose as Martyrs. And in time of peril the African Missionary must, if the Lord wills it so, die at his post, and rejoice to do so. He must not in time of affliction, or oppression, desert

his poor sheep in the wilderness, and save his own miserable body, or flee for the sake of his wife and children. He has taught the African how a Christian can live: he must show him how he can die; and except in extreme necessity he must not use lethal weapons even in self-defence, remembering the example of his Master. It is recorded of Bishop Maples, that on the occasion of the invasion of the Mission-Station by a tribe for plunder, he and his converts lay themselves down flat on the ground, and their lives were spared. Nor, if a Missionary fall a blessed Martyr, must his friends and relations make frothy demonstrations on French or British platforms calling for revenge or money-compensation. For such Service they were called, and in this prosaic age we ought to be glad, that we have still Heroes in our midst, and that we take the spoiling of our goods joyfully.

Concession must be made to Native prejudices, but we cannot expect European Missionaries to live Native lives, adopt Native dress, and Native food: the certain end of such a policy is disease or death. They should live industrious, civilized, and exemplary lives, and be content, at least in the first year of their sojourn, to inculcate true Christian principles, and practises, rather than Dogma, and Ritual. The erection of ornamental Chapels, fitted out with European decorations, is to be deprecated. I have sat in Mount Lebanon on the ground by the side of a Maronite Priest in his little almost empty place of Worship, and he and his congregation were satisfied, and had the root of the matter in them as truly as a Minor Canon of St. Paul's. In a late letter from the Victoria Nyanza the Romish Missionary mentions, that his ponderous harmonium, which he had dragged all the way from the Coast, had sunk to the bottom of the Lake, and he begged his friends in France to supply another. Surely the converts could do very well without such ecclesiastical luxuries. The unchained music of the Human voice singing glory to God is better than all Human instruments.

And to the poor converts some mercy should be shown, if they should relapse into Paganism, be seduced into Mahometanism, or fall back into licentious lives. When the Slavonians of Europe were forcibly converted, A.D. 866, Pope Nicholas ordered "that apostates were to meet with no Toleration, if they persisted in refusing obedience to the monitions of their Spiritual fathers." The Mahometans could not do worse than that, but such things are impossible now, and one of the great trials of Missionaries of the next generation will be to see whole congregations, the fruit of so much labour, carried away by some new wind of doctrine, and adopting new forms of Worship, or even new Creeds, under the influence of carnally-minded men of their own Nation.

There is no help for it. It is in vain, that the Missionary seeks for a high state of piety in a newly-converted congregation, surrounded by an atmosphere of rank and foul Paganism. Paul did not find it in Greece or Asia Minor, nor will it be found in Africa, and the enforcement of a too severe discipline, and the absence of Christian Love and pity on the part of injudicious and inexperienced Missionaries, may bring on the catastrophe of the destruction of a once-flourishing Mission, and the loss of hundreds of poor creatures now living, or still to be born.

It is a comfort to think, that in this nineteenth century we have as yet no case recorded of a Miracle in Africa. The troubles at U Ganda might have been settled off-hand, and the lives of the French Missionaries of the Holy Ghost, who were cruelly murdered in Cimbebásia on the River Kuméné, might have been spared, had some Thaumaturgus, such as we read of in the Middle Ages, been forthcoming. A blind man was opportunely healed by Augustine with the purpose of influencing the Bishops of the British Church in Wales. Xavier is reported to have wrought miracles in W. India. The Infidel Press of France, Great Britain and America, is on the look-out for such demonstrations, and in these days it will be hard to satisfy the Law of Evidence: yet Legends are palpably growing. The story of the martyrdom of the converts of U-Ganda of both Churches is receiving large expansion, so much so that one Missionary had to write to deny the truth of certain incidents: the ignorant world of the quasi-Religious, sensational, emotional, type is as credulous as ever.

"Populus vult decipi, et decipiatur."

With the Church of Rome rests the monopoly of modern Miracles. No Protestant Church would tolerate them; but it is remarkable, that the celebrated Romish Missionaries of Africa, Massaia, Duparquet, Depelchin, Bessieux (who laboured forty years in Western Africa), had never pretended to exhibit miraculous power, except the one great Miracle of their Faith and devotion: and wisely so. Those, who have lived in the midst of Mahometan and Pagan populations, know that Miracle-working is the common property of all fanatics and crazy enthusiasts; they have visited shrines, and been informed, that *there* barren women would become pregnant, and illnesses are cured, and heard that great profit accrues to the custodians of the temple, or shrine, or tomb. I read that how a fire broke out in the City of Lahore in 1849, burned down a number of houses, and was only arrested, when it reached a house, which

contained a pair of paijámah, or nether garments, said to have been worn by Mahomet. The Christian cannot war with such weapons, which belong more properly to the Arsenal of Simon Magus. In the nineteenth century the great Miracle is, that the four great Nations of the world, Great Britain, the United States of N. America, France, and Germany, are full of such holy zeal in the interest of Africa: the silent witness of Christian Books in the Languages of Africa is a Miracle in the eyes of the African, which cannot be over-estimated. The Medical Missionary brings with him a Science, which has the same results, as were imputed to Miracles in an age less severely critical. The presence of Men and Women in their midst, come with the strange object of doing acts of kindness, must be a *θαῦμα*, a *δύναμις*, a Miracle, utterly beyond previous experiences. The medicine-man, and the magician, give up the contest with a Power, which does not depend upon Legend, or vague report, but is visible to the eyes of Men, and is lasting in its effects. What greater standing Miracle can the heart of man conceive than the mighty transformation of an African village, or of the population of an island in the Southern Seas, when the Spirit of the Lord has overshadowed them in the person of the humble Christian, who has come they know not whence, has asked leave to sojourn among them, has taught them useful Arts, and in the course of one generation has changed them from being filthy, naked, helpless, ignorant of the very name of God, and fearing and hating their neighbours, into the freedom of a Christian Community, dwelling in huts, living with monogamy, decency, and a certain amount of humble culture, with their Chapel, their School, their Minister, and the open Bible in their own Language, set up and printed by their own tribe in their own village, and deriving from that Bible Love to their neighbours, Faith in their Saviour, and a certain Hope beyond the grave? Such things have been, may be, and will be, if the people of Europe and North America know how to use humbly, faithfully, and with a Spirit of self-Sacrifice, their marvellous opportunities, and the unparalleled means at their disposal.

If the new teaching of the simple ignorant people were restricted to the great central doctrine of Christ Crucified and Risen again, and the necessary consequences of Repentance, Pardon, and Holiness through Faith in His finished work, it would be a boon to the infant Churches. The object should be to wean their poor weak intellects from their fetishes, their Idols, their rain-makers, their medicine-men, their professors of magic arts, after which their unstable temperaments will go hankering for many generations, as did the Hebrews of the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel; but the African would have,

what the Hebrews never had, the presence of Holy and good men in their midst, teaching by their example and precepts the necessity of living a life of extreme purity, exhibiting a tender Love for the bodies and Souls of the poor African, gentleness to children, respect to females, and honour to old age. Such an expedient has never been tried on unsophisticated races on so large a scale before, as is now going on in Africa. I think, that there is danger in some Methods, indicated by the following anecdotes: A Missionary could not prevail on a Chief to allow him a site in his village: so, according to his own narrative, published in a French Missionary weekly, he turned round on St. Joseph, and said that *it was his business, and that he must do it*: on calling on the Chief next morning, he found that the Chief had seen a vision of an aged man in his dream, who ordered him to give the Missionary a site, and he did so accordingly. Another Missionary attributed the rains, which had come at a period suitable for the harvest, to the celebration of a particular festival. We detect in these narratives a survival of the flavour of the old magician and the rain-maker. The extreme left of the Christian Churches fall into analogous errors. I read in a Missionary report, how the child of African parents was ill: they were not baptized Christians, but enjoyed that singularly anomalous position of being adherents: they were taunted by the Heathen with the question, "Can your God heal him?" The Medical Missionary took this as a direct challenge, and *claimed him of God*. In a week's time, after proper medical treatment, he was healed, and the little negro boy went back to his dirt, and Pagan Ignorance: it cannot but occur to the Reader, that, if any one is to be claimed, he should be of some value, past, present, or future, and worth claiming; and he might have died: can the Ruler of the Universe do wrong? There are also wild enthusiasts, who forbid their agents to take medicine in case of illness, trusting to Faith, and discourage study of the Languages of the country, trusting in a Pentecostal Gift of Tongues. In no branch of Human affairs is such folly exhibited, as in the work of Missions.

Cardinal Manning remarked fifty years ago on a Protestant Platform, that the English people had at that time the choice to make, whether they would be the "beasts of burden" or the "Evangelists" of the world: the same sentiment applies now to all nationalities so long as the Missionary occupation is solely, entirely, and truly, for the good of the people evangelized, and not a mere snare, like the Political occupation, which is solely for the purpose of obtaining new outlets to Commerce, and to promote free and unscrupulous landgrabbing, or the Commercial occupation; which works to the destruction of the Souls and bodies of the defenceless Natives of Africa, and fills

the pockets of the Gin and Rum-manufacturers of Europe and North America. The Pharisaical pretence of benevolence, and the hypocritical show of desiring to do good to the African, makes the policy of the Statesman, and the great Manufacturer, more odious. In the streets of Smyrna the fruit-sellers cry out, "In the name of the Prophet Figs!" This is a fair condensation of the Spirit of the new African Policy. In the name of the Saviour, slaughter by the great Geographical Explorer, confiscation of land by the great Companies, and poisoning of Millions by the great Distilleries! The Missionaries of different Churches must not quarrel with each other, when they have these three antagonists to contend with under the leadership of Giant Pagan, and Giant Islam. In a ship, which this year reached the Kongo from North America, there were nine Missionaries (five of their predecessors had died soon after their arrival), and one hundred and twenty thousand gallons of Rum. The Chinese Missionaries fill the air with their lamentations, because the people of British India export opium to China, a Commerce licensed by the law of the country, which receives the drug, and which within its own boundary is a far greater producer of opium than India and the rest of the world put together. The Emperor has but to forbid the import of Indian opium, and it would cease; but Africa produces no such deadly stimulants as Brandy, Gin, and Rum, within its boundaries, and there is no organized Government like that of China, with armies and fleets, which can arrest the import from foreign and Christian countries. Surely here is a much more reasonable case for an outcry and lamentation on the part of real and not pretending philanthropists.

This presses home the greater and ever-increasing necessity of the Missionary occupation of Africa. Though France, Great Britain, and North America, have done well, still they must do more: the efforts of other countries are comparatively small. But let the man of pleasure, the man of the world, the avowed Atheist, the doubter of the great Future of the Human race, the Pharisee, who passes by on the other side, pause and reflect on the grandeur of what has been done, is doing, and will continue to be doing. The world, the worn-out European world, sated with lust of money, pride of greatness, and frivolity of pleasure, cannot spare such proofs, that the heart of man is still as capable of evidencing its Divine origin by its works, as it was in the freshness of the centuries of early Christianity, and in the pre-Christian ages of the Juventus Mundi, when Jephthah's daughter was ready to Sacrifice herself for the service of her God, when the Roman Hero leapt fully armed into the pit to save the Republic. A dying world lies at the door of Europe, a world ignorant, but not by its own fault, of Christ's great Sacrifice: from every rank of the community of the Neo-Latin,

and Teuton Races, *and of no other*, men and women leap out and cry, "Send me, send me to my dying fellow-creatures, dying in "body and Soul. Never mind, whether their colour is black, "or brown, or red, or yellow. Never mind, whether they are "cruel, or gentle, and tractable. Never mind, whether they are "healthy or leprous. Never mind, if I die just when I land on "their shores, or live to see them pass from their barbarous "nakedness into the decent form and order of a Holy Church: "send me! I have but the desire and a few poor talents: the "issue is with God."

The heart beats high, when it hears of it, even the heart of the unconverted and unbeliever: it forgets, or does not care to ask, whether the man or woman, who evinces such grand sentiments, hails from the Churches of Rome, or of Great Britain, or of North America, or of the European Continent: their utterances and actions betray, that they belong to the Church of Christ: Christianity is Christ, and Christ alone: and the true Christian lives and dies like Christ. Well may they be called the Heroes of Africa.

Depend upon it, that these Missionaries are in a higher degree makers of future History than the Provincial Governor of a forcibly and unscrupulously annexed sphere of influence, the Chairman of the great Company, that intends to exploit the territories stolen from their hereditary owners, the gold-digger, the diamond collector, the liquor-distiller and exporter, who has found a new market for his poisonous wares. Columbánus and Boniface were men of a higher type: sprung from the British isles, they left their mark on Europe, while we know nothing of their worldly contemporaries. There were possibly in those days also specimens of unscrupulous Trading Companies, reckless land grabbers, gold grabbers, and diamond-grabbers, unprincipled exporters of alcoholic poison. "Væ victis! Quôcunque modo rem." Such has always been the motto of the stronger Nation, and stronger individual in all Epochs of History, when Christianity has been unknown or forgotten.

Hear the dying words of a Missionary of Rome, who passed away nearly half a century ago in West Africa, at a period when it was not so fashionable as now to be a Missionary:

"Dites à ma famille, et mes amis, que je suis heureux d'avoir "tout quitté pour mon divin Maître: si mon sacrifice était "à refaire, je le referais encore mille fois: je ne changerai pas "ma position pour tout le bonheur du monde." Forty years later an English Missionary, in an exhausted state, left the Kongo to die at Madeira: these were his last words taken down by a stranger in the hotel, who visited him out of pity: "Lord, "I gave myself, body, mind, and Soul, to Thee. I consecrated "my whole life to Thy Service, and now, if it please Thee

" to take myself, *instead of the work, which I would do for Thee*, " what is that to me? Thy Will be done!" Could Martyrs at the stake, or in a vessel of boiling oil, do more!

There is a higher consanguinity, which unites the Neo-Latin and Teuton Races, than that of the blood, which runs in their veins, viz. that of the high spirit, which makes their hearts beat with indignation, when they hear of suffering; with pity, when they read of Ignorance; and glad joy, when they hear of noble men and women giving ther lives to relieve that suffering, and to enlighten that Ignorance. It is the most profitable investment of talent, and the profession, which heaps up the most enduring fortune, which the possessor takes with him, when he is no more seen on earth; it is the achievement, which sheds the greatest lustre on a particular nationality, to have been the mother of Christian Heroes, who died for their Master, and for the poor African; and it creates a glory which lives for ever!

London, July 15th, 1891–1895.

CAP. III. INCIDENTS AND DANGERS.

A. Worldly Obstructions.
B. Want of Sympathy with the non-Christian world.
C. Missions and Science.
D. The extent of the Duties and Rights of the Evangelist.
E. Arm of the Flesh.
F. Polygamy not possible to a Christian.
G. Caste.
H. Difficulty of Missions.
I. Religions of the Ancient World.

A. Worldly Obstructions.

1. A wish expressed too late.
2. A word to those, who do not recognize the divinely inspired duty of Evangelization.
3. Civilization without the Gospel is profitless.

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1. A wish expressed too late.

Oh! that I had done something to spread the Gospel of Christ!

He was lying on what he knew would prove his death-bed: free from pain, but overcome by weakness, his thoughts beyond his control ranged back over the whole period of his past life: his boyhood, his early manhood, came back to him with vivid distinctness, even as the events of yesterday. At the age of eighty he could clearly recall the events of sixty-five years, and the conclusion, that was forced upon him, was that God had been very kind to him: no Father could have been kinder, as men judge kindness.

For He had hedged him round from the vulgar ills, and commonplace afflictions of life. He had never hidden His face from him, nor appeared unto him in all His storms: as a youth, as an adult, as a man in middle life, in declining years, and in old age, he had had all things very much as he wished,

and now his end was approaching calmly, gently, smoothed by every comfort, free from all anxiety about the future of the loved ones, who stood round his bed.

Nor was his a solitary instance: to many this same easy life, accompanied by a dull conscience, is conceded. Their family-ties are unbroken: their eyes swell with fatness: they wish well to all, because all has been well with them, for why should they be afflicted like other folk? They have always done what to them seemed their Duty, and never broken the Decalogue: they have paid their taxes and their debts: they have put the miserable shilling into the plate, and subscribed to the Hospital, and repairs of the Church, and to the Dorcas-club: it did not require much thought or any Sacrifice: others did it, and it looked respectable, and so they did it also, and felt complacently satisfied with their lot, and their conduct. Of any saving truth in Christ they knew nothing: perhaps the Minister had forgotten to tell it, or perhaps they did not understand it when told. They thanked God, that they were neither psalm-singers, nor hypocrites, but according to their light respectable Christians, who had been baptized, and hoped to be decently buried.

And now the end, that comes to all, had come to him, and he lay a dying. He had made his will, paid his debts, left a dole to the parish, and was submissive. He recalled how fifty years ago his father and mother had done the same thing. He remembered how his sisters had repeated the Lord's Prayer, and read portions of the New Testament to them, and he asked his daughter to do the same for him also.

As she repeated the Lord's Prayer, a new wonder came over him, as to the meaning of "Thy Kingdom come," and he asked her: she belonged to a different epoch of Christian culture from her father, and unhesitatingly replied, "that all the world might acknowledge Christ as King." In reading the last chapter of Matthew, when she came to the last two verses, "Go ye into all the world, etc.," he asked what those verses meant. Her reply was given with the tone of conviction: "The Duty of Christians to evangelize the non-Christian world in obedience to the parting command of the Saviour, who had redeemed us." He listened and was silent: this was a view of the case, which he had never heard, or at least never understood until now: he had indeed heard of and met people, who called themselves Missionaries: a Negro Clergyman had once preached in his Church: he had some friends, who seemed to take a lively interest in the subject, but for himself he had considered the subject out of his line, he had pushed it aside: he remembered how half a century ago he had heard his father laugh at the Movement as humbug, and he had steadily through life declined to read any of their reports,

or subscribe a shilling to their objects: "Look to your poor at home" was his reply to any applicant, but he had given little practical effect to that reply except paying his Poor-Rate.

He fell into a doze, and the subject came to him again in his dreams: he had lately expressed to his own children his parting wishes as to their conduct, when he should be taken from them, and he hoped and believed, that they would conform to them: it struck him suddenly, that by parity of reason he himself ought to have complied with the clearly stated wishes of his Saviour, who had done more for him, than any father can do for his children, and had left him a parting command.

Then in a dream came before him the picture of distant lands, occupied by non-Christian races: some in a state of barbarism and savage cruelty: some in lethargy and stupid Ignorance: some again great, learned, and rich, but worshipping stocks and stones, and giving heed to false doctrines, invented by erring men, and allowing themselves to commit atrocious crimes, and indulge in monstrous immorality: to his memory came snatches of Missionary hymns, which he had sometimes heard children sing in his Church about multitudes calling on Christians (including him) to deliver them from the bondage of darkness. Some earnest words suddenly forced themselves on his recollection, as if the Holy Spirit had recalled them, of a casual Preacher, who in the flower of his youth had occupied the Pulpit, and told them, that he (the Preacher) had given up everything in this world, that he might go forth to convey the Message to these poor sinners: he had tried to bring home to the hearts of those, who heard him, their manifest duty to their Risen and Ascended Lord; but as far as concerned many, and more particularly the now dying man, he had spoken in vain.

At eventide there shall be light, and so it was: the light came to him, and the gusts of earthly passions, and the clouds of worldly cares, being removed, he saw things clearer: he weighed his life in a balance, and it was found wanting: he had indeed cared for the people of his own home, he had been a faithful husband to the mother of his children, and a kind father to the orphans, whom she had left to his charge: he had put up a painted window to the memory of his parents and his wife, he had repaired the Church, and built a new School-house: he died in good odour with his neighbours: that was well, but in doing one duty he should not have left the other undone: there was the error, and it was too late to remedy it now. To the saving of one Soul he had not contributed by thought, word, or deed; how could he expect to be saved himself? If his neighbour's ox or ass were in a pit, he would have taken personal trouble to get them out, and asked no reward: but here was his neighbour himself in peril of his Soul, and yet he had never

stretched out his hand to save him. Where would he himself have been, if some one in past ages had not exerted himself to bring his ancestors to Christ, and thus led to the happy result, that he was born in Christian culture and surroundings? He thought of words, which he had read in the New Testament without attaching any particular meaning: "Occupy till I come," "Trade with the Pounds lent to you." Had he made use of the talents entrusted to him? Was he not then an unprofitable servant? What reply could he give, when the Lord came to take account with His servants?

His heart sank within him: he had lived a long life in those few moments. He seemed to have divided his individuality, and thought of his poor ignorant self, as he now appeared to his enlightened Soul, with pity and dismay, as the most wretched of men. "Something for me" was the burden of a hymn, which came back to him, as sung by the children in the Sunday School, and then, as if in mockery, came the words "Nothing for me," "Nothing for me, who did so much for Thee."

His thoughts then went off in another direction: how much happiness, real happiness, he had lost! A conviction was brought home to him of the intense genuine happiness, of the indescribable joys felt by those, to whom the Grace (*for after all it is Grace alone*) was given of obeying their Lord's command in childhood, in youth, in manhood, in old age, with tongue, with brain, with hands, with purse, with personal labour, with the great offering of self-Sacrifice; who had given up wealth, and station, wife and children, parents, and country, health, and even life itself, lying down meekly on the Cross to fill up what remained of the sufferings of Christ for the redemption of Souls. It is not by works, that we are saved, but by Grace alone; but we can glorify God by works after the Grace of Salvation has come to us. The little child, when at Christmas-tide he offers to his Parents a little present bought by money, supplied to him by them, or a shell from the Sea-shore, or a flower from the free gifts of the Earth, sets us the example of gratitude and Love. All that we can do is to offer of our abundance, our sufficiency, our deep penury, something however worthless out of the store, which He has given to us. Whether it be a widow's mite, or a king's ransom, the service of a few weeks, or of half a century of years: a cornucopia of saved Souls, or the great life-sorrow of long labours uncrowned by a single conversion; it matters not: the Lord weighs them in His own scales, the scales of Love. "Lovest thou Me!" "Yea, Lord, Thou knowest that I Love Thee": "Feed my Lambs." "Something for Thee, Lord, "something for Thee! Nothing in my hand I bring, but oh! "with my prayers let a perfume of work done in a humble "Spirit, of sufferings patiently endured, of ardent enthusiasm

" in the interest of my fellow-creatures, go up to the foot-stool " of Thy glory ! "

"Working with Thee" is another thought, that passed through the dying man's brain. From the Cross Christ looked down on all Mankind past, present, and future, on Regions which Cæsar never knew, on isles of the sea, dimly seen by the inspired Prophet, on the Gentiles, to lighten whom a bright light had suddenly appeared in Galilee: we are the heirs of all the ages, foremost in the ranks of time, and shall we not be foremost in the work of the Lord, in the work, which He works with us, through us, and by our poor instrumentality; for it is by His Grace alone that we are able to do anything worth doing. "Oh! that I had done something to spread the Gospel of Christ!"

Then his thoughts went off in another direction, and fixed themselves on those features, which stood out very clearly

(1) Guilty leisure, talents not made use of, opportunities lost.
(2) Wilful Ignorance, or rather refusal to listen to instruction.
(3) Culpable niggardliness, wealth misapplied.

His understanding seemed at last to be opened to the comprehension of these words: A Cry for Missions.

(1) First came the idea of "Guilty Leisure." Are there no men and women in the community, for whom God has provided in his bounty an abundance, or a sufficiency, and who pass through a long life of ease, and health, who have unemployed Gifts, who do nothing for the Lord, who bought them? This is what is meant by "Guilty Leisure." No substitutes are allowed to exempt from Military Conscription. Personal Service is required: there is something more valuable than Gold and Silver, and every Christian is bound to render this to the Home and Foreign Missions, or to both. How do many get through their long tedious days, sanctified by no labour, unenlightened by any interest? Have they done what they could?

(2) Next came the idea "Inexcusable Ignorance." And yet this is an age of enlightenment, and the Missionary Societies flood the world with interesting information, but there are some, who will not read them. The Sunday-School is instructed in the details of Paul's Missionary Journeys, but knows nothing, or next to nothing, of the great work of the successors of Paul. And yet the reports of Missionary Societies, and their Periodicals, are filled with greater interest than the most fascinating romance, and have the advantage, or perhaps disadvantage,

of being true. Perils by land, perils by sea, perils by robbers, perils by the Heathen, perils in the city, perils in the wilderness, perils among false brethren: in weariness, in painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst: in fastings often, in cold and nakedness, besides the care of all the Churches: moving accidents by flood and field: disappointments and successes: triumphs and abasements: all these and more are to be found. As the narrative flows on in its simplicity, the narrow walls of the room seem to expand, and the Reader is transported in thought to the great cities of Asia, the inhospitable Regions of North America, and the vast deserts of Africa. *There* stands an honest God-fearing man, one of the Reader's own race and kin and Language, sent out to preach the Gospel by his Church, and is he not something in this cold, self-seeking material, age to be proud of? He has given up the prospect of wealth and honour, and ease, in his own country, and has gone out to endure hardship for the sake of the suffering, the oppressed, and the ignorant: nor has he gone alone, for by his side there moves a form, scattering sweet flowers round his life in those God-forsaken Regions, attracting to herself hearts by the strange sight of the Beauty of Holiness: they call her in their untutored accents an *angel*: he calls her, *wife*, who like Ruth will not leave him. Are such Stories as these not worth reading? Is not this "Inexcusable Ignorance" as to the continuity of the Missionary Spirit from the time of Paul to the present hour?

(3) Next came the words "Culpable niggardliness." He has given us all, all that we possess in this world, all that we hope for in the next. Shall we not give something? Do we value the privileges, which we possess, if we do not assist to extend them to others. The free Anglo-Saxon on both sides of the Atlantic is not content to enjoy freedom, but wishes to impart it to others. The Christian wishes the Message of Salvation to be conveyed to the whole world. On the Clock of History the hour for Missions has sounded. The Church, the family and the individual, who do not place the duty of conquering new Kingdoms to the Lord in the first line of their obligations, abdicate their position. Those, who are most liberal to Home-requirements are not less forward in aiding Foreign Missions. Nor is it money alone, that the Lord requires. What shall be said of those, who withhold Personal Service, if the Message come to them, that the Lord calls them to his vineyard, if they find themselves in possession of talents, and leisure, and means, and opportunities? What shall be said of Parents, who withhold their children, when they are ready to go, and fit to serve, and who have no field of usefulness at home? Where that exists,

and they have unmistakeable domestic claims on their Services, or a vocation in Home-Missions among the poor and suffering of their own people, it is mere idle will-worship, and a romantic desire of change, that tempts them to new, and not necessarily better, things. But, when they are sitting at home with folded hands, crushed by the conventionalities of home family-life, or are dragged along like Slaves attached to the car of unprofitable social worldliness, Parents! Parents! if the Lord calls them, let them go! Early death, tedious disease, some kind of misfortune, may hereafter come upon you for robbing the Master of his own. What happened to the Servant, who wrapped his talent in a napkin?

The true Missionary is undoubtedly the highest type of Human excellence in the Nineteenth century. He has the enterprize of the Merchant without the narrow desire of gain, the dauntlessness of the soldier without the occasion for shedding blood, the zeal of the Geographical Explorer, but for higher motive than the advancement of Human Knowledge. The Missionary is the salt of the Earth.

Such were his thoughts, but to him it was too late: he had allowed his useless life to glide by like water, that is spilt, and cannot be recovered. Are none of us in the same plight? Why were we born? Why is our life prolonged to manhood, to old age? Is it not sad to contemplate the life of some around us? We are not to judge others, and yet we cannot help seeing, that for a long period they have done nothing for their fellow-creatures: and yet God has given them some kind of talents, plenty of time, freedom from labour, social position, ample opportunities, abundant means!

What is the reason? It is not far to look for: the reason why people care so little for the Souls and bodies of others, is because they care little for their own Souls, and in fact are not *converted* themselves: they do not realize at its full value what the Saviour has done for their individual Souls: if they did, would not their hearts burn within them to hand over the free Gift of Salvation? The intense joy of Personal Salvation would spread towards a desire to save others.

January, 1892–1895.

2. A word to those, who do not Recognize the Divinely Imposed Duty of Evangelization.

A friend mentioned to me one day the secular addresses, which he made to hard headed good men, who would decline to be considered Christians, though their actions and mode of life showed, that, in spite of their protestations, the law of Christ had engraved itself upon their life; and suggested to me the idea of writing a Missionary address upon secular lines. Was I afraid to face such an audience? Certainly not. As an advanced Liberal, yet true to the Union of the three Kingdoms, I had on political platforms boldly expressed my sentiments in spite of the yells of infuriated Home-Rulers: I had not been afraid to look boldly into the face of the Anti-opium-trade enthusiasts in Exeter Hall, while I tried in vain to temper with common sense their unreasoning enthusiasm.

I respect real bonâ-fide Atheists, and Agnostics, who are so from profound convictions, who lead moral lives, and who themselves respect the Religious opinions of others: they are feelers for the Truth. And I feel, that but for the Grace of God, acting through the circumstances of my early life, I should probably have been among them, for I still rejoice in the title of a Freethinker, in the Christian sense of that word, one who must know what he believes, and be able to give a reason for his belief, involving no hard points in fog, and not afraid to look difficulties in the face. If I had not witnessed so many a Hindu and Mahometan go bravely and unshrinkingly to their death, I should wonder, how a man could dare to die without hope in Christ. If experience had not convinced me, that round me were many good men, who professed unbelief, I should wonder, how a man would dare to live without the aid of the Holy Spirit. To grasp the subject of Christian Missions, omitting the name of Christ, is hard. To seem for an instant, and only for a purpose, to treat the life and death of Christ as a beautiful Legend, to roll up out of sight the all-absorbing Love of the Saviour, is harder still. Still, it must be done, in order to draw from Human experience, from actual results, from the History of our Epoch, evidence of the reality of an hidden inner Power behind the scenes, on which such marvels of Human benevolence are being represented.

It is an uncontestable fact, that no body of men (except the Theosophists and Mormons) has up to the present moment deliberately started Missionary enterprizes to convert to their views the Heathen on any other basis than that of the New

Testament. A great deal has been written about Mahometan Missionaries. I can only reply, that I never came across one. A Mahometan, no doubt, is ready to circumcise his male slave, and to make his female slave nominally conform to Islám, and be his concubine, but nothing beyond is proved to my satisfaction, either in Asia, or Africa. Conversions may have been effected by force in times past, and by fraud, or worldly inducement, in times present, but I never read of money collected to send out emissaries. In India there is a fair and open field, and most capable, and accomplished, and good Mahometans, but a proselyting Mission has not been entered upon. The Buddhist Missions, whatever they were (and certainly they were successful), are things of the dim and remote past, and no tendency has been developed by the Millions of existing followers of Buddha to propagate their peaceful, and much-corrupted, doctrines, by the practice of which in their purity the happiness of man would be advanced. As a fact, the Religion of Buddha is so choked by the parasitical growth of Heathenism, that it would require to be itself reformed, before it could be conveyed as a Message to others. The same remark applies to the Mahometan and Christian Religions. It is possible, that there may be an outburst of Mahometan Wahábi, or Reformers, who may be fired with the desire to preach the doctrines of Mahomet. We know as a fact that, previous to the great Reformation of the Christian Religion in the sixteenth century there was little attempt to carry the Christian Religion to the Heathen out of Europe. But, when the Church of Rome had purged itself from its worst errors of Mediæval practice under the new impulse given by the new order of the Jesuits, it commenced its great career of Christian Missions, in which, after two centuries of torpor, it has been followed by the Reformed Churches of Europe and America. This leads me up to my first position that:

(1) No other Religion, but that of Christ, has furnished the *motive*, and the *power*, to induce men and women to sacrifice their personal comforts for the sake of converting unknown and distant races to their views of thinking.

Our countrymen, who do not agree with us as Christians, are still unconsciously so imbued with Christian feeling, have lived so entirely in the atmosphere of Christian thought and practice, and display in their every-day life so much goodness, and purity, and benevolence, that it would not seem strange, if they were to send out Missions. We should then bring to the test the fact, upon which Christians insist, that it is *the Love of Christ only*, that constraineth men to undergo sufferings, and that it is *the Power of Christ only*, that enables them to conquer them.

These may seem bold words, but History testifies to their accuracy. I cast no blame upon any one for having exercised only passive virtues: such was our position also last century, but we have been roused to a sense of certain facts, which underlie our Faith, that:

I. God made men in His own image, and that, to all has been granted the Gift of articulate speech and Religious instinct, by which they are separated from the rest of Creation, and they resemble each other much more than they differ.

II. Christ looked down from the Cross on all mankind, from the Creation, and died for them, every one, without any exception.

III. The parting words of our Saviour were an order to preach the Gospel to every creature in all the world, and a Promise to be with us to the end of the world.

The next consideration is:

(2) The wonderful change, which has come over European Nations, since they became Christians, the Duty imposed upon them, and the aid derived from the Missionary Spirit.

Now this is a matter of History, as it has all happened since Julius Cæsar, the first Roman Emperor, was killed, and we know from Roman authors what the state of Europe was only eighteen hundred years ago, and we know what it is now. It is scarcely necessary to waste time on this argument, nor is it possible to disconnect Christianity from our Civilization. I am very familiar with the History of Rome and Greece, and the great Kingdoms of Asia, and North Africa, and I cannot say of them, that they were great, wise, enlightened, and sympathetic: they did not care to stamp out abominable crimes; the men, possessed of wealth and power, openly vaunted of the commission of vices, which, if committed at all under a Christian Government, are matters for concealment and shame. I can find no proof in their History, that with the rare exceptions of such men as the Emperor Titus, and King Asóka in India, they were ever possessed with a great idea of doing good to their neighbours.

It is a poor argument to say, that we did very well without Missions: this seems to be said in forgetfulness, that the Religious Spirit of a man *advances* just as much as his scientific: our Fathers did very well without the effects of physical Science of to-day. As our day, so is our strength: as our strength increases, and our opportunity, so increases our Duty. As a fact, we have been forced into contact with non-Christian races

in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania: can we be content to fold our hands, and do nothing? Somehow or other the nobility of our character compels us to consider the problem, whether we cannot do something to ameliorate their condition, for in some particulars it is sad. The great Darwin admitted, that the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego were *human*, but in culture very little above *beasts*: this is not satisfactory information, and makes the ears of benevolent men tingle. Now, as a fact, will the excellent men, who are unable to accept the Promises of Christ, the good people, who tell us mildly, that they expect to go after death to the place, where other good people go, the good old Heathen of the Augustan type of Juvenal, and Seneca, of Antoninus Pius, and Adrian, who have lived down to our time: will any of them, full of benevolence as they are, band themselves together to collect tens of thousand Pounds in every town and village in Great Britain, to send out below cost price Moral treatises, or Fruits of Philosophy, or Supernatural Religion, for the instruction of these inferior races? Will they send out devoted Atheists, and consecrated Comtists, and self-Sacrificing Agnostics, to live among wild tribes, acquire their Languages, soften their rough manners, win their Love, and Love them in return, die for them, and teach them how to die, worthy of life beyond the grave?

There must be something in the Movement. An American this year said to me, that he had come over to see all the sights of London; and he did not think his visit accomplished, until he had seen the committee of a Missionary Society assembled in their room of business. It so happened, that he came at a moment, when four Agents were receiving their instructions previous to their departure to different quarters of the world: there was a mechanic going out to construct a Mission-boat on Victoria Nyanza in Central Africa: a medical man going to China: a Female Evangelist to Mombása in East Africa, and an ordained Missionary to the wild tribes in Canada. It struck him, as noteworthy, but it was the ordinary routine: the Engine Room, the Hospital, the Mission-School, and the Mission-Chapel, can all be instruments of Human benevolence to the poor Human creatures, whether black, or red, or brown, or yellow, if only the motive Power can be found, and the sole Power, that History has yet revealed to us, is Christ. Take the islands of New Zealand as an example: they belong to Great Britain and to Christ, simply because one earnest man, a century ago, Samuel Marsden, was smitten with the desire at the risk of his life to carry to them the Gospel. Every Briton burns with a desire to put an end to the African Slave-trade, but how could all the Governments of Europe effect it, without the aid of interpreters trained in the Mission-School, and what would become of the poor released Slaves, but

for the Homes established by the Missionaries? When Lord Wolseley went up the Nile to relieve Gordon, he was accompanied by interpreters trained by Missionaries, and so was Henry Stanley, when he visited King Mtesa on Victoria Nyanza, and discovered the course of the Kongo.

(3) The Christian Missions have been a blessing to the countries, in which they were located, as far as concerns things of this world.

Darwin is my first witness: "There are many, who attack "both the Missionaries, their system, and the effect produced "by it. Such reasoners never compare the present state with "that of the island only twenty years ago; nor even with that "of Europe at the present day; but they compare it with the "high standard of Gospel-perfection. The lesson of the Mis- "sionary is the enchanter's-wand."

Vice-Consul Johnston, of the Kamerúns, West Africa, in an article in the "Nineteenth Century," noticed the personality of Missionaries rather flippantly, and of the Negro rather unkindly, and is evidently not a supporter of Missionary Societies: but, somehow or other, he makes the following remark: "It is "consoling to reflect on the immense services, which Mission- "enterprizes have rendered in Africa, to the world at large, "and to Great Britain. When the History of the great African "States comes to be written, the arrival of the first Missionary "will be the first historical event (as Julius Cæsar in Britain): "he gave them their first idea of the Printing Press, Steamboat, "and Saw-Mill: he first navigated their rivers, and lakes. "Missionary enterprize has widely increased the bounds of "our Knowledge, and has conferred benefits on Science."

A writer on India says: "No one, who has lived long in "a Heathen land, can have any doubt upon the immense "advantage of the diffusion of the Gospel: the suppression "of Heathen rites and usages: the creation of a public con- "science: the formation of a public opinion in favour of the "pure, the honest, and the true, the elevation of the Moral "standard, the vindication of the rights of Man to exercise "the faculties given by God: all these are unspeakable blessings, "and they accompany the Gospel."

Speaking myself from the point of view of a Heathen Philosopher, of Socrates, Plato, and Cicero, I must record my opinion, that, if the Christian Missions to West Africa had, during the last half century, produced nothing but the sweet, and holy, intelligent, and gentle, personalities of my dear friends, Samuel and Dandeson Crowther, Henry and James Johnson, pure Negroes,

yet accomplished gentlemen, as keen on the subjects of Education, Philosophy, Geography, and Philanthropy, as any of us, the expenditure of scores of British lives, and thousands of British Pounds, has not been in vain, for they are living samples of many, who will come hereafter; they are living refutations of the assertion, that the Negro is incapable of culture: and without the Power of Christ working upon British Souls to commence their great enterprize, without the Power of Christ, working on the Souls of those four men, and holding them in subjection, they would not have been what they are.

We may wonder, how in a Heathen country the domestic virtues managed to keep themselves alive; how conjugal fidelity, love of offspring, obedience to parents, and the other sweet gentle virtues, managed to maintain a precarious existence, in spite of Ignorance and oppression; but my long residence in the midst of my people in Upper India convinces me, that domestic virtues there at least do exist, that there is in the heart of man a fountain of goodness, that is inexhaustible. But, when the contact of the low abandoned white Man takes place, new forms of violence, new seeds of disease, new varieties of crime, and vice, come into existence, poisoning the quiet stream of non-Christian life: and this points to the necessity of the same Nation, which sent the poison, sending also the antidote, to correct the notion, which had forced itself on secluded tribes, that the white men were bad devils, and bringing something in return for much evil suffered. We must all feel a desire to elevate these fallen races, and lift them up from their helpless, barbarous state. Who can do it? Who has time to do it? Who can find the means to do it? The operation is dangerous, costly, tedious, and as far as human eyes see, thankless. We have to get rid of Cannibalism, and Human Sacrifice, at once, and Slavery, Polygamy, Magical rites, and Cruelty, gradually. The Government of a European country cannot do it. A Commercial Association would not find it pay a dividend. The Traveller and Explorer cannot stop to do it. Will any Benevolent Association, which is not bound together by the cement of the Love of Christ, undertake it? Yet our hearts go out in pity and Love to them; we recognize in some their natural goodness, their hospitality, the kindness of the women, their Love to the children. Will no one go forward? Yes! Brother: the Love of Christ constraineth us. We believe, that these also are men, and that Christ looked down from the Cross on these also, and died for them, and our hearts burn within us to carry them also the Gospel of Salvation. God hateth nothing that He has made.

(4) There is a very weak side to Missions.

I often hear this, or similar remarks, and it is true: *there is a very weak side*: the men employed to carry the Gospel are very Human, and in no respect Angels. Their Publications have been worse than their actual deeds: people complain of so much cant, and false sentiment, such Ignorance, Intolerance: such impertinent attempts of some to set the world right according to their idea of right: denouncing a great Commerce betwixt two great countries; prying into the unsavoury details of a Military Barrack; trying to persuade a just Government to let them have the control of the Education of a great people: tilting against ancient customs: then, according to others, they are divided against themselves, and speak evil of each other: they want to be too comfortable, and share the luxuries of the rich rather than the simple lives of the poor: they attack the great Religions of antiquity, without informing themselves about them: they talk a great deal about Miracles, which happened centuries ago, but can do none themselves: then some of them marry, when mere lads, and are a frightful expense to the Society, which sends them out: pennies collected under the influence of prayer from little children go to maintain Homes to bring up Missionary children in a position of life above that of their parents: then some are always coming home: some throw up the Service of the Lord, just when it suits them: a sick wife, a sick child, a snug bit of Church-preferment at home: there is a want of life-consecration: there is not the same amount of devotion to the Service, the Service of Christ, which a soldier, or a Civil Officer of the State, gives gladly to the Service of his Queen. Some of them appeal to the Arm of the Flesh, and invoke Treaty-rights, and gunboats, and get up meetings to urge expeditions, protectorates, annexations, payment of money compensation, on an unwilling Government. A good deal of this is true, and nobody denounces these mistakes more pertinaciously than I do. But there is a strong side also: there have been wise men, to balance the fools: humble men as an equipoise to the proud ones, men who have given their lives to the cause, who have lived in poverty and suffering, and worked what we might call Miracles in the change of the feelings of their people. Read the lives of Bishop Steere of Equatorial Africa, and Bishop Patteson of Melanesia: read on your knees the lives of Carey, of Judson, of Saker, of Livingstone: men of very different theological views, very diverse Gifts, men who never met, and perhaps would never have cared to meet each other, and yet we, from our point of view, can note their strong resemblance. There are lives still to be written. I have seen many men pass away before me into another world, whose names are now mentioned even as Saints, and Confessors,

and there are men of the same type still moving in our midst, to whom the next generation will tender the same honour. Not long ago (on the 13th August, 1888), I presided at the General Meeting of the Church Missionary Society, and we had to take leave of the venerable Bishop Sargent of South India, who was returning to his people, and his converts, and his adopted children, to die among them. As he entered the room, the whole assembly rose: it was the same greeting, which was awarded by the Roman Senate to a great Proconsul, when he returned to Rome, laden with the spoils of the East, trophies won from the Parthians and the Medes, and the dwellers of Mesopotamia. When he had seated himself (for he was too weak to stand), I told him in the name of the Committee, that we welcomed him, as one of our oldest, most faithful, and beloved friends. His words were few: he told us, that during the fifty years of his Service the Lord had never failed him, that all His dealings had been kind and wise, that he felt the infirmities of the flesh coming upon him, and he wished to return to his people. One of our ordained Members committed him to God in tender words of earnest prayer, and the good man gave us his Episcopal blessing, and left us, sorrowing that we should see his dear face no more. Am I not right in saying, that there is a strong side to Missions also? How small seem the Services of Generals, and Governors, compared to the life-devotion of this great and good man! He went to India five years before I went, and he was there till he died. He has accumulated no competence, carried off no ephemeral honours, but his life is an additional proof of my argument, that Christ is the Power of God unto Salvation, both to the people amidst whom he laboured, and to himself.

A secular newspaper, not much given to Missions, writes thus: "The plain truth about modern Missionary-work we believe to "be this. It has become a profession, a most noble and very "successful profession, and, like every other profession, has "drawn to itself men of all kinds, of whom a large majority are "qualified by inner disposition for its Duties. At an expense of "about a million a year, the Protestant Churches send out to "most parts of the Heathen, and some parts of the Mahometan "world, a perpetually renewed force of men and women, to "teach to those, who know them not, Christianity and Civiliza-"tion. These men and women are of all sorts, some unfit, one "or two in a thousand hopelessly unfit, a few fit to a degree no "words of ours will adequately describe, but a majority well "qualified in extremely varied ways for the burdensome Duty "they have to perform. Many are Teachers, many Preachers, "many Scholars, many born Rulers of men; but in all, except "a very few, there is one quality rare in any other profession,

" absolute devotion to the work to be done. How is it possible " for Christians of any sort to condemn such a profession with " such results? We can no more conceive how a Christian " Church can be fully alive, yet never wish to proselytize."

Then the process is very slow: the pace, at which conversion proceeds, is very funereal: there are many insincere converts, many relapses: we sometimes hear, that nominal Christians still steal away to a secret place in the mountains, and make offerings to the Spirits of their ancestors, as they were once accustomed to do. The number of Missionaries has greatly increased. Some selections have been very unhappy: the best have often died: the worst survive: they do not all come up to the ideal of Paul, or of the Nestorians, or of Columba of Iona, or of Xavier, or of the Moravians: the reply is, that the externals of men are very much as the age, in which they live, and their social environment make them: they may be better suited for the requirements of this Epoch than Paul or Columba would have been; at any rate they are as good, and, in my opinion, a good deal better than the secular men of their own Epoch in the same strata of life: as a body they are free from the vulgar vices, and cruelty, and covetousness: admitting the necessity of sending Missionaries full of ardour, free from mercantile motives, strong in health, determined in character, I doubt, whether they are not fair representatives of the energy of their country.

(5) Let me now draw attention to the Power of Christian Faith, where nothing else would succeed.

This is a bold challenge. Take the case of putting a stop to Slave-holding and arresting Slave-dealing. What but the strong Christian influence would have done it, and who, but Missionaries, would have supplied the facts about Slave-dealing, and been foremost in the conflict? The Christian Mission is the complement of the Slavery-Abolition Society: the two make one power. Sierra Leone and Frere Town are proofs of this.

For when a Slave-ship is captured, to whom, but the Missionary, can the released starving creatures be made over? We have numerous accounts of this Holy work from men of very different type, unable to act together on any other conceivable subject, the High Church Party of the Church of England, and the Society of Friends, and in this blessed work they are as one man. It makes one proud of our Human Brotherhood, to think of our Brothers and Sisters, day by day, in a bad climate, and most uncongenial surroundings, giving themselves up to the feeding, clothing, and training, of the Negro, bearing with their unsavoury smell, and gross habits, leading them onwards. When does the Anglo-Saxon appear at a higher level of Human

greatness than on such occasions! But, nothing but Grace gives the Power. What by himself could the worldly man do?

The impulses of Humanity and benevolence are laudable, and have led to laudable results: but they are not sure to be lasting, nor have they *Power* in themselves. Obedience to the Will of God is the Christian's motive, and brings with it a *Power* to secure continuousness of action. Moreover, when benevolence has done its work to a barbarous race, what guarantee is there, that it will so remain, unless there has been implanted in their hearts a desire to do the Will of God? Take the case of Sierra Leone: there were fifteen hundred slaves landed by cruisers, speaking scores of different Languages: filthy, abominable, unmanageable. William Johnson, by his Christian kindness, formed them into a congregation, made them useful and respectable citizens. The Civil Governor in reporting this remarked: "The hand of Heaven is on this." It was a memorial of good wrought by one man, through the controlling Grace of the Almighty.

But how is the work set about? How does the Man of God commence his blessed work? Read one sample: it is an echo from the savages of Melanesia, recorded by one, who gave his life for his flock: and no one dreamt of avenging him, for he had followed the steps of his Master, even unto death: "Then "comes the task, that you too may experience, when dealing "with some neglected child in England, but which under the "cocoa-nut tree, with dark naked men, has a special im-"pressiveness. It was the old lesson of the Eternal and "Universal Father, who has not left himself without witness, "in that He gives us rain from Heaven: and our ingratitude, "and His Love: of His coming down to point out the way "of life, and of His death and rising again, of another world, "Resurrection and Judgment. All interrupted now and then by "exclamations of surprise, laughter, or by some one beginning "to talk about something, that jarred sadly on one's ear."

But Civilization has its troubles and dangers as well as the savagery of Melanesia: let us consider the piteous position of the young Native of India. Secular Education at the State-School has destroyed his Faith in his own Religion, and set him on a higher walk in life: but he is out of *rapport* with the old folks at home. He feels a profound contempt for all, that his Father holds dear, and for the old Village-Priest: he is ashamed of the Idols, shocked at the indecent stories, disgusted at the folly, and heartbroken at the lies; but he does not like to vex his parents. The world seems a hopeless tangle, till he some day meets a wise and sympathetic Missionary, who tells him the simple tale: all then seems clear, his doubts vanish and his hopes revive: he tries to believe: if he could but believe, he

would be a happy man. That Power of belief comes from God, and at the hour, and in the manner pre-ordained. "Only believe, and it shall be done unto you according to your belief."

The rite of Baptism and the Chapel are but the outward signs of the work of the Mission, for they become the centre of gentle influences. The lessons of Morality are taught: the Bible in the Vernacular, like a bright light, illuminates dark corners: quarrels are settled by umpires without fighting: the idea of a compromise with mutual advantage, and reciprocal concessions, is a new one. We read of a Missionary visiting a robber-band in their lair, and bringing them back to decent lives. Another young Missionary walked three hundred and fifty miles alone, without arms, to redeem some poor native converts from bandits. A feat such as that would have received the Victoria-Cross, had it been done by a soldier. The soldier of Christ rejoices in no Cross, but that of Christ and Him Crucified, and in serving Him has his exceeding great reward. The Power of God still performs Miracles. The Missionary finds nobility of character in the converted Cannibal, and the Heathen Priest, and sorcerer, forgetting their evil ways, become humble worshippers in the Chapel: the murder of little children is discontinued, and women are elevated to their proper position, as helpmates of men. It is the Lord's doing: it is marvellous in our eyes. If the facts are doubted, test them: if the facts are admitted, admit also, that the Power of the Holy Spirit still dwells in the tents of Men.

(6) Consider the grandeur of the human character developed.

One of the greatest sources of wealth of a Nation is its share of great qualities: self-Sacrifice, dauntless valour, high aspirations, noble unselfishness, absence of greed, or pride, effacement of self: these things ennoble a family, one member of which possesses some of them. This is the true nobility: where can these qualities be found in such abundance and brightness as in the Missionary band? They are the leaven of the whole Nation. Such Gifts come direct from God. Some have laid all their literary ambition, and pursuits, all their scientific attainments, all their laborious hours, all their social success, upon His Altar, forgetting all in Christ, counting all loss for Christ. If Stephen set the example of the way, in which a Christian should give up his life, Paul taught us the harder task of keeping it, accompanied with a Sacrifice of the whole, living only by Faith: and he has been followed by many, who deemed it not lawful to spend their few years in any pursuit, however noble, which fell short of the highest, *the Saving of Souls*: who felt, that eloquence was only given to win and sway an audience for one definite object, that the pen had but one

sole and inspired purpose: "The great Chinese Missionary "Morrison's desire to be a Missionary arose not from any strong "excitement, or external influence, but from a calm, deliberate, "review of the state of the Heathen, and *his own obligation to His "own Lord and Saviour.* Duty was his pole-star; the burden of "his prayer was, that God would station him in that part of the "field, where the difficulties were greatest, and to all human "appearance the most unsurmountable."

An echo of this sentiment comes from the mouth of a Priest "of Rome: "L'unique grâce, que je vous demande, c'est de me "donner tout ce qu'il aura de plus penible, et plus mortifiant "dans la Mission." Here we have a survival of the spirit of Paul of Tarsus.

Such a man would under other circumstances lead a forlorn hope, or take out a life-boat to save the crews of sinking ships. Great Britain cannot spare the development of such characters. Her greatness must be an all-round greatness. In after-ages her reputation will rest as much upon her Missionaries, as on her soldiers and sailors. The Queen's army is numerically smaller than any of the great Continental armies. Christ's army, recruited in Protestant Great Britain and its Colonies, exceeds in number all the Missionary armies of the world collected together, and the allied army of the same race on the other side of the Atlantic is next to it in number, and united, as one man in purpose.

(7) And what a field of aspiration does it afford to the youth of Great Britain, male and female?

There is a danger in a great, and strong, and rich, Nation settling down on its lees, and being content, like the rich man in the parable, to eat and drink, and worship the poor body: some nobler spirits sigh for a career, a wider space, in which they can spread their wings, and a purer atmosphere. Time is for work: Eternity for rest. Sometimes there comes a breeze from a far-off country, calling those, who are weary of the dull routine of Europe, to come out. Some one whispers in their ear, that a corner in God's vineyard has by them to be tilled, and by each and all there is a Mission to be fulfilled. Is it nothing-worth to conceive in your youth a great idea, which will accompany you through manhood, through decline of life, to the grave? The great work of the Hebrew Prophets was, that they established an Ideal form of Faith, Holiness, and self-Sacrifice, leaving it to future years to work up to it. The great Masters of Greek and Latin song caught up the refrain from their Semitic cousins on the other side of the Mediterranean, and sent it, as their great inexhaustible legacy, down the corridors

of centuries into our Schools and Colleges, electrifying each generation, as it sprang into consciousness of its own powers, and therefore of its own Duties. Whence did they get the idea, shadowed in the story of Ulysses, of Prometheus, of Æneas, an Ideal of something to be striven for, suffered for, bought at a great personal price, the striving for which satisfied, even if not attained? And by the far-off Sanskrit Poets the idea had been conceived of working for the work's sake, and never for the mere results of the work. Thus labour is honoured, and nothing is below the dignity of a true man. Such thoughts ennoble a Nation, and, when directed in the highest of all channels, sanctify it. After all it is a good God, that governs the world: we cannot find out His ways: but we feel, that He is leading us. Roads are cut across countries previously untraversed: paths are found in the pathless ocean: doors long shut are thrown open: opportunities exceed all expectations: the thousand voices are heard of tribes secluded for ages in sealed gardens: and the youth of Great Britain, sated with vulgar joys, seeks a nobler sphere of action than that, with which their Fathers were satisfied. Men and women are wanted everywhere to exhibit Christianity in its practical form, not of Dogma, or Ritual, or Psalm-singing, but of actual life. Hear what Bishop Patteson said: "Men are needed, who have a strong Religious "common sense to adapt Christianity to the various tribes "without compromising any doctrines or principle of conduct: "men who can see in the midst of the errors and superstitions "of a people, whatever fragments of Truth, or symptoms of a "yearning after something better, may exist in them, and make "that the *point d'appui*, upon which they may build up the "structure of Christian teaching.

"How shall I try to teach them to become industrious, perse-"vering, honest, tidy, clean, careful with children, and all the "rest of it? What a different thing from going about and "teaching the first principles of Christianity! The second "stage of the Mission is the difficult one."

I heard a Bishop this year at an annual Meeting tell us how a Missionary on his furlough took lessons in thatching houses, to give his people better ideas on this practical subject. I read of another Bishop in his Diocese seated on the ground, and showing the way to plait grass for thatching. Not that there is any merit in the act itself, but the Spirit is the one, which should actuate all, of bringing to the Lord's Service whatever Gifts they had received of Him.

(8) The advantage of a Christian Civilization.

Would any one wish, that all the dawning Civilizations of Asia,

Africa, and Oceania, should be Heathen and Mahometan; not the good old Heathendom of Horace, and Mæcenas, and the Emperor Augustus, but the compound Heathendom of the indigenous vices of abject races mixed with the poison of a corrupt and fallen Christianity. If the leaven of the Gospel is not in the new Civilization, in what hideous form will it develop? I read how shipwrecked mariners have been carefully cared for, where the islanders are Christians: they would certainly have been devoured a few years earlier. The Special Commissioner of New Guinea reports, that the Polynesian Native Teachers gain an ascendancy over the savage Papuans, and it is to them, that *the white man in difficulties always turns for protection, and it is always accorded to him.* Such facts ought to bring home to us certain convictions, that in this world also Christianity is profitable, and that without it Civilization is dangerous. Hear what experienced men tell us: "No hindrance was so great to the success of the early Missionary "as the notion of beginning with Civilization, instead of Heart-"conversion: our first and constant business must be to tell the "people of Sin, and of a Saviour from Sin."

And again: "Missionary Societies had not then (1806) the "experience we now possess, and had not yet so fully learnt, "that, however valuable Civilization is, as a hand-maid to "Evangelization, it is in itself but of little value as a fore-"runner, and that the simple preaching of the Gospel is the "power of God unto Salvation."

And again: "It was the increasing conviction of all the "Missionaries, that the plan of gradual approaches by means "of Civilization had been tried long enough, and that the "citadel must be stormed at once with the weapons of God's "own armoury: in short, that *Evangelization must take precedence "of any attempt to improve the social condition of the people*; they "were much hindered by their secular employment."

And again: "It was his impression, as he drew near the close "of his life, that he had given an *undue proportion of time and "strength to merely civilizing influences, and the material prosperity "of the people.* This may account in part for their Spiritual "weakness, when the supporting hand of their Pastor has been "withdrawn. How slow we are to learn, that *Civilization is "a blessing to a barbarous people only so far as it is permeated by the "Spirit and Power of the Gospel!*"

I cannot divest myself of the feeling, that I myself have two individualities: the one that of a Christian Statesman, who can tolerate no injustice being done to an inferior race, because they *are not Christians*, and who is ever ready to combat any fictitious cry, any craze of the moment, any intolerable humbug and delusion, whether the offender is a Missionary, a pseudo-philanthropist, or an ordinary person: the other that of a

humble believer, who places the conversion of Souls to Christ, as the one object of existence, the sole goal of every talent, every opportunity, every life: this feeling makes me honour, as an angel from Heaven, *the Missionary ideal*, and spurn the mere hireling, the mere semblance of an unrealized vocation, the false reflection, as in a glass, of an ideal consecration.

I here insert the opinion of Bishop Westcott, who has given three sons to be Missionaries, and therefore may be said to practice what he preached: "The thought of the results of "Missionary work as a clear sign of the presence of God, a "living God among us; and the thought of the scantiness "of our own offerings to the Mission-cause, which seems to "bring powerfully home to us the utterly inadequate conception, "which we have at present formed of what the work is. First, "then, I say that the results of Missionary work are, so far as "I can judge, a clear sign of the presence of a living and a "speaking God among us. It is by no means uncommon for "those, who speak from personal knowledge of the Mission-"field to come before us somewhat in the spirit of apologists, "and tell us, almost with excuses, how few are the fruits, to "which they can point, how necessarily slow their progress "must be, how manifold are the difficulties by which they are "beset. Well, I confess, that the way, in which I regard the "results of Missionary work is very different. When I see the "results, which have been produced, I am startled, touched, "humbled by the wholly disproportionate magnitude of what "has been done, when compared with the means, which have "been used to effect it. I seem to feel that I am in the presence "of a Power far greater and far other than those Human agents, "whose work I can trace. I will admit to the full the fewness, "the weakness, the errors, the frailties, if you please, of the "workers. But what then? That is not all I see. I see men "in one case fallen, as it seemed to Human judgment, beyond "the hope of restoration, raised to the dignity of Christian men "by the simple story of the Cross. I see in another place races, "long sunk by self-indulgence and corruption to the lowest "depths, disciplined by the self-mastery of the Gospel to pure "and sober lives. I see in another place an English Bishop "travelling among the Native Churches of Tinnevelly, who tells "us, that his Faith was strengthened by what he looked upon. "I see a powerful and ancient Civilization, which has penetrated "into every department of the life of a great Nation eager now "to point out its correspondence with details in the Christian "Faith, which the Soul naturally recognizes as necessary to its "wants. I see all this, and seeing it I must believe, that I "recognize there the Power of that which is indeed the Gospel "of the Grace of God. I see that there is working now before

" our eyes a Power other than man's power, and those, who " listen to their call, tell us what is the secret of their success. " They tell us they do find that when they pray their prayers are " answered, that when they seek communion with God, they are " heard and answered by One, who still listens and speaks as a " loving Father. I know quite well we are told, that the East " passes by the Message, which we have to bring with in- " difference, or with hostility, or with scorn. I confess that " such an interpretation of the facts does not seem to me to be " justified by the testimony of those, who can speak with direct " knowledge."

I have no space to record the opinions of Viceroys, and Governors, and Ambassadors, of Scholars, of Natives of India and Japan, of Public Officials, as to the enduring blessings, conferred on the people of a country by Missionaries: the germs of Public Instruction, a pure literature, the influence of upright and unselfish characters, are part, and part only, of the benefit conferred. We are much safer in doing our Duty than neglecting it, and many of us have had it revealed to our consciences, that this is our Duty, and that, as the harvest time is short, we should not lose an opportunity. Intelligent people can hardly repeat the Lord's Prayer without giving some meaning to "Thy Kingdom come": it must mean "the spread of His Gospel." We do indeed feel human pity for all these Heathen races, and we can therefore in full confidence convey to them the message of Divine pity. Experience has convinced us, that the Divine Presence is still very near to us, and that, even if we for argument's sake set aside the truth of the Miracles, no other form of belief is clothed in so magical, so touching, so profitable, so simple, an external form as the Life of Christ. Infinite Love, inexaustible pity, undying Hope, seem to have been the only instruments, which could have any effect. Some have come out of darkness *per saltum* into a marvellous light, without struggle, without a cloud of doubt, accepting the Message. We seem carried back three thousand years in the history of Mankind, when we come in contact with the unsophisticated races: we can take them at once to the pure fountain of Christian Truth, free from the Philosophy of the Greeks, the Law and Order of the Romans, the Superstition of the Teutons. Of all the wonderful mouldings of our Civilization by the discipline of centuries they knew nothing: had we never come into contact with them we might have passed them by: but irresistible destiny has brought them within the influence of our poison. Shall we withhold the antidote?

Eastbourne, August 15, 1888–1895.

(3) Civilization Without the Gospel is Profitless.

Address delivered at Oxford House, London.

A distinguished African Traveller in 1889 wrote an Essay in the *Fortnightly Review*, in which he says a good word for Missionaries in Africa, of whom he may know something, and of Missionaries in North America, Oceania, and Asia, of whom he knows absolutely nothing. He clearly knows little of saving Christian Truth himself, and thinks that the non-Christian races can do very well without it. He hazards the idea, that, had Charles Martel *not* conquered at Tours, and had Great Britain accepted the Mahometan Religion, the result in the Nineteenth century as to the social condition and development of Society amidst the British people would have been very much the same. It is sad to read such opinions from the pen of an accomplished servant of the State, for the privilege of having been born a Christian is generally considered the very greatest blessing of the British people. He would allow the Missionaries to continue their work of instruction of the Natives in "*their Duty towards man*:" he would let them dogmatize about the things of God in return for the Education and Civilization which they introduce. If the great Missionary-propaganda of Great Britain would confine itself to being a kind of School-board to the Heathen and Mahometan, it would save time and money in unprofitable preaching of the Gospel of Christ.

It is worthy of an answer, because the ring of the argument indicates either a mind hostile to Divine Truth, or ignorant of the ways of God with man, as evidenced by History in the past, and by what we see around us at present. I believe, from my knowledge of the Author, and I hope, that the latter is the cause. I am not thin-skinned or strait-laced in my Religious views, but I freely admit, that I prefer the open and avowed enemy of Missions to this insidious friend.

St. Clement, in the first century after Christ, wrote as follows; "Ἡ ἀσύνετος, καὶ ἐσκοτισμένη διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀναθάλλει εἰς τὸ θαυμαστὸν λύτοῦ φῶς." Our understanding is indeed like a flower in a sunless cavern, till the Light of God falls on it. It is almost as vain to seek for the Divine elements in the constitution of the Human mind, as it would be for the chemist to try by analysis to find the sunbeams, that are locked up in the tissue of the gourd. *We know that it is there*: the understanding must be very darkened, or the survey of mankind must be very superficial, if signs of the excellency of even the unregenerate Human race

had not been discovered; but it requires the Grace of God, acting by His own multiform methods on the hearts of the most careless, the most wicked, the most savage, the most insensate, the most supercilious, the most alienated from the Divine light, to give it a chance to develop.

There is a seed of good in all men, a Divine Word and Spirit striving with the hearts of all men, a Christ knocking at the doors of all men, and ready to enter, if the Minister of the Gospel would but preach a true Gospel, a full Gospel, a Gospel unstained by poor Human stupid misconceptions, and not dried up by symbolical mediæval Ritual.

A powerful writer has thus expressed himself: "When we "limit our view to the field of Nature, and see how many of us "are handicapped in the race of life, and are called to bear in "their vitiated organizations the sins of long lines of evil "ancestors, we must not forget the inner compensations, that "come down to them from the imported Grace of Jesus Christ: "the sin of Adam is more than outweighed in its influence over "us by the Righteousness of Jesus Christ: the new pulse of life "from the Cross is mightier than the tainted life, that comes to "us from the fruit of the forbidden tree."

If it be objected, and with much force, that the white, red, black, and yellow, man with different skulls, and physical features, could not not have descended from the primeval pair, we need not stop to argue this out, but reply that just as Christ is but a vicarious and symbolical blessing to us, so we may humbly conceive, that Adam or "Red Earth" is but the vicarious and symbolical representation of the hypothetical common ancestors of the genus *Homo*.

"Let it never be forgotten," the same writer remarks, "that "we inherit a great deal more good than evil, that all things are "created in Christ, that the capacity of Man for Righteousness "transcends the innate temptation to falsehood and guile, and "that to the unholy bias in every life there is an offset of latent "Grace and benediction."

I lay stress on this, as it accounts for the latent and easily developed goodness of so many savage Heathen men and women, as soon as the Ithuriel-spear of the Gospel touches their intellects, consciences, and hearts. The word *ανθρώπος* is said to be derived from *ἄνω ὄθρων*.

I read a great many Missionary reports, and many statements, depreciating the Native races, greatly offend my sense of natural equity. I hear from some Pulpits what, with all due deference to the Preacher, seems to me mere nonsense, and which must considerably tend to the hardening of hearts of those, who are hostile to Evangelization, but certain facts are brought home with irresistible conviction to the careful observer and reader,

that in these last days the Gospel is *the best, and indeed the only*, instrument of Civilization. I quite admit, that in the long centuries preceding the Christian era many Nations attained to a great external Civilization as regards Arts and Science, and Commerce and Manufacture, but enough is known of the interior life of those Nations to prove, that there was a contempt of Human life, a contempt of the liberty of both sexes, a disrespect for the chastity of the female sex, a degree of ferocity, and unscrupulous cruelty, to which even savage Nations never attained. Take for instance the Civilization of the Roman Empire from the time of Tiberius to Antoninus Pius, the period of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, and of the culmination of pre-Christian Civilization amidst a population speaking Arian Languages. Could the annals of any savage race produce such characters as Messalina and Faustina?

I quite admit the moral excellence of the precepts of the Hindu and Buddhist sacred books. I have been familiar with them from my youth; but they are deficient in practical purpose, nor have they ever exercised a motive power on their reader, or rather hearers. In fact, neither the Hindu nor Buddhist Religions are elements of Civilization in modern times. Of Mahometanism I wish to speak with fairness. It is not the same thing in its written tenets as its daily pratice. In past centuries it has effected marvels in the advance of Civilization of Asiatic and African races. Under a compact, central, powerful Mahometan organization it might do so still; but the Religion itself is in its decadence, and no Mahometan State exists, which is independent of its powerful Christian neighbours, and the life of the modern Mahometan differs widely from its Arabian Ideal. We might as well expect the germ of Civilization from professors of the fallen Christian Churches of Abyssinia, Egypt, Syria, Georgia, and Armenia.

The savage races of Mankind in North and South America, Oceania, Africa, and Asia, in former years stood apart from the fierce light of European Civilization; if not entirely inaccessible, still they went their own way. Intercourse by way of Commerce was uncertain; it had not entered into the hearts of European Churches to desire to Civilize them. If the curse of Slave-dealing existed, the more deadly curse of the liquor traffic had not come into existence. The explorer, the emigrant, the miner, the man of Commerce, were not yet on the War path, which has led to the extinction of so many tribes, and an amount of Human misery, far exceeding the butchers' bills of the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Roman, the Vandal, and the Ural-Altaic, hordes.

Some would recommend, and some practise, extermination of the weaker races. Let the Confiscation-Laws, the Colonial Land-Acts, the liquor-traffic, the sale of arms, work their

civilizing process, and clear the land of the red, the black, the yellow, and the brown, vermin-races, which stand in the way of the land-hunger of the white man. God forbid that we should affirm this wicked policy! If they are poor, ignorant, fetish-worshippers, they are still what *their* God and *our* God allowed them to be; they are God's children and our brothers. They deserve all the more pity at our hands; we do not kill our halt, and blind, and idiots, because little use can be made of them. God has just sent us this problem to solve. Men are made good by the work assigned to them; God has no need of their work to aid Him in His work. A Nemesis will surely come on the Anglo-Saxon race for their conduct to the inhabitants of North America, Africa, and Oceania.

Since the beginning of this century the uttermost parts of the round world have been discovered and visited; it is quite impossible for any Nation, like China or Japan in old times, to sit apart, and keep foreigners out of their land. It is equally impossible for barbarous tribes in Central Africa, the South Seas, or North and South America, to escape the contact of the European and American. He is ubiquitous; he is mischievous; for trading purposes he forces himself upon shy and unwilling savages, and by his presence disturbs the secluded quiet of centuries.

As regards countries like India, China, and Japan, possessing an ancient Oriental Civilization, the touch of the European is deadly. Somehow or other, a certain state of incomplete Morality, supported by Religious sanctions, had been attained. Had they lived up to the level of their written precepts, it would have been a good Morality, but there was no latent Power in the Religious sanctions to enforce the Morality, and, as Occidental ideas crept in, the buttress of Religious sanction disappeared; men became a law to themselves. Such is the position of the modern student of the great State-Colleges of British India. All the old notions are swept away; nothing remains. The Municipal Law forbids crime and criminal offences, some of which were tolerated by the old Religious sanctions, but does not interfere with the private life. In the meantime, European luxuries, liquors, warlike arms, and customs, creep in: this is called Civilization. However, such Nations can, and no doubt will, take care of themselves, and would resent alien dictation. I must leave them alone, as outside the scope of my present argument.

The effect upon barbarous races, or tribes in a lower state of culture, who have not reached to the stage of having a book-Religion, *i.e.* a form of Worship reduced to writing, like Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Mahometanism, is different. All travellers testify with surprise to the unexpected discovery of

flashes of goodness among such low types of Human creatures; nobility of the males, kindness of the females, docility of all. With rare exceptions, however much their vision was obscured by the clouds of Ignorance, and the environments of outward circumstances, still they had arrived at a central Truth, that God, or at least some Power greater than themselves, encompassed them. It was forced upon them, that, in some mysterious way, they were subject to the guidance of some one greater than man. They saw their fellows perish by disease, or by the powers of the elements, and they could not help them. Personal life seemed to be a mere game of chance, and they played it to the last card, heedless of the future, forgetful of the past. This is particularly manifest in the characteristics of the Red Indians of North America; they had dignity, and patience, and fortitude, and stoicism. The powers of Nature, which they worshipped, were not unchangeable: they were peculiarly capricious; there was the hurricane, the volcano, the drought, the pestilence, the invasion of hostile tribes, the fire, the insect-world, and the attacks of wild animals. They could not measure the extent of these forces. They ate, they drank, they fought, and they died; they grew old, and became infirm, they did not know why or how; they were like the beasts that perish, without remorse for frightful crimes, without pity for the sufferings of their victims under horrible torture, without hope for the Future, or regret for the Past.

These poor people had no proof, or conception, of the existence of a kind Controller of Human events beyond the indefinable elements of Nature; yet it was forced upon their convictions, that He or It was kind and merciful to them, and they were grateful. Each felt that, somehow or other, he had got what he desired, or, in other words, what was suitable to his limited wants. The process of their Education was not rapid, but it still existed, for they were so far above the beasts and birds, that they could improve upon the habits and ways of their ancestors; they could manufacture and barter; they had learnt to forbid some things as sins, and to praise some things as excellencies. Hume, who was a very free writer, remarks: "Look out for a people entirely destitute of Religion: if you find such a one, be assured, that it is but a few degrees removed from brutes." Essay II, 425. They had been used to little contact with their neighbours, which was not hostile. When the European came among them, and did not seek their destruction, they were surprised. The touch of the unscrupulous trader was ruinous to them. They had not had the discipline of a gradually increasing Civilization; they had formed no idea of *malum per se*, of what was wrong at all times and in all circumstances; their unbridled appetites led them on to their ruin. Of all Human

curses, conveyed by one race to another, of all sins, which the history of the Human race has recorded, perhaps the importation of Arms, Gunpowder, and intoxicating liquors, by so-called Christian men for the purpose of gain, is the greatest. Future generations, when they read the history of the last half-century, will shudder, when they find, that the destroyers and debasers of these simple, unsophisticated races were men, who called themselves Christians, and who came from Great Britain, Germany, France, and the United States. Attila and his Huns, Genseric and his Vandals, Gengis Khan and his Mongols, could not have done worse. They at least did not put forth the pretence of Civilization, for they had it not. They burnt cities, and destroyed the bodies of the citizens. To the European and American export-dealers of Arms, Gunpowder, and liquors, was reserved the more shameful superiority of destroying both body and Soul of races, whom they were pleased to call savages, and yet who never had done injury to their ruthless invaders. The last state of the savage man became worse than the first.

Nor have Christian Governments behaved better than Christian traders. American writers describe the hundred years of the existence of the Republic as a "century of dishonour," on account of the unjust treatment of the Red Indian tribes within the limits of their territory. Their lands have been seized, and they have been pushed back to restricted reservations, and many tribes have been totally extinguished. The British Government has done the same in many parts of the world, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, the South Sea Islands. The indigenous races have been improved off the soil; they have been cut down, exterminated, and their lands occupied by immigrants. If there were diamonds and gold-dust in their country, this was imputed to the unhappy Africans as a sin, and they were mowed down as wild beasts, and their land taken possession of by Christian freebooters and Chartered Companies on the Warpath, on the grounds of a Higher Civilization. This also is a form of Civilization in the mouth of the Anglo-Saxon.

Would it then be better, if it were possible to do so, to leave the savage races in their savagery? It would be neither possible nor better. It is not possible to control or restrict the movement, which impels the white man to spread himself, any more than it was possible in past ages to stop the advance of Alaric, Attila, and the swarms of Central Asia. Whether it is better depends upon the opinion formed upon a faithful picture of savage life. The Rev. James Chalmers, in "Life in New Guinea," writes: "A savage seldom sleeps well at night: he is "in constant fear of attacks from neighbouring tribes, as well "as the more insidious foes created by his superstitious mind. "If midnight is the favourite time for Spirits, there is another

" hour, when he has good cause to fear the attacking enemy. " Men, women, and children are killed in such attacks, which " are produced by the most trivial offence."

However wild and barbarous the tribes may be, they are capable of committing acts of cruelty, tortures, Human Sacrifices, burning alive, Cannibalism, taking away Human life without respect of person, or any compunction, poisoning or drowning on the imputed charge of Witchcraft, infanticide, and parricide. All the accounts that come, whether from the East, or West, or North, or South, in whatever Language they are reported, tell the same sad tale of unregenerate man, fallen in some respects to a state lower than that of the wild beast, which does not prey upon its own species, and is so far nobler than man.

I have thus presented to view the three alternatives:

(1) Extermination by the white immigrant.
(2) Extinction by the liquors brought to them by the white trader.
(3) Permanence of the savage state in all its cruelty.

Miss Gordon-Cumming, in her work, "At Home in Fiji," describes the terrible state of things in that island-group before the Wesleyan Missionaries arrived, intertribal war, slaughter, Cannibalism, portions of the body of the victim being cooked and eaten before the eyes of the still living victim, sick buried alive, widows strangled, living victims buried under each part of a chief's new house, living bodies laid on the ground as rollers to launch a new canoe; and now in each village the traveller receives a cordial welcome from kindly men and women; in each village is a tiny Chapel, and a pastor paid by his flock. This has not been accomplished without loss of life and great devotion; two Missionaries' wives, at the risk of their own lives, rushed into the banquet-hall of a great Chief, and by sheer Christian audacity saved the lives of five women from the very hands of the butcher. The touch of the Missionary on the soft clay of the savage was permanent and beneficial. A strong Government like that of British India would have stamped out crime by the execution of the offender: the Christian minister in Fiji brought it gently home to the ignorant barbarian, that it was wrong, and evoked the dormant feelings of Human nature to his assistance. The Grace of God blessed his faithful endeavours. Such anecdotes in Oceania can be multiplied indefinitely.

Let us turn to North America. No greater proof is found of the unity of the Human race, than the fact that, when we deal with a man's understanding, heart, and soul, we can use all over the world the same influences with equal success. He may use a different Language, tattoo-marks, or clothes, colour of skin,

antecedents, and environment, but man is the same man for all that, made in the same divine Image, endowed with the same Human and Divine faculties and conceptions, if they only can be called into action. In the report of the United States Government I read that: "Wild savage Red Indian tribes, as "fierce as lawless, as intractable as many, that are still in their "rude state, have been taught the arts and ways of peace, have "subjected themselves to Law, and are now living in orderly, "peaceable, industrious Communities. The savages have been "changed. How was this transformation wrought? Where "the Government wholly failed, the voluntary effort of the "Churches have been crowned with success. *The preaching of "the Gospel has done the work, and it alone.*"

It has been well said by one writer, that the Red Indian of North America has passed in one century through stages of culture, achieved by the Anglo-Saxon in more than one thousand years, and this blessed result has come from the personal labour of Missionaries, and not from secular institutions, wealth, and benevolence. We read how the Red Indians will halt on Sunday on their travels, and have family-prayers morning and evening, and in one instance a Red Indian family effected a conversion of a nominal European Christian.

The story of Africa is well known; it has become the glory of all the Churches of Christendom: it took a long time before the Moravian Schmidt made an impression on the Hottentots, and Moffat on the Be-Chuána; it would have been a much simpler process to exterminate them like vermin, as in Van Diemen's Land; but Christian Love triumphed, and they remain as Monuments of Christian benevolence. Their Christianity may indeed be an imperfect one: we must not expect too much; in our highly Civilized and wealthy Communities we are apt to do so. We must think of the villages in Palestine, in India, Africa, Oceania, and North America, and not expect too much in the first and second generations. But of one thing we may be certain, that it is wrong to expect, that culture and Civilization should precede Christianity. It may accompany it; it may, or may not, be the result of it; the terms are not convertible. The Greenlander may still wear skins, and drink train-oil, and yet have accepted Christ as his Salvation. The Civilization, as we know it in Europe, is *not* the object, or Method, of the true Missionary. Christianity can adapt itself to every phase and stage of Human culture: Civilization, pressed with undue haste and zeal, may choke the good seed; the worldly side of the new creature may be developed at the expense of the Spiritual. The manifest transformation of the personal character of an entire Community is one of the gracious signs of God's presence in answer to the prayers and labours of His servants.

Now let me quote the opinion of competent persons as to Civilization without the Gospel. The Rev. James Chalmers has had experience of the Natives of Oceania in their raw state, and when passing into higher and better things; but he states emphatically that: "He never met with a single man or woman, "that Civilization without Christianity has civilized. The "Gospel must precede Commerce. Wherever in the Southern "Seas there has been the slightest spark of Civilization, it has "been where the Gospel was preached; and whenever you find "in New Guinea a people, that will welcome you, it is where "the Missionaries of the Cross have been preaching Christ. "Civilization! The rampart can only be stormed by those, who "carry the Cross."

If I have not stated the problem correctly, let any omission of inexactness be pointed out. Are there any other alternatives possible to the unassisted wisdom of Man? Can History point out any single instance, in the time of the ancient monarchies of Asia and Egypt, at the time of the Empire of Greek Wisdom, or Roman strength, at any subsequent time through the darkness of the Middle Ages or in the new birth of modern Civilization, of a man, or company of men, going forth with the sole object of civilizing uncivilized races from honourable and benevolent, though entirely *secular*, motives? Worldly men have been found at all times ready to die for the liberty of their own country, or to maintain, or to enlarge, its imaginary greatness. Men have been found, from motives of pure benevolence, to feed the hungry and visit the sick of their own or kindred people, and in many other ways to shed lustre upon the Human race; but has there ever been found the will, the power, the Wisdom, the patience to control uncivilized races without destroying them, and introducing among them a Civilization, which shall not prove in the long run a more formidable devil than the devils, which it is proposed to drive out?

In my systematic survey of the Languages of the world, I have read books relating to the less well-known races of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceana. I have seen much to love, much to honour, much to marvel at. I have everywhere recognized the excellencies even of the natural Man, if they had a chance of development, and the longing of the Human race to Worship, if it can find an object for its Worship; but I have failed to trace any attempt of a superior race to benefit an inferior one, and to make a Sacrifice of wealth, a career, and of life, to do so *on the Human ground of benevolence*. The motive, the Power, the command, the high ideal of self-Sacrifice and self-consecration, the unworldliness, the sublime folly, as the worldling may call it, that looks over the near horizon of earthly advantages, and fixes its vision on the further horizon, on Power given by One

that is Powerful, on rewards, that follow obedience, on fulfilment, that follows Precious Promises, on life following death, have been wanting.

Man's weakness is God's opportunity. In these last days, when all things are weighed and tested, some additional, and unexpected, and palpable, evidence of the Truth of the Christian Ideal was required, and it has been found. This brings me to close quarters with the author of the Essay, with which I commenced. He tells us what the Missionaries have done, but he has either not inquired, or not understood, what sent them there; who supplied the heavy expenditure; why they left their quiet homes to run the risk of disease and death, with the certainty of exile, narrow means, uncongenial society, a noxious climate; why in their old age many clung to the land of their adoption; why men and women were always found ready to go out and fill vacant places; what it was that supplied the incentives, which other men found in honour, rank, wealth, and distinction. Paul tells us one motive:

"The love of Christ constraineth us."

John supplies the other:

"God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

Matthew makes the practical application, quoting the last words of the risen Saviour:

"Go ye, therefore, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:

"Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

The question is thus narrowed to the one simple fact: Are we followers of Christ, or are we not?

The writer in the *Fortnightly* has not inquired, how it came to pass, that these simple men, not highly educated, not greatly gifted, not superior men, as men are counted, have found *Power* to do what they have done, and which is described by one older and wiser and more experienced than the writer, "as the work of the enchanter's wand." In another of his Essays our Author has good-humouredly, though not very gratefully, caricatured his Missionary hosts, male and female, who received him, nursed him in sickness, and cared for him. I accept his description of the workmen as truthful; but the Power of God, which sent them out, which sustains them, has enabled them to perform a work, which it is not easy to describe, but one side of which our Author has done justice to: "The Missionaries constitute "themselves the tribunes and advocates of the Natives: they "interpose themselves as buffers between the rude onslaught

" of the unscrupulous trader and miner, and the scared, " bewildered savage; by their fearless clamour they compel the " reluctant intervention of higher authorities: they educate the " savage, safeguard his rights, perform an important service to " Humanity at large, and for this end alone are deserving " of support and sympathy."

This is but one segment of the great circlet of blessings, which the Preacher of the Gospel has brought to these poor races, yet how great it seems, and how little it has been appreciated!

From other quarters I gather testimony to the same effect. I have arrived at the firm conviction, that it is better to leave the poor races to die out in their congenital Ignorance than to supply them with a bright weapon without the Grace to know how to use it.

We are apt to ask for too much of the externals of Civilization, as well as Religion, from these weak races. Our ancestors in the British Islands had them not in the early days of their emerging from barbarism and paganism. Under the slow discipline of centuries we have attained to our present standard. The minimum to be desired would be as follows: A decent man, living in decency, comfort, and security, supporting his children, keeping to one wife, and bearing himself bravely, honestly, and yet humbly, before his fellow-men, living in a Community, where the persons of both sexes are decently covered, where age, and sex, and childhood, are respected, where the poor and weak are not oppressed, and Human life is regarded as a precious treasure, for which the whole neighbourhood is responsible. It was not *primâ facie* impossible, that such a moderate state of culture could have been obtained without the intervention of the Christian idea; but a careful examination of the records of the Past, and the actual state of the present, has not supplied me with the power of quoting a single island or tribe, which has been elevated by purely *secular* agencies since the time of our Lord's appearing on earth. Such a man, as I have above described, would walk *humbly*, because the Holy Spirit has convinced him of his past, present, and tendency to future sin: and yet he will walk *hopefully*, because he has realized, that he also is a child of God by adoption and Grace, and that Christ died on the Cross for him and his also.

Even were an expedition of Unitarians, Brahmoists, Theosophists, and Agnostics, to attempt in these last days a benevolent Crusade among barbarous tribes to introduce Civilization without the Christian idea, they might probably succeed, because, though denying Christ in name, their practice would be that of Christian people, and they would unconsciously be carrying with them the outcome of the teachings of Him, whose Divine

person they to their own grievous peril, denied. The fact of the Incarnation, and the admitted doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments, insensibly changed the features of the Problem of Human Life. The Hebrew had neither, and the professors of the other great Religious conceptions saw, as it were, in a dim mist: but from the time of Anno Domini, these great Truths have been felt by the human heart, and insensibly influenced the environment of all, who came into contact with them. Let me illustrate my position by referring to what happens in the material world. In North India a new irrigation-canal has the unexpected result of filling with water wells, which had been dry since the memory of man, rendering sweet wells of bitter water, and pouring into wells, previously scantily supplied, an abundant store. This takes place by an underground percolation over an area beyond the sphere of proposed irrigation, and nothing can be demanded for an unsolicited blessing. So is it with regard to those, who live in the midst of a Christian people, and yet deny their Lord: they partake of the children's bread without thankfulness, and drink of the wells of Salvation, and convey it to their own little ones, and yet their eyes are blind as to the great Fount, from which the waters flow. They may be the instruments of saving others, and yet themselves refuse to be saved.

What shall be said of the kind of Civilization, which the lust for expansion of trade of the higher races among the inferior races is supposed to bring with it; which may be described as Firearms, Gunpowder, and European liquor, with a small fill up of clothing for the body? Such things were totally unknown by these unhappy races previously, and they had not, like the Empires of India, China, and Japan, the power of excluding them. In the Day of Judgment each of us will have our sins to answer for; but when the Australian, and the Maori, of Oceania, the Hottentot, and Zúlu, and Negro, of Africa, the Red Indian of America, rise up and bear witness against the great Teutonic races of Germany, Great Britain, and North America, their persecutors, plunderers, and poisoners, and so-called Civilizers, what reply will the distillers and liquor-exporters, and manufacturers of Firearms and Gunpower, have to make? They did it in the way of trade, so as to have the means of decorating their houses, and heaping up portions for their children, according to the rules of Civilized Commerce; but they have carried ruin and death to helpless millions. "Inasmuch as ye did it to these little ones, ye did it unto Me." In the eyes of the savage and barbarous races they represent the so-called Civilizers, and so-called Christianity. Instead of the bread of life they have given a stone; and by the same measure in the day of reckoning it shall be measured to them. It is impossible,

when the subject is considered, to express oneself otherwise than I have done, and I repeat the words with which I commenced, that Civilization without the Gospel is profitless, and worse than profitless.

It is a comfort to think what an additional testimony to the Truth, and Power of Divine Revelation, is afforded by the contemporary History of the Christian Civilization of the barbarous races.

Somehow or other several distinct sets of Religious Books of antiquity, the most modern dating back only twelve centuries, have come down to our generation, and all can be read and understood, and are exceedingly interesting, with a great deal of good in them; and the reader may well pause from time to time, and thank God, that it was put into the heart of men to conceive such good thoughts, teach them orally to others, and leave them in writing. With the exception of one set of books, all are only interesting archæological treasures: they were not intended for all time, and all the world, and, being shrouded in a Language unknown to the people, have ceased to be of any practical use, are no longer the Law of life, the guide of the conscience, the standard of morality.

But the books of the Old and New Testament live a life, that never can end, in all the Languages of the world. The Law of life therein laid down is still a living Law to millions: it is found to be adapted to the wants and weaknesses of all Humanity, however different in culture and environment, and it brings with it a *Power*, which lasts through life, and to the border of the grave. Call it a beautiful Legend, if you like, or a doubtful tradition, the personality of Jesus, when brought home to the understanding, hearts, and consciences of uncivilized tribes, has exercised an influence, which it would be sheer folly to deny. "By their works ye shall know them." The Greek and Roman sages had developed the idea of a Nemesis following crime, and of a high Morality; but it had been beyond their experiences to conceive the idea of Faith in One powerful to save, repentance, pardon, peace, and Holiness. Under the Greek and Roman idea, Thakombau, the Cannibal King of Fiji, would have been driven by a Nemesis following his frightful crimes to a violent end: under Christian teaching this same Cannibal was brought to a sense of the nature of his abominable acts, convinced of sin, led to a Saviour, repentance, and baptism; so that he became a new man through Faith in Christ, and an example to his people, and the beloved friend of the Missionary, who saved him as a brand from the burning.

July, 1889–1895.

B. Want of Sympathy with the poor non-Christian World.

1. The Attitude, which a Christian Missionary ought to assume to a non-Christian People.
2. A Plea for the Poor non-Christian World.

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1. The Attitude which a Christian Missionary ought to assume to a non-Christian People.

Address to a Meeting of a German Young Men's Missionary Association, 1894, *on the attitude, which a Christian Missionary ought to assume to a non-Christian people, as regards their*

(1) *Religions conceptions and Ritual,*
(2) *Customs* (*not contrary to Moral Law*),
(3) *Prejudices,*

and on the Duty "to do Christian things in a Christian way."

The great subject of the Evangelization of the non-Christian world has a great many aspects: it is as well to consider some of the important aspects separately. At the close of the first century, during which the subject has been taken up in earnest, it is as well to notice the shortcomings of those, who have been engaged in the work, not by way of censure of the Past, but with a view of the errors being avoided in Future. All Human efforts are accompanied by errors.

There is an essential difference betwixt the environment of Paul and his companions in the First century, and of Protestant Missionaries in the Nineteenth. Paul's labours were among the Greeks, and Romans, the Jews, and the partially Hellenized races of Asia Minor, all within the bounds of the Roman Empire. All were Civilized, and on the same platform of social customs, of the same colour of skin, as the Apostle himself: he was indeed a Roman citizen, not a Palestinian Jew, but a native of Asia Minor, as he belonged to the city of Tarsus: he was educated above the average, he spoke and wrote the leading Language of that period, the Greek, he spoke also the Aramaic Language, and could read the Hebrew: he was uniformly courteous: he was entirely free from domestic cares: he neither had, nor desired to have, any patronage from the Roman Officials: had he been killed, his friends would have asked for no compensation: he was not puffed up by having a powerful Association in one of

the capital cities of the Empire at his back, sending him regular supplies of money, puffing him up at crowded meetings in great halls, and ready to resent the least oppression, or injury, real or pretended, inflicted upon him. He did not lean on the Arm of the Flesh, or on the Authority of a so-called Church, but on the Commission delivered to him personally by the Risen Saviour. He was prepared to undergo hardships like a good soldier: he took no furloughs or sick leave to Tarsus: he died at his post.

Consider the different environment of the Protestant Missionary of the Nineteenth Century. His call is to Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America, to black, brown, red, yellow, races, all differing in the colour of their skin from him, speaking several hundreds of different Languages, in totally different grades of culture, under every variety of different political Government; he is supported by rich and wealthy Churches, under the Protection of Governors, and Consuls. He himself belongs to one or other of the six, or seven, great Empires, who domineer over the Globe, he talks of Treaty-rights, his right of Protection by gunboats, his right of money-compensation for injuries: in fact, the Missionary of the nineteenth Century is developing into the arrogant representative of an arrogant Nation, which looks down on the weaker races with contempt; Paul looked on all his converts as brethren in very deed.

Let me quote one extract from *The Times* Newspaper of Sept. 25, 1895: "The Rev. L. Dahle (secretary of the Nor-
" wegian Missionary Society) spoke as an eye-witness of the
" excellent work, which had been done by the London Missionary
" Society in Madagascar. The only fault, which he had to find
" with English Missionaries, was that they appeared apt to think,
" that the world was made only for their use, and that it was by
" a mistake that other Nations happened to come into it. In
" his opinion the English Missionaries had almost too much
" of the conquering Spirit. They took upon themselves work,
" that was almost too much for giants to do, and it was im-
" possible to do everything well. Their fault, if it were one,
" consisted in an excess of virtue or bravery, and was one that
" might be pardoned."

The Missionary himself is a good and an earnest man, but totally unacquainted with the difficulties, which accompany the rule of subject Kingdoms, or the diplomatic relation with Asiatic and African independent Nationalities: he is so far equally ignorant of the details of the administration of his own country: owing to the necessity of acquiring one or two particular Languages he is a man of very narrow experiences, confined to the particular environment, in which he began his career: he leaves his European home with certain conventional notions of what is right and desirable: of course his own Moral standard

is of the highest order, but his views of Religion, and Church-order, vary with the particular circle, within which he has been brought up, and are very narrow: he is very young, is leaving his home for the first time: he has never left his native country before: all is new to him: he has never had leisure to study the History, or Geography, or Ethnology, of the great wide world: the only variation of his own home-experiences is supplied by stories in the Old Testament.

On his arrival at his Mission-Station he is amazed at what he sees. He sees a great deal of which he disapproves: his Duty, his sole Commission, is to preach the Gospel, educate children up to the primary standard only, heal the sick, and distribute edifying literature, but a great many have considered themselves to be universal Reformers, endowed with the privilege of abusing all the Religious beliefs and practices of the country, of denouncing time-honoured customs, of tilting against deep-rooted prejudices: anything, which has not the flavour of the middle-class European, in his opinion is bad: there must have been a class of this description in the time of the Apostles, for Paul warns the Thessalonians (II, iii, 11) against being "busy-bodies" *περιεργαζόμενοι*: Peter (I, iv, 15) urges his hearers not to be "busybodies in other men's matters"—*Ἀλλοτριοεπισκόποι*, or as Tertullian renders it, "alieni speculatores." A single eye to Christ is wanted.

In Africa, or Oceania, a Missionary may be forgiven for saving by his timely interference a woman or a man, from slaughter, Cannibalism, or ill-usage, his weapons being kindly words, and Christian advice to the barbarous offender; and many touching stories are recorded of this nature. In the case of the protection of a poor woman, or a little child, from the cruelties of Witchcraft, or Cannibalism, any Christian might be justified in sacrificing his own life; but under no circumstances is he justified in himself becoming a "man of blood," and taking away the life of another, except in the extreme case of protecting life or female honour: I allude to this class of cases to clear the way for an exposition of what is reprehensible.

Dr. Ellinwood, in his "Oriental Religions," thus expresses himself: "The man, who goes to the Mission-field with the "feelings, that it is his province to assail as strongly as possible "the deeply-rooted convictions of men, instead of winning "them in a more excellent way, is worse than one who beats "the air: he is doing *positive harm, he is trifling with precious* "*Souls*: he does not illustrate the Spirit of Christ, or follow "the example of Paul."

He ought to forget that he is a European, the subject of a great Power, with Armies and Fleets, and remember only, *that he is a Christian*: he should look with pity, and Love, on

barbarous tribes, who are low in culture, and with sympathy, and respect on Natives possessed of an Asiatic Civilization, like the Indians, Chinese, and Japanese, who were Civilized very much as they are now at a time when the Missionary's ancestors were savages of a very low type, clothed in skins, and eating raw flesh. If by the dispensation of Providence, all-wise, all-good, and all-merciful, these great races have been so many centuries excluded from Gospel-privileges, it is their misfortune, not their fault. I heard with sorrow a Minister, whom I love, say from the Pulpit, that all the poor non-Christian world were children of Satan, and out of the vast populations of the world only the Christians had a chance of Salvation, and of those, who bore that name, how few are real Christians!

Surely the greatest crime in the annals of the world was the killing of the Saviour, and this act was not done by Gentiles, but by members of God's chosen people, the Israel of God. The Gentile Pilate wished to let him go. Can the Judge of the Earth do wrong? No Prophet or Evangelist came near them: had it been the Will of God, centuries ago they might have been converted: were it His Will now, they might be brought into the fold in one night, without the intervention of Missionary Associations, and Missionary agents.

Now first as regards the Religious beliefs, and practices, of non-Christian races. The Missionary should be tender to them: he will find it much more hopeless to preach the Gospel to clever Asiatics, trained in secular Schools of the State, out of whom every conception of the Supernatural, and Spiritual, has been swept away by Infidel European literature: the old Devil of Paganism has been driven out of the man: his intellect and Soul are empty, swept, and garnished: he is less likely to accept the new idea of the Gospel than before: he has become an Agnostic, an Atheist, a Humanitarian, and thinks himself too clever, after having freed himself from one environment of Supernatural ideas to be drawn into another, which for all that he knows may be as incapable of proof as that which he has left: at any rate the Faith, biswás or bhakti, of his ancestors was indigenous, the Iman, and the Πίστις, of the two new Universal Religions are foreign, out of sympathy with his customs, destructive of his ancestral illusions: he has given up the Worship of his ancestral gods, but he cannot get rid of his congenital notions and prejudices. Paul at Lystra spake thus: "We are all men of like passions, and preach unto you that ye "should turn to the one living God, which made heaven and "earth and the sea, and in times past suffered all Nations to "walk in their own way, nevertheless He left not himself without "witness," Acts xiv, 15–17. And at Athens Paul repeats the sentiment of all Nations being of one blood, "that they should

seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him, though He be not far from every one of us," Acts xvii, 27. There was no abuse of the existing Religious conceptions there: no arrogance on the part of the stranger Missionary, who stood in the centre of the Wisdom, and Genius, and Philosophy, of the western world.

I quote the words of the Bishop of Columbo: "We could "wish, that a larger number of Missionaries had found out how "to discharge their own Duties of Evangelists in an intellectual "temper more sympathetic with those, who had been similarly "employed before them. No injustice to the Gospel of the "Grace of God is done by thoughtful appreciative examination "of 'former' Gospels, not in a cold, 'impartial' spirit, but in "the frame of mind which looks 'on no Religion scornfully.'"

Secondly, as regards "customs": it certainly is very obvious, that the customs of Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America, are very different, but it does not follow, that those prevalent in Europe are right, absolutely right, and applicable to all races, climates, and degrees of culture: in fact I can go further, and admit frankly, that many time-honoured customs in Europe are *per se* wrong, unsuitable, and should be discontinued. At any rate those, who live in glass-houses, should not throw stones, and we are bound to let people alone in their customs, their forms of speech, their dress, their modes of sepulture, their Laws of succession, their matrimonial customs, even their weaknesses, all offences against the Moral Law being excepted. Who made the Europeans the lawgiver in these matters? They have done infinite mischief to the so-called lower races, with which they have come into contact, by introducing among them noxious liquors, filthy diseases, lethal weapons, bad practices, unknown before, causing to come into existence mixed races, possessing the bad, though different, characteristics of both parents. What possible authority can the European Missionary have to lay down the Law about the Commerce betwixt two great Kingdoms such as India and China; the sanitary precautions taken by European Governments to preserve the health of European soldiers; the habits of the Natives to take stimulants, or Sedatives; the age at which their females should be married; the social distinctions, which mark off one tribe from another, as regards inter-marriage and commensality? how can they justify the distribution of Tracts and pictures offensive to the Religious convictions of peaceful inhabitants? Yet all these things are done by ignorant and arrogant Missionaries, because they have a great Government with gunboats, and armies, and Consuls behind them. The world will not be converted in this manner: we read nothing about such Methods in the New Testament, or the annals of the early Church.

I come thirdly to the prejudices of the peoples. The Chinese have a real prejudice with regard to the proximity of buildings throwing a shadow on their sacred places: yet this was laughed at as a foolish prejudice, and a lofty Missionary Building erected: this was in China, an independent country: the Missionaries had to leave the spot. In India a Missionary erected a small preaching booth on the edge of a sacred tank: the Hindus complained, and I ordered it to be razed to the ground: Christians in a foreign country would be grieved, if their place of Worship were invaded, and made use of for secular purposes: yet they do not scruple to make use of places of non-Christian Worship, if it suits them.

The Civil Officers of the State are careful not to act in this way, as their object is to let the people alone so long as they do not offend against the Law: in spite of all the care taken there are occasional outbursts, leading to loss of life. I read of a Missionary in the South of India visiting a Hindu temple, which had been destroyed by lightning, and asking the Priests what kind of deity their god was, who could not protect his own temple? Are Christian Churches never destroyed in this way? The culture of these non-Christian races is widely different from that of the European, but is not to be despised.

I last year heard a blustering clergyman, who had lately returned from India, with a stentorian voice telling his audience, how he and his friends had lately got into the Taj Mahál at Agra, and made the tomb resound with Christian hymns: it did the walls no harm, and no Mahometans were present, so no danger of bloodshed was run: still it indicates an absence of deep Human sympathy, and respect to the dead. Only imagine Mahometans finding their way into the Mausoleum of the Prince Consort at Frogmore, and repeating their profession of Faith: what indignation would be raised! I was relating this story to a lady of strong Evangelical views, and she stopped me by saying: "What does it signify about the Religion of these people?"

And some remarks of Missionaries in their annual reports, and thought worthy of a place in the Annual report of the Home Committee, are not only foolish, but wicked and unchristian. The Love of children to Parents, and of Parents to children, lies outside the orbit of Religious conceptions, and should under no circumstances be treated with contempt: and yet the compiler of an Annual report describes how a Hindu Brahman father with a *Satanic expression of countenance* tried to prevent his son, his only son, from what seemed to his poor mind worse than death, being banished from his family, put out of his caste, becoming an outcast and object of scorn, by becoming a Christian. Where did the Missionary familiarize

himself with the features of Satan? Are there not among the members of the Committee excellent men with peculiarly repulsive countenances? I remember in one Society two excellent and valuable members being called Judas Iscariot and the Impenitent Thief, from their resemblance to those individuals, as painted by Rubens. Besides, what a door is opened to the enemy! An American Bishop, in 1894 told me how the Mormonites recruit additional wives from Wales, and one of the unhappy girls was the daughter of a Welsh Pastor. Imagine in the Annual report of the Mormons, the father of this poor girl being described "as a Welsh clergyman, with a Satanic cast of countenance, trying to hold his daughter back."

I sum up with this maxim: "Do Christian things in a Christian way"; and this Christian precept: "Do unto others as you would wish men to do unto you." The New Testament supplies valuable hints, especially in the conduct of Paul, who had a difficult part to play, and might, in his intercourse with the tribes of Asia Minor and Greece, have run against many prejudices, but he appears not to have done so, for the underlying principle of his conduct was Charity and Love.

It is often forgotten that there are two things in Religion: (1) The Dogma; (2) The Morality. It is fondly imagined, that if the Dogma be accepted, the Morality will follow. It is complacently reported of an island in Melanesia: "There are still a few Heathens": all the rest had been baptized and are Census-Christians. But how about the Morality? Are they *new* creatures? Have they any clear appreciation in the Faith in Christ, of Repentance, Pardon, and Holiness? Can it be said of all Europeans that they are Christians?

And on the other side, can it be said of those, who had not been baptized, but who led Holy, God-fearing, chaste lives, that they have no part in the great plan of Salvation, that Christ did *not* die for them *also* during the last nineteen Centuries that are past, and those that are to come?

Has Christianity succeeded in making men Holy? Are the hands of Rulers of Christian Nations held back from shedding the blood of poor barbarous Africans, who to their own detriment are found in possession of land, mines, cattle, coveted by the Christian land-Pirate on the Colonization Warpath?

London, 1894, 1895.

2. A Plea for the Poor non-Christian World.

One word to any young man, who is starting out to be a Missionary. Of all professions it is the most noble, the most elevating, and at the same time the most difficult, and the most exposed to the risk of failure. The majority of young men are not highly educated and have no knowledge of the world: of blameless character themselves they have not been acquainted with the blameworthy conduct of Christians exposed to temptation. They come suddenly face to face with an entirely new environment, totally different from the humdrum middle-class life, to which they have been used: all is a surprise. The man, with whom they have to deal; the Language, which they have to hear and use; the Religious conceptions, with which they have to contend, are wonderful, and undreamt of, novelties.

The Native man, however humble in circumstances, and devoid of culture, is still as much an individual as the Missionary: he has the same fundamental conception of Self, of the world, and of God: Language is the vehicle of his communication with the world and his fellow-creatures: Religion is the funnel, through which his thoughts go up to God: he is perfectly innocent of having taken any part in settling the environment, the Language, or the Religion, to which he finds himself bound from the day of his birth: it never occurs to him to change, or wish to change, either, any more than the colour of his skin, or the fashion of such garments as he wears, if he wears any. It is of no use abusing him for being what he is: he did not make himself, or his surroundings, or his powers of utterance, or his conception of God.

Since the commencement of the world many great, powerful, and wise, races have sprung up, blossomed, brought forth fruit in the imperishable literary and architectural Monuments, which they have left behind, and passed away without any knowledge of the true Nature of the Great God, and of His great plan of Salvation for man. Here is a great fact: they never had the chance of being Christians: we cannot believe, that they have gone to perdition. Can the Ruler of the Universe do what is not right, and not be merciful to His poor creatures? They used the talents entrusted to them, and had nothing beyond.

Since the great Anno Domini, when in the fulness of time came the Saviour, countless Millions have been born, lived, and died, in entire Ignorance of the great Truth. Is this to be placed at their door as a fault?

Language was given to man to differentiate him from the animals, and to communicate with his fellow-creatures. Some forms of speech are mellifluous, and capable of expressing any possible idea; others fail both in euphony, and word-store: is the Missionary to abuse the tribe, or talk lightly of them, as if they had had anything to do with selecting, or forming, their Language? The Missionary had nothing to do with forming his own wonderful Language: it was given to him ready-made.

Religion was given to man still further to differentiate him from animals, who have no Future state, and to enable him to communicate with his Heavenly Father. No tribe is so debased, that it has not a sense of the Supernatural, and some conception of a Future after Death. Their oral traditions, their practices, and their sacred Books, testify to this. Through generations and centuries, they have adhered to their old Religious conceptions, and still hold fast to them, as part of their very lives. Are they to be abused, because they do not at once listen to the imperfectly-stated arguments of a young Preacher from a foreign land, speaking their Language imperfectly?

As time went on, these Religious conceptions have become frightfully degraded: such is the fate of all Religions, when Ignorance accompanies it: and Priestcraft, the great curse of Mankind, comes into existence, substituting Liturgies and Ritual for Virtue, and Morality. The scathing words of Renan in his fifth and posthumous volume of "Le Peuple d'Israel," are then, and *then only*, true:

"La Religion est une Imposture necessaire. Les plus gros "moyens de jeter de la poudre aux yeux ne peuvent être "negligés avec une aussi sotte race, que l'espèce humaine, crée "pour l'erreur, et qui, quand elle admets la Verité, ne l'admets "jamais pour les bonnes raisons."

Priestcraft has degraded all the ancient Religions, and even some forms of Christianity: I have visited the Greek shrine of the Virgin at Troitska, near Moscow in Russia, the shrine of the Virgin at Loretto in Italy, and the shrine of Párbati, or Lakshmi, at Banáras in India, and I could see a resemblance in the symbols, and the Worship, of all, for they all told the tale of degraded Superstition: it is the same poor grovelling Human Worship, whether in Europe, or in Asia, or in Africa.

But upon this in the last days of the Nineteenth century a new complication has arisen in the birth of a brood of new Religious conceptions, more suited to the modern Human Intellect; at the same time Secular Education, and Civilization, are purging the imagination of any belief in the Supernatural; the same deluge overwhelms the Veda and the Old Testament. Nothing is believed, that cannot be proved by evidence.

The Missionary has to face this state of things, and he is, with

rare exceptions, totally unfit for the combat, but he can at least abstain from saying unkind things of the poor non-Christian world, of whom he knows so little.

Let him ask himself, who is the barbarian: the imperfectly-clad African, who had never the chance of altering his lot, or the European creature, who struts down the streets of a city decorated, or clad, in the furs of a wild beast, the skin of a seal, the feathers of a bird, the manufactured fibre of a worm, or of a plant. The Oil-Painter and Sculptor would readily prefer the nude figure of the African, or the imperfectly clad figure of the Asiatic, to the grotesque, and ridiculous apparel of the European. Let him ask himself, who is the atheist and unbeliever: the man, who never had the opportunity of knowing Christ, or the man, who, nominally a Christian, dishonours his Master by his want of belief, or openly expresses contempt of His precepts. A bad Christian is something infinitely worse than a bad Heathen.

The Heathen man, in spite of all his infirmities, is still formed and fashioned in the Image of the Most High; and evidence gleaned from all the races of the world, and in all times, shows, that the Heathen man feels after God, if haply he can find Him, and his heart turns to his Creator, even as the sunflower turns to the Sun, and he knows not why. In his humble way the Heathen looks forward to a Heaven adapted to his merits, or demerits, or his necessities: he has Faith sufficient to enable him to die for his Faith; he is not a Christian, because the Ruler of mankind has not ruled, that he should have a chance of being so: he is ignorant, because his environment is such, as God has ordained for him, and because his more enlightened fellow-creatures have had no thought for him, and, though they have received the parting commands of the Saviour, had not thought it worth their while to obey them. Christians are to blame, not the poor Heathen; he is an object of Pity, and Love, and Sympathy. The wonder is, that he is so good as those, who know him best, find him to be, and the reason is, that his Heavenly Father has not left Himself entirely without a witness, that His Son died for him, and all mankind, and that the Holy Spirit still hovers round, ready to take up His abode in each poor child of God, as soon as the so-called "God's people" in Europe succeed in finding a way to their hearts by words of Human Love, and Divine Wisdom: hitherto we have failed. Much has been left undone; and much has been done badly: let us find the more excellent way; place our hands on our mouth, and each one cry out, "Mea culpa! Mea culpa!"

Let all recollect, both Christian and non-Christian, or pseudo-Christian, that the knell of the Book-Religions, and the Nature-Worships, which preceded them, has rung: whether Christianity will take their place is a graver question, which may have two or

more answers. A platform-speaker eloquently and truly described the growth of a tree destroying an old temple in Kashmír, which had survived the attacks of centuries. Thus Christian Education is gradually undermining the non-Christian edifice: it will topple over as the old temple has done.

During a tour in North India nearly fifty years ago I accompanied one of the wisest, and most pious, of Governors, James Thomason, in a morning-ride. We drew rein before the ruins of a Castle, and a Temple, crowned with luxuriant foliage and sinking into nothing under the gentle hand of natural decay. "What a lesson," said he, "this teaches us! Temple and Tower "have gone to the ground under the pressure of the advance of "Human culture, and Divine influences: how much better it is "than if the one had been desecrated by a fanatic iconoclast, and "the other had exhibited the signs of a savage bombardment."

London, 1894, 1895.

C. Missions and Science.

Many years ago my lamented friend, Dr. J. O. Means, Prudential Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, Boston, U.S., sent me the *Ely Volume, or the Contributions of Foreign Missions to Science and Human Well-being*, by Dr. Thomas Laurie. It was compiled and published at the expense of Mr. Alfred Ely, a friend of Missions, who felt that the amount of scientific information given to the world *incidentally* by Missionaries was not fully known. The goodly volume before me is a treasure of information, and is worthy of notice. It relates chiefly to the work of American Missionaries; but "ex uno disce omnes." A similar volume might be compiled of the incidental contributions to Science, and the well-being of the Human race, by the Missionaries of every Missionary Society, for the Missionary is by the very necessity of his existence a benefactor to Mankind.

The Missionary's first *Duty*, and sole *Duty*, is to preach the Gospel and evangelize the Heathen, and he should never for one moment let go of this leading and paramount object: still, in spite of himself, he finds opportunities to do other good things, and by so doing he is able to conciliate to himself the favour of those, whose eyes are spiritually darkened, and to whom the Grace has not been conceded to know, that to preach the Gospel to the Heathen is the highest Duty and greatest privilege of all, who call themselves Christians. Thus many messengers of Gospel-Truth have developed scholarly aptitudes, have shown themselves to be Philologists. Governors of Provinces, and

Rulers of Native States, have had the fact forced upon them, that in their midst there was an unselfish, and yet dauntless, man, who seemed to know some things better than his neighbours, and who had established an influence over the Natives, of a different kind to, and yet not less strong than, their own, and after some hesitation their co-operation has been accepted, or solicited. It is obvious, that in British India the Missionary element is frankly recognized as a factor in the body politic, and utilized as such. In independent States, their power is daily increasing, which it requires prudence to wield properly.

In the Ely-Volume chapters are devoted to the work of Missionaries in the Departments of Geography, Geology, Meteorology, Natural Science, Archæology, Philology, Ethnology and Religious Beliefs, General Literature, Bible-Translations, Education, Medical Science, and General Philanthropy. In the Appendices are tables of the copious literature, which has flowed from their pens. Those, who are connected with the Management of Missionary Societies, or have lived for years among Missionaries in the field, scarcely need to be informed on the subject, but to those, who scornfully ignore the existence of such Societies, or undervalue their labours, and think poorly of their agents, such a book as this must come as a Revelation. The civil and military Services of British India are notoriously a body of men of marked talent and accomplishments, but it may be doubtful, whether the out-turn of their combined labours within a given period would surpass that of an equal number of Missionaries.

In considering the subject of contributions to Geographical Science the compiler enumerates, with just pride, in great detail all that the American Missionaries have done towards the exploration of America, Oceania, Asia, and Africa. No one, who has watched the progress of Geography for the last quarter of a century, can fail to acknowledge, how much directly, and indirectly, the Missionary has done to extend our Knowledge. He is not a mere Traveller, hurrying through unknown Regions, and unable to communicate with the inhabitants; but he is a sojourner in those Regions, able to test the accuracy of his information, to map down the routes actually traversed, and to record, with a certain degree of approximate accuracy, routes taken down from the lips of Native merchants. The Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, and of kindred European Societies, teem with narratives compiled by Missionaries. I have myself prompted, and encouraged, the preparation of such papers, more especially in Africa. To those, who have their eyes fixed on the world as on a chess-board, the name of Livingstone stands conspicuous above that of any other Missionary of ancient and modern times, from the Epoch of

Rubruquis the Franciscan, in 1253, to the date of Krapf, who mounted a high tower at Mombása, and looked out over Eastern Equatorial Africa, and set the ball rolling, which led to the unveiling of the great Lakes of the Equator. It is without any feeling of boasting, or undue rivalry, that the Missionary Societies read the names of their agents amidst the successful explorers of the age. Nor do the committees consider the money misapplied, which popularizes in the eye of the learned world their efforts to Evangelize, and at the same time opens out new vistas of usefulness, and gives to new tribes the opportunity of hearing the Gospel.

The contributions to the Science of Geology, quoted by the compiler of the Ely Volume, are not numerous or important, nor am I able to add to them as regards other Missionary Societies. The tables of Meteorological observations, recorded by the American Missionaries in Western Asia, seem to be of the highest value, and it would be worth the consideration of the Royal Society, whether the assistance of all the Missionaries of Great Britain, scattered as they are in hundreds all over the face of the globe, in regions of extreme heat and of intense cold, at considerable altitudes, and again on the sea-level, could not be utilized. The trouble would be very inconsiderable, and the record of the temperature and the climatic changes would be of the highest interest to the Mission, as conducive to the choice of the healthiest stations, and the adoption of suitable precautions and appliances. I am not aware, whether any registers have been systematically maintained in any of the stations of any Missionary Societies. The subject is worthy of attention.

The American Missionaries appear to have been contributors to Natural Science. It is not pretended, that a Missionary can have the leisure, or the technical knowledge, to be a thorough naturalist, but some gifted men have been accurate and intelligent observers. Science is now prosecuted too thoroughly to admit of much untrained help, and it has been remarked, that the contributions of Missionaries on Natural History lacked that accurate knowledge and detail, which are now requisite. It is remarkable, that among the American Missionaries there should have been men devoted to their proper work, and yet zealous ornithologists, naturalists, and conchologists, taking the latter work by way of restful and healthful recreation, without which they would not have retained cheerfulness and vigour. When I read of 800 specimens of birds, and many hundred specimens of shells, and Essays contributed to scientific Journals, I begin to doubt, whether it is wise to yield to the fascination of inquiries so wholly alien from the work of teaching the Gospel. No conscientious public Officer in India would, I think, be able to lend himself to such pursuits without dereliction of his secular

Duties. I have heard a Viceroy condemn a man, because he had an absorbing passion for some inquiry alien to his Duty, and I remember the circumstance of a man being passed over for promotion, because he was too devoted to his photographing machine. These were not the acts of a Philistine, or of a man without sympathy for Science, but of a wise Ruler, who knew that it was dangerous for an administrator to have a taste for anything but the trade of ruling men, and caring for the men ruled. For twenty-five years I had to roll up, and put away, one or two particular talents in a napkin, and I should recommend faithful Missionaries, who have a single eye to their blessed vocation, to place away such talents, if they have them. I should not think highly of them, if I came upon them in the act of stuffing birds, transfixing butterflies, or photographing.

Under the next head of Archæology much is said of the contributions to Science made by American Missionaries; and the circumstance of their having large and important Missions in Turkey in Asia, a country teeming with records of the Past, enabled them to advance Knowledge. One positive addition to our Knowledge was made by the discovery and the careful description of the Nestorian monument of Sin-Gan-Fu in China; but even this falls into the shade, when brought into comparison with the discovery of the Moabite Stone by one of the Church Missionary Society's agents, and the copying of a Hittite Inscription by a Presbyterian Missionary.

"Paulo majora canamus." When we come to the chapter on Philology and Bible-Translation, we recognize the imposing results of the work of the Missionary in his own legitimate field. Leibnitz, when he formed the plan of the National Academy at Berlin, anticipated this phenomenon. He made it a prominent object of the National Association for Literature and Science, that a zeal for extending the Gospel to the Heathen might be encouraged over the whole earth, for they were, according to him, to be an important means for attaining this object, since Christian and Heathen would reap mutual benefit. Literature and Science would aid the Missionary, who in his turn would send home Knowledge of new facts from distant fields. The name of Leibnitz had great influence in introducing the same idea into other Continental Academies. The least efficient of the agents of a Missionary Society should be able to converse with and instruct the people in their own vulgar tongue. Anything short of this is a mockery. I hear with great mistrust of Missionaries to aboriginal tribes in India, or to the barbarous tribes of Africa and Oceania, making use of an interpreter, or insulting a tribe by educating the children in a Language not known to their parents, but which the Missionary happens to have learnt. Imagine the process of a Sunday-School in

England, in which an interpreter was used to explain the words of the teacher to the children, or the children taught indifferent French and German so as to be able to understand their teachers. Imagine the difficulty of arguing upon the most solemn Truths of man's Salvation, which a Missionary must feel, who has not mastered, not only the leading Language, but the *patois*, of his flock. I repeat, then, that the least efficient of a Society's agents should understand and speak the Vernacular. But from their ranks at all periods, of all Nations, and belonging to all Societies, have come forth Linguistic giants, who have compiled grammars, and dictionaries, and textbooks, who have rendered teaching possible by reducing the words of the tribe to writing. The compiler of the Ely-Volume takes credit for the great work performed in this department by the Missionaries of the American Board. All honour to them! Their labours are known in the fields of Asiatic, African, American, and Oceanic, Missions, but they are but a unit among many, and in some instances they had the advantage of the preceding and contemporary labour of others, though in several they stand alone. So great a subject can only be handled collectively, treating the Missionaries of all Societies as one body. When this is done, it can safely be stated, that no Government, no secular Association, and no University, have done one tithe towards extending our Knowledge of the living Languages of the world, that Christian Missionaries have done, without hope of profit, or distinction, or personal advantage, but simply in the legitimate and single-minded desire to render possible the work of Evangelization. Scientific bodies, and Scholars in their studies, must be dead to all sense of feeling, if they do not rise from their chairs, and gratefully thank the Missionary, the Society, and that wonderful Missionary feeling, which is the life of all living Churches, as each grammar and vocabulary finds its way to their library, revealing new forms of vocables, new rules of syntactical arrangement of ideas, new and marvellous and symmetrical developments of the logical brain-power of barbarous tribes, who out of their own consciousness, or rather unconsciousness, have evolved new laws of vocal euphony, and new methods of differentiation of meaning, and delicate shades of expression.

But there is a loftier level still, to which we must rise, when we consider the work of Bible-Translation. Hitherto the Missionaries of the Church of Rome have run on parallel lines with their Protestant brethren, and have shared their Linguistic honours, besides being centuries earlier in the field. But the glory of Bible-Translation rests, with most minute exceptions, with the Preacher of the Gospel, a title to which the Roman Catholic Priest can scarcely lay claim, as an attentive perusal

of the weekly issue of the *Missions Catholiques* for many years has convinced me, that, with the exception of the Worship of the Virgin and St. Joseph, and the enforcement of a higher Morality, there is but scant teaching, certainly no Gospel *preaching*, in the Papist Missions. The Fetichism of the savage is varied in its outward form, but retains its inner meaning, and the crucifix and the beads are but substitutes for ruder objects of magical potency. The Chapter devoted to Bible-Translation in the Ely-Volume is indeed magnificent, and the compiler, standing on a catholic platform, takes cognizance of the great work done by all Missionaries all over the world, though noticing in detail only the work of the American Board. It is nobly and boldly stated "that the first object of a Protestant Mission is to give the Bible to a people in their own tongue, wherein they were born, and in which the family converses at home." It cannot be too often and too distinctly asserted, that the first, the continuous, and the latest, object of the Missionary of the Church of Rome is to withhold this Bible on their own part, and to destroy it, if it finds its way to their flocks from other quarters. There are a few exceptions, but they prove the rule.

The work of the Missionaries of the American Board has been of the highest order, but by far the largest portion of Bible-work has been accomplished through the agency of British Missionaries, and under the patronage of the British and Foreign Bible Society of London. The difficulty of the work has been repeatedly stated, and no doubt in the case of cultivated Languages exaggerated; the necessity of repeated revisions is obvious: to some Missionaries the work seems to come naturally; to others either the capacity, or the industry, or the leisure, or the opportunity, have been wanting. Talent of the highest order is required, and persistent labour. Perhaps of all evangelizing works it is the most blessed, and remains for ever as the best of Monuments. Luther's words, that he uttered, have been forgotten, but Luther's Translation of the Bible will live for ever.

In his contact with his people the Missionary necessarily has his attention called to the Ethnological features of the tribe, and to their Religious conceptions. The old idea, that a simple ignorant Missionary could work the conversion of a people by a mere statement of Gospel-Truths, accompanied by a general abuse of Idolatrous practices, is exploded. True it is, that the Missionary by himself can do little, and that it is God's Grace, that worketh through him; but that Grace works through Human means of all kinds, and gives life to Human endeavours, Knowledge, and appliances. The fortress of time-honoured customs, and of old-world beliefs, in which the Soul of the Heathen is, as it were, entrenched, must be explored and

studied: if any atom of natural and adamantine Truth has survived, it must be respected, and the assault against Ignorance and falsehood must be made by the united forces of Wisdom and Truth. This necessitates either original studies of Ethnology and Religious conceptions, or of the treatises on those subjects, prepared by the former labourers in the field, who have passed away. It may be a question, whether the Missionary is entirely a fair chronicler of customs and tenets, with which he is in no way in sympathy. He may be led to credit the whole of the complicated machinery to the direct agency of the Devil, and from this standpoint I sometimes read of the great countries of India and China being the Kingdoms of Satan, against which sweeping condemnation in the name of the gentle and lovable people of India I must protest. It requires a large supply of Pity for, and sympathy with, fallen races, and a wide and impartial survey of the Book-Religions, and forms of Nature-Worship, which have survived, to arrive at a right judgment in this matter; and the statements of Missionaries in my opinion err on the side of Intolerance, from the absence of philosophic impartiality, and a clear conception of the problem.

In General Literature, whether of a periodical character or solid contributions to Knowledge, the work of the Missionaries of the American Board is stated to be so voluminous, that anything like a catalogue is out of the question. And the same may safely be said of the agents of all the great Societies. They have been great and good book-makers, or contributors to Periodicals. Their labours have extended to the Vernaculars of people, among whom they laboured. In many cases they have first reduced the vehicle of thought to literary fitness, and then illustrated the newly-developed power by a copious, useful, and popular, literature, which indeed is one of the marvels of the age. Other Colonizers may have caused cities to spring up in what was lately a waste, and turned virgin prairies into a garden of cereals, saccharines, and oils; but to the Missionary alone has it been conceded to go among a savage people, who had no Alphabet, and had never heard of the ink-bottle and the reed-pen, and in a few years lead them across a gulf, which other Nations have only traversed in the slow progress of centuries, fashion for them a literary Language out of their own vocables, teach them to read and write, to join in prayer, praise, and song, to start a printing-press in their midst, and to make use of the people themselves to work it, so that the barbarous tribes of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, have taken in, adopted, and practised, within twenty-five years, under the guidance of a Missionary, what it took the Greek and Latin and Teutonic peoples twenty-five centuries to accomplish. When the influence of Christian Missions upon the Human race is fairly considered,

these facts must not be lost sight of. They are but fragments, and comparatively unimportant fragments, of the great edifice of Christian Belief and Life, which it is the object of Missions to erect, and yet no other conceivable earthly agency could have effected it. Even in British India, with all the appliances of a great, high-minded, and enlightened, Government, without the help of the Missionaries a vernacular literature would not have come into existence, which was fit to be read by women and children. It has been well said, that in measuring the extent and power of the agencies at work it is not sufficient to count the Missionaries and the Schools; the prolific outcome of the Mission-presses, scattering broadcast portions of the Scriptures, and a miscellaneous Religious, semi-Religious, and healthy secular, literature, is a factor in the great world-revival. The cheap periodical literature, published monthly and weekly, and sold below cost price, is an amazing lever, and supplements in this busy age the waning power of the Pulpit among the Native Christians, and aids the efforts of the Preacher in the towns and villages among the Heathen. The greatest and most experienced of Missionaries of all countries and Denominations regard the printing-press as worth many Missionaries, and more especially in those countries, where Education is spreading. If the agents of the American Board of Missions have a longer catalogue of works to show, it is that the subdivision of labour has not been carried out so entirely in the United States as in Great Britain. The Religious Tract-Society, and the Christian Knowledge-Society, and the Christian Vernacular Education-Society, in London, relieve the Missionary Societies of these subsidiary labours, profiting by the experience of the Missionaries, and repaying the benefits by grants, and cheap editions. I was much impressed at first sight by the busy work of Vernacular literature in progress in the American Bible-House at Constantinople, when I visited it, until I reflected that much of this work was done better and cheaper in London, or at the Mission-stations scattered over the world.

Under the head of Literature the Periodicals published at headquarters, the Annual reports, and the separate Histories of different Mission-fields published from time to time, cannot be passed over without a notice. If any Historian continues the History of the British people, commenced by the late Mr. Green, the wonderful phenomena of energy, wisdom, and benevolence, evidenced for a long series of years in these pages, cannot be overlooked. What is the conquest of India compared with the quiet and unobtrusive conquest of the whole world, which the Christians of this century calmly contemplate, and have done so much to advance? Some years ago I was asked to assist in preparing the first of the series of reports of the Moral and

Material Progress of British India. I agreed to do so on the condition, that due notice was taken of the wonderful progress of Missionary effort from a secular point of view. My condition was accepted, and care was taken at my request not to omit mention of the Roman Catholic Missions. The Religious world was gratified, and those paragraphs were quoted from many a Pulpit ; but the secular world was astonished. Now throughout the British Empire and the whole world, the Missionary element is recognized as a factor in the body politic, which cannot be overlooked by the Statesman in Parliament, by the Plenipotentiary, when he makes Treaties, by the Historian, when he writes History, and by the writers of general literature.

The next heading, Education, embraces a portion of the essential Duties of a Missionary, and great and successful as the discharge of this Duty has been, both in the Missions of the American Board and of other Societies, no special notice is required, as I am not alluding now to the essential, but the *incidental*, advantages of Missions. The following heading, "Medical Science," is passed over for the same reason. The Medical Missionary, male or female, is now a recognized and requisite member of every fully organized Mission, and many ordained Missionaries have a certain amount of medical training. It is no longer an *incidental* advantage of Missions.

Under the heading General Philanthropy may be classed all that Missionaries have done for the saving of whole races from certain destruction, and their national regeneration as decent and flourishing, though not necessarily Christian, Communities. The very existence of many of the Communities of Oceania is owing to the Missionaries. To this may be added the bold opposition to Slave-trade, Slavery, employment of Slave-labour (which, except in the case of the Madagascar Missions, is a rule absolute), and the kidnapping of men under pretence of service-contracts. Missionaries have not been found wanting to resist their white brethren in their attempts to injure morally or physically the people committed to their charge. Not always judiciously, yet still always in good faith, they have stood up against kings and men in power, against merchants, and against agricultural speculators, against the European land-grabber and gold-seeker on the Warpath, against the unprincipled Chartered Company in its blood-stained course of Slaughter and Murder for the sake of gold-dust, diamonds, and dividends. At the risk of their lives they have saved widows from the burning pile, and victims from the altar of Sacrifice, the poisoned cup of the medicine-man, and the yawning grave, ready to receive them alive. They have taught the gentle arts of peace, introduced new modes of culture, new articles of Commerce, new methods of manufacture; they have

opened asylums for the leper, and in some cases dauntless men, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have given themselves up to the risk of the deadly contagion in their love for the bodies and souls of the sufferers; they have opened hospitals for the opium-smoker, and homes for the famine-orphans; have worked their way by the help of their wives and sisters into the secluded retreats of the women's apartments to get at the women; they have taught both sexes in many parts of the world the decencies of life, showing men how they can be strong without being cruel, and giving women elementary lessons in modesty and purity. Not in vain have been these blessed labours: wherever there was oppression, or suffering, or an appeal for help, or a craving for advice, the Missionary has not stopped to ask, whether the cry came from a Heathen or a Christian. He has taken the highest view of his sacred calling, and given the succour without asking who and what was the party succoured. So also when famines have raged, the Missionary has appeared with food to save the starving, with orphanages to receive the abandoned children. He has always been ready to prevent bloodshed by arbitration in case of quarrels, and in some cases has arrested war by timely advice, or brought about peace amidst savage combatants by words of wisdom, and forbearance, and Love.

The Missionary should not meddle in politics, or questions of Trade, or in the culture of the soil, or in Commerce: where he has done so, it has been to the injury of his proper work. The idea of self-supporting Missions by means of Commerce, manufacture, and agriculture, is a dream of Utopia. The Missionary was meant for better things than to manage ostrich-farming, gather in cocoa-nuts, or superintend filatures. Nor should he be tempted under any circumstances to try his prentice-hand at ruling men; for such purposes a stiffer clay is required than the material, of which he is made; the matter is too high for him, or rather he is too high for the matter. For in spite of all the lofty ideal of Christian Statesmen, the government of Natives, specially of those in a low state of culture, is a compromise of low motives, and it is of the essence of our poor humanity, that it should be so. The Governor, the judge, and the magistrate, must touch pitch, and in their official capacity take cognizance of tendencies, of customs, of ideas, of religious Worships, and of professions against which their Souls revolt. The Missionary in his death-grapple with the awakened conscience and the darkened Soul of men opening to the Truth, comes indeed into contact with the sad ingredients of Human nature, but *his Gospel admits of no compromise*; he rises above conventional Morals and local customs; to him the Polygamist and the worshipper of Idols, is not a subject of

her Majesty with guaranteed civil rights, but a sinner, who must be persuaded to amend his ways. The Missionary is therefore in a false position, when he attempts to hold the reins of Civil Government. And, in my judgment, when he goes out of his proper orbit, and meddles with such tangled questions as a gigantic Commerce betwixt two such great Nations as India and China, he fails in his object, being unable to measure the surrounding forces, and in the end causes evils by his ill-judging, though well-intentioned, endeavours. Let him leave Cæsar's business to Cæsar, and keep his mind on the affairs of God, who permits the existence of Evil in different countries that He may prove the Faith of His Servants, and work His Sovereign Will, leading on by temptation and suffering.

Missionaries and Mission-Societies have reason to be grateful to the American Board for this volume on Missions and Science, which I have passed under review; it tells a noble story. A few years ago I met at Rome a young surgeon from Chicago. He had all the brilliant charm and vivacity of a young man, belonging to a young city and a young Nation. He expressed his opinion, that he could have saved President Garfield's life, had he been called in, and that only the second or third-rate men of his country, who had failed in a home-career, went out as Missionaries. This volume is a sufficient answer to this sneer, not meant maliciously, but representative of the opinion of too many. The American Board has during the last fifty years had the good fortune to find, and the wisdom to value, as their agents, men of consummate ability and unaffected piety, who would have achieved greatness and wealth in secular employment, but who have had the Grace given to them to consecrate their opening, middle, and closing, lives to the service of their Lord, and while striking hard on the anvil of their own proper work, the Evangelization of Souls, have let in side-lights into many obscure subjects, and thus incidentally conferred honour on themselves, and their sacred cause. An all-round study of Mission-work does indeed make us freethinkers, but in the best and highest sense of that often misapplied phrase. We know, that the Word and the Work of the great Creator must be in harmony, though we cannot always, through the weakness of our intelligence, reconcile them. We approach the study of the Bible, a treasure in the earthen vessels of perishable vocables and sentences, with the same reverence and reserve that we touch the skirts of our mothers. We adore the great Creator in the study of His manifold Work, and, if we demand more air, and more breathing space, than the timid and cramped interpretations of our forefathers allowed, the reverend Missionaries, whose works are recorded in this volume, teach us how to handle the Bible, and yet gaze exultingly and trustfully into

every vista, opened in the labyrinth of Human Science, nothing doubting, that to the faithful the end will be Light. True Science is the handmaid of true Religion, and will never raise up her hand against her mistress, if each keeps itself within its own proper sphere, and revolves in its own orbit. They are not antagonistic, but co-ordinate powers, illustrating, and illustrated by, each other. Standing as I do midway betwixt Science and Missions, and flitting daily, from the assembly of the Scientists to the committee-room of the Mission, I feel, that I can take a part in both without religious or intellectual compromise, and glory in the strange pleasure of seeing Science subserve so much to the advance of Missions, while Missions pay back the debt by subserving so much to the advance of Science.

September, 1884, 1895.

D. Extent of the Duties and Rights of the Evangelist.

1. The Plain Duty of a Missionary Society.
2. The Extent, to which a Missionary has a Right to Protection by the Civil Power.

1. The Plain Duty of a Missionary Society.

The work of the Missionary is becoming a Science; the operations are on such an extensive scale, that Mission-work is a factor in politics. Hundreds of young men are scattered over the face of the globe without possibility of supervision, and the ravages of the climate render it necessary, that there should be a constant flow of very young men; high-spirited, devoted, unselfish, above all suspicion of low motives, but very inexperienced, and possessed often of zeal without Knowledge. It is more incumbent on the Society, which sends them out, to put its foot down and state distinctly what must *not* be done. The conduct of Missionary agents are open, like all human actions, to truthful and sincere criticism, and it is better that the critic should be a friendly one, and one, who is well acquainted with the circumstances and difficulties that surround the Missionary; and therefore I speak out, having just completed my Annual review of the Missionary operations of the world of all Nations and Churches.

(1) The Missionary must not raise his hand against a Native, or restrict his natural liberty.

(2) The Missionary must not usurp judicial, magisterial, or police, powers.

These propositions seem so simple and self-evident, that it might appear at first sight waste of time to discuss them; but there is no doubt that Natives, male and female, have been flogged, placed in durance, and even been killed by Missionary agents, sometimes out of mere impetuosity, sometimes in the exercise of usurped quasi-judicial powers.

It need scarcely be said, that in settled countries like British India, acts of the first kind would not remain unpunished, and acts of the second kind would be impossible. If any Missionary in British India were to strike a Native, an action would lie in the nearest court of Justice. I myself sent an English discharged soldier twelve hundred miles from the Panjáb to Calcutta, to be tried on the charge of shooting a Native, who would not sell him a sheep; he was tried by one of the Queen's judges, found guilty, and hanged. A young officer of the Royal Engineers had tied up his Native servant to a tree, and flogged him in order to extort a confession of a theft of spoons, and the man died. On my report the officer was tried by a Court-martial, sentenced to a term of imprisonment, and dismissed from the Army. I mention these two cases to show, that such license is not permitted to subjects of Her Majesty: the Missionary would have no benefit of clergy. No case has ever arisen.

But it is in those Regions, which are governed by Native Chiefs without any regular form of Law, and through which the Missionary has to travel with his caravan, that the difficulty arises. He has to deal with a long train of hired porters, who are ready to tarry, to stray, or even decamp with their burden. He has to deal with the Natives, always ready to steal secretly, or plunder openly; his temper is sorely tried, the weather is hot, the distance to be traversed great; the interest of the work and the character of the Traveller for efficiency, seem to depend upon his being able to get to the fixed halting-place; thieves are caught red-handed; property mysteriously disappears; then comes what is deemed the necessity for, and *the right*, to tie up, and flog, real or supposed delinquents. A case has occurred of a man being left tied up, with a view to induce a confession, dying during the night. Then comes a scandal, an outcry, and perhaps a justification in the following terms: that it is impossible to travel without power of flogging the porters, and thrashing the villagers. The reply is: *In that case do not travel.*

But is it so? The young Englishman out on a shooting expedition may, and probably does, do so, and in his narrative he is loud in his outcry, that his camp subsequently is attacked, reprisals attempted, and one of his party killed. The experienced leader of an exploring party does *not* do so; he carries out the policy of conciliation with the inhabitants of the country,

through which he passes, and as to his own party he settles with them beforehand in what manner delinquents on the march are to be punished. The late Joseph Thomson, one of the most successful and yet the gentlest of leaders, tells us how his men preferred that delinquents should be punished by strokes of the ratan, rather than by fine. Thomson in both his expeditions brought his party safe back in good condition, and Bishop Hannington, who traversed his route through Masai-land, found no tales current against him, but plenty against the Swahíli traders, who had followed the same route.

But the question before us relates to a Missionary, the Preacher and practicer of the Gospel, who has been sent out to convert a Heathen people. It seems to go without saying, that such men should never raise their hand against the people, except in the extreme case of protecting life or female honour, and of course the ordinary discipline of boys in a School. That a Woman should be flogged, however evil that Woman may have been, fills me to amazement; that a man should be tied up to a tree, with a view of extracting a confession, and should die in consequence, fills me with horror. I do not in the least indicate the part of the world, Asia, Africa, America, or Oceania, in which these things have happened, or the Missionaries, to whom such acts are imputed. My knowledge of Missions extends to every Society and every Mission-field. Let me assume their possibility only for the sake of argument, and to enable me clearly to grasp the question of how Missions are to be conducted amidst wild races under such circumstances. My notebooks, and carton-boxes, contain evidence of facts.

Bishop Hannington, who gave up his life in U-Soga, a tender-hearted, loving man, has still left the following entries in his Journals, made from day to day, and not intended for publication; we cannot doubt their exactness; these Journals are now *publici juris*, being printed and sold for sixpence.

Page 3.—"Up twice and boxed some of their ears (the porters)."

Page 9.—"Mild measures were in vain, and shouts of no avail; kicks and blows alone got them together once more into the spot marked out as camp."

Page 10.—"The disobedience of my men is fearful: I have had to administer some tremendous blows: people may say what they like: it is a matter of life and death."

Page 11.—"I seized my gun, and rushed back in time to see one of the sick men pursued with spear and shield. Without a moment's hesitation, *to spare his life*, I gave them a charge of No. 2 shot at about 100 yards; and magical was the effect: they fled right and left."

The first case is quoted to indicate the liberty, which Europeans consider themselves entitled to take almost in a friendly way with weaker races, with whom they come in contact. A Malay, after such an insult as having his ears boxed, would have run his dagger into the Bishop. The African has to grin and bear it. The last case illustrates the painful necessity forced upon the Traveller to protect the life of his party from violent attacks. The two intermediate cases can under no circumstances be justified. If the Natives had joined together and returned blow for blow, the Bishop would have lost his life: it is a dangerous game to resort to blows, unless you are supported by a superior force. Not very long afterwards the Bishop himself was killed.

We have to consider also the miserable consequences of a party led by an European passing through a village, and committing acts of violence. Reprisals are taken from the next innocent European Traveller. Some years ago, a Frenchman named Abbé De Baize (not a Missionary, but a scientific Traveller) behaved in U-Gogo with great violence on his way to Lake Tangányika. An English Missionary was killed in revenge a few days afterwards.

I do not, of course, allude to sudden outbursts of anger under cases of great provocation; these are to be deplored, wherever they occur, and no one deplores them more than the offender himself, when he recovers his calm. Bishop Hannington's Journal supplies us with an instance of this weakness (page 5): "Sorry to say I lost my temper with men and Jones." Such confessions as these appear in the Journals of many of God's Saints: the heat of the weather, the anxiety of the journey, the excitement, and the really provoking characters of the people, lead to such regrettable outbursts, which are repented of in tears, and are atoned for by acts of considerate kindness.

The Missionary by his very *raison d'être* should carefully refrain from such things: he must be no striker; he must not strive, but be gentle to all men, and must take joyfully the spoiling of his goods: conciliation must be made use of to its utmost extent; if is agreed, that an expedition cannot be carried on unless the leader of it commits day by day acts of brute violence, the reply is, that *Missionary expeditions had better not be undertaken.* If Missions cannot only be worked by Methods, which no supporter of the Mission would dare to state in detail on a Mission-platform, then Missions had better not be undertaken. It cannot be imagined, that our Lord's Disciples, who were sent out two and two, or the Nestorian Missionaries, who penetrated with slender resources as far as China, or the humble Moravian Missionaries, acted in this way. The line of Duty is very clear.

I seem to hear some Missionary cry out, who has been driven

wild by the heat and insects: "Oh! if you only knew the "difficulties, you would not write like this; if you were in "similar circumstances, you would flog your men and thrash "the villagers, like everybody else." Now I have heard very young men on their first arrival in India talk in the same way, and yet no experienced Anglo-Indian ever allows himself to strike a servant, or ill-use a villager: he finds out, that it is not necessary. I never heard of a charge against a Missionary in India of any act of this kind. It is more important to draw attention to the subject in Africa, as the Natives have discovered, that Europeans are not the benevolent Angels, which they once appeared to be; it has got about, that they are eating up the country; and we may expect a period of difficulty and violence, and much hindrance to the great Duty of the Missionary.

Nor should the Missionary usurp judicial, magisterial, or police authority; the facts are *publici juris*, so it may be stated, that in one Mission the Missionary tried, sentenced, and executed an offender, and was very properly dismissed for so doing. But that the whole story is in print, it would seem incredible, that a Missionary should suggest to husbands to flog their wives for infidelity, in the presence of witnesses. The air of Africa seems to have an astounding effect on the intelligence and consciences of Christian Ministers, and English gentleness. In the absence of any constituted Ruler there is always some Chief, or village-Elder, to whom criminal and police jurisdiction belongs, and who would no doubt consult a friendly Missionary, and gradually build up a system of Government. Every British subject is liable to be prosecuted for certain offences in the Courts of Great Britain, although such offences were committed outside of the British Dominions, and no one is authorized to exercise any sort of jurisdiction, unless he has been duly authorized to do so by Her Majesty, and it is exceedingly inexpedient, that any Missionary should be vested with any such Power. His weapons are not carnal.

There is one blemish, from which British and American Missionaries are entirely free; that is, making the Mission a stepping-stone to and a means for political aggrandizement. But it is the *raison d'être*, and avowed object, of the French Missionary to extend the influence of France, and the French Government thoroughly understands this, and makes use of it. The French Government is confessedly free from any Religious sentiment, and makes short work with the Jesuits, and other Orders, when it appears advisable, but it tries in China to maintain its right, not only to be the protector of French Missionaries, which would be natural enough, but of all Roman Catholic Missionaries, English, German, Italian, and Spanish; and, although the Pope offers to take charge of the Missionaries

of his own Church, and the Chinese Government greatly prefers this arrangement, the French Government is still striving to maintain this right *as the legitimate political influence of France*. In every report of a French Missionary, allusion is made to France, as if the Religion, which they wish to extend, were the French Religion. Large sums were voted to Cardinal Lavigerie, Archbishop of Carthage, for the political influence exercised by him in Tunis, before and after the annexation. Even Protestant French Missionaries are not free from this snare, for the Legion of Honour has been conferred on an old French Missionary, M. Casalis, "for extending the interests of France in Basútoland," in the heart of the British Colony of the Cape, where the French can have no legitimate interests whatsoever. There are British Missionaries in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. It would be hard to imagine a Companionship of the Bath being conferred upon them for advancing British interests in these countries. It is to be hoped, that the British and American Missionaries will never lend themselves to become political instruments, or meddle in any way with the affairs of earthly administration, as their Kingdom is not of this world.

A new difficulty has arisen in modern times. Practically the French Government render the establishment of a Mission of any other Nation in a French Colony impossible, by allowing no Schools to be opened unless the French Language is the vehicle of teaching, and the Teacher holds a French certificate. The object of this precaution is their jealous fear, lest other Nations should get any influence in their Colonies, for they attribute falsely to other Nations the practice of their own Missionaries. The firm conviction of the French governing classes is, that Christian Missions are only a kind of machinery for extending national political influence, and the French Roman Catholic Missionaries thoroughly realize these views, and, although they hate the Republican Government, and are cordially hated in return, they are tolerated and protected, because they are of use. From this point of view a British or American Mission is not only of no use, but, if animated with the same principles, a positive danger; consequently the conditions, under which they are admitted are such, that they amount to exclusion. The difficulties in Madagascar were very much stirred up and aggravated by the desire of the French Priests to get rid of the Protestant Missions. In Tahiti the famous English Mission, which converted that island, has sorrowfully been obliged to leave that field. The strong objection to the occupation of the New Hebrides by the French is the certainty, that all the English Protestant Missions would be destroyed. In the Loyalty islands they are being crushed

out. On the Gabún in West Africa, the American Missionaries are being driven to the necessity of learning French. Russia and Austria are more consistent, and allow none at all in their conquered Provinces. The German Missionary has hitherto had the free run of the British and Dutch Colonies, and in British India has enjoyed precisely the same advantages as the British Missionary. Since, however, the German Nation has gone in for Colonies, the cry has gone forth of German Missionaries and no other in German Colonies. There was some show of reason perhaps in not allowing the French Jesuit, with his known proclivities, to establish himself in a German Colony, but the British also are to be excluded in full confidence, that the idea of reprisals, and the ejection of the German Missionary from India and the African Colonies, would never be thought of by an Englishman, who loves free Religion as much as free trade. The French people, under the idea, that French is in fact the finest Language in the world, allow the use of none other in their Colonies; the Natives are taught to speak French to save the trouble of the French functionaries acquiring a knowledge of the Language of the people. They realize too late the tremendous mistake, which was made in not compelling the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to adopt the French Language at the time of their conquest. It is singular, that the Germans are falling into the same error, and are sending out German Missionaries and State-Teachers of the German Language to the Kamerún country, whence they have ejected the English Baptist Mission, to try to efface any knowledge of English, which the people may have acquired, and introduce the German Language. It remains to be seen whether this is possible. At any rate it is a narrow view to take of Colonial policy and Missionary Duty.

The Missionary must recollect that the Service of the Lord is not limited by Nation, Language, or race. Even the American Missionaries sometimes forget this, for we read in the *Boston Missionary Herald*, that in the little island of Ponapé, a mere speck in Mikronesia, and part of the group of the Caroline islands, which belong to Spain, the Sunday-School children of the Native converts kept the "Glorious Fourth of July" with great ceremonial. How people would laugh, if the converts in the British Missions of New Guinea and the Solomon islands were to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, or the Queen's Jubilee. Why not have their rejoicings on Christmas Day and Easter Day, in anticipation of the day, when Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not revile Ephraim? The French Religious Periodicals are full of lamentable details of the destruction of the Roman Catholic converts in Tonquin, and forget, that these same converts supplied fighting men to resist

their own national Sovereign in the struggle against foreign invaders.

I submit these subjects to the consideration of the committees of Missionary Societies. The stream of Missionaries is ever flowing, and new men succeeding to old. It is more important, that the committee, which is permanent in its collective capacity, should be firm, and set its face like a flint against:

(1) Any personal ill-usage or restraint of a Native by its agents.
(2) Any usurpation of authority, other than Spiritual, by its agents.
(3) Any tendency to put Missions forward as a machinery for Political aggrandizement.
(4) Any tendency to imagine, that the nationality of the Missionary is a factor of the least weight or moment in his Divine Commission to preach the Gospel.
(5) Any appeal to the Arm of the Flesh to protect Missions, or rescue Missionaries, or avenge the death of Missionaries. If the Missionary has not stomach for the fight, let him withdraw from a contest, to which he is not equal. Christian men and women will never be wanting to take up the Cross, whatever may be the dangers and perils.
(6) Any attempt to introduce among his converts the historical differences of the great Nations of Europe and America, and any suggestion that Christianity is limited, and that the right of preaching the Gospel is restricted by the Political circumstances of the country, or the nationality of the Missionary. Evil rulers may try to enforce such restrictions, but they are fighting against God.

April, 1888–1895.

2. On the Extent, to which a Missionary has a Right to Protection by the Civil Power.

It is no longer a secret, close or open, that the Royal Niger Company has made Treaties with the several Negro Mahometan Powers in the Sudán of Africa, East of the Niger, promising that they will not only do nothing through their own employés to attempt the conversion of the Mahometans, *but will do all that lies in their power to obstruct others, who come under their influence.* This amounts to open War of so-called Christian men with the Gospel.

Let us think it out. The Company gives a free hand for the conversion of the Pagans. It is very proper and expedient, that the Rulers of a country should do nothing directly or indirectly to influence their subjects in their Religious views. Their Kingdom is of this world, and entire Toleration is the brightest jewel of Empire. Such is the fixed policy of the Government of British India; and manifold blessings of every kind, material and Spiritual, have attended it during the last half-century. But the Rulers of the Niger Valley, to whom the Imperial Parliament has delegated their foreign powers, propose to do something more. They promise their Treaty-allies to obstruct the Christian Missionary, to deny him passages in their Steamers, succour from their stores, and to erase his name from the list of British subjects, entitled by the custom of Great Britain to succour in case of need, rescue in case of captivity, and retribution by the nearest British Authorities in case of murder.

The true-hearted Missionary asks not these things for himself. His friends raise no voice in the country, calling for vengeance for the slaughter of Hannington. That particular crime has, however, been avenged by a higher Power. Whether the Royal Niger Company likes it or not, whether it will affect their dividends or their Commerce with the Sudán or not, it is well, that these gentlemen should reflect on the policy, which they are inaugurating, and consider what the House of Commons will say, when it comes to hear of it.

It is true that the East India Company previous to the year 1815 adopted this same policy. They did so in timidity, in Ignorance, and in material weakness. They had to face mighty Empires, and armies of soldiers supplied with cannon, trained by Frenchmen: they had to fight for their hold of India, and regarded matters from the point of view of a mercantile Company. India was too far off for its affairs to be influenced by public opinion at home. Public opinion at home had not been

formed: it was the day of small things: and the individual Missionaries, who appeared and were rejected, though Saints of God, like Carey and Judson, had not the prestige of the associated strength of the great middle classes of Great Britain behind them. Moreover, it is admitted, that the East India Company did wrong: we palliate their offence; we do not excuse it, we cannot justify it.

Things have changed now. The thoughts of men have become wider with the process of the suns. A great majority of the British people recognize, that the mighty power and vigour vouchsafed to them were not conceded by the Most High for the purpose of exporting liquor (of which sin I gladly acquit the Royal Niger Company), or making dividends of profit; but to benefit, in every possible way, the subject people, and to give them the free opportunity of accepting Christianity, which has made us what we are. The Niger Valley is not far from Great Britain. Public opinion will have its sway there. The Missionaries were there long before this Company came into existence, and will outlive it. The Mahometans of the Sudán, whether Fulah or Negro, are pigmies in strength, culture, power, and population, in comparison to the fifty millions of British India.

The gentlemen of the Niger Company talk with bated breath of the fanatical Mahometan, in his turban, cloak, and trowsers. The phenomenon is new to them, but Anglo-Indians have lived all their lives in the midst of noble, though devout, Mahometans. Some as fair in colour as ourselves, and many much more learned and polished; some of gigantic stature, and hereditary warriors. Yet the Gospel has its free course amidst the Balúchi and the Afghán, the Patán, and the converted Mahometan Rajpút, and the Empire of the Empress of India flourishes, because it is founded upon Righteousness.

We doubt whether Treaties with such clauses should not be denounced as derogatory to the dignity of Great Britain, as if we were ashamed of the Religion, which has brought us such blessings. The thing is doubly offensive, when we are kindly told, that we are allowed full leave to convert the pagan, but must not address the Negro, who has got himself up with the veneer of Mahometanism, for it is no more. Their knowledge of Arabic and the Korán is scant: all the bad salient features of Mahometanism are asserted, Intolerance, Polygamy, Slavery, unnatural crime, contempt of Human life, and overweening pride; while the better things to be found in the Korán, and the learning and refinement of the polished Mahometan of India, Persia, and Turkey, are totally absent.

At any rate, the public notice has been despatched, and January 1, 1890, fixed as the date of the new policy.

We must recollect that, when a British subject is killed or

imprisoned, something more than his life and liberty are lost to his country, viz., the prestige of our Nation. The representative of the British Government in China remarked in 1873, that *there was a necessity to protect the Missionary from actual violence, but nothing more.* The present Foreign Secretary two years ago told a deputation of Missionaries, that the Great Powers of Europe asserted the right to deport an alien without cause shown from their territories, but they would shrink from the charge of ordering his death, or imprisonment, without the form of a regular trial. Mr. Jones, of the L.M.S., was expelled by the French Government from the Loyalty islands; and, for the sake of argument, we may concede, that the Mahometan potentates of the Sudán might deport a British Missionary; but, when they hear that there is no risk, they will certainly kill him.

London, December, 1889–1895.

E. Arm of the Flesh.

1. Religious Toleration.
2. The Relation of Missionaries to great European or Asiatic Governments.
3. The Relation of Missionaries to Barbarous Sovereigns, or Petty Chiefs in Asia, Africa, and Oceania.

1. Religious Toleration.

What is it? Something which we all claim for ourselves, but *which many* deny to others. Something which each person interprets in a sense, which fits his own views. Roman Catholics would, if they could, deny it to Protestantism. Protestants of the High Church would deny it to those, who do not conform to their views. Nonconformists would deny it to particular classes of Christian believers. All Christian believers are ready to deny it to Unbelievers. If the penalties are no longer Death on the Stake, Imprisonment, or Spoliation of Goods, the want of Toleration shows itself in denial of privileges, exclusion from offices, and social ostracism. Even good men allow themselves to do and say what is entirely contrary to true Toleration. Let me try and make my views clear as regards Heathen and Mahometan.

There is no necessity to be lax in Religious convictions, and hang loosely to any Church, in order to be all things to all men:

that is not true Toleration, but only Indifferentism, or contemptuous disdain. A Christian must be tolerant to the Mahometan, the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Nature-worshipper: he must be tolerant of bad customs, bad habits, bad words, bad deeds, bad sentiments: he must be tolerant in what he says and what he does. It is more consonant to a Christian frame of mind to be so. And it specially becomes a Missionary to be so. The surer a man is of his own convictions, the more tolerant will he be of the conscientious convictions of others.

Let me consider the "State" first.

If there is an entire disappearance of *bonâ-fide* persecution, and torture, and murder, on the part of Religionists in power, it is mainly because their claws have been clipped, and the spirit of the age has been changed. It would have been impossible for Servétus to have been burnt alive in this century: still Austria, and such like Powers, make the position of Protestants very uncomfortable. In Spain there is a good deal of caprice. Even in constitutional countries there is a necessity for licensing and notice to the Police, and disabilities of one kind or another, which is deplorable. The Bible is burnt in the streets by the Priests.

In Russia circumstances are somewhat different. There is no objection to Bible-Distribution, nor do the Priests object to the Bible. Religious liberty is allowed to the Lutheran subjects, but that liberty does not include facilities for proselytizing; nothing of that kind can be allowed in Russia. "Never will "Russia allow the Orthodox Church to be robbed of its "children. Russia's sacred Duty is to keep from the Orthodox "Church all, that can menace her security." The Roman Catholics complain bitterly of disabilities in Poland. Dissenters from the Orthodox Church have to reckon on a good deal of persecution. Jews are grossly ill-treated. Severe punishment falls upon offenders against the Protectionist Laws of the Orthodox Church. Some years ago an agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, a Protestant Armenian, occupied in translating the Scriptures, was banished with his wife and children from Tiflis to Orenburg, where he was permitted to continue his Duties. In their attempts to convert the non-Christian inhabitants of Central Asia they conduct their operations in the Russian Language, and the literature, which they publish, is in that Language, totally unintelligible to the ignorant men, women, and children.

The Sultan of Turkey appears to advantage, when contrasted with his Christian neighbour. The Christian inhabitants have for more than a century enjoyed full Toleration under the guarantee of the Great Powers of Europe, and Protestant Missionaries have full license to proselyte them: but up to the time

of the Crimean War in theory, if not practice, a Mahometan, if he became a Christian, suffered death. It seems incredible, that the Great Powers of Europe should have submitted so long to such an insult to their Faith.

The following letter, dated February 12, 1856, of Fuad Pasha to the British Ambassador at Constantinople defines the existing law: "The official communications, made formerly by your "Excellency, both in writing and verbally, upon the subject of "Religious matters, have been taken into minute consideration. "The important and friendly services, which the Porte has at "all times, and more particularly of late, experienced on the "part of her illustrious Allies, the English and other Govern- "ments, are appreciated in the highest degree by His Majesty "the Sultan, and the feeling of gratitude inspired by them will "remain for ever impressed upon the heart of the Ottoman "Nation. In addition to the sincere desire entertained by the "Porte to meet as far as possible the friendly representations of "her Allies by satisfactory measures, she is also well acquainted "with the spirit of the age, and she hastens accordingly, with "the Imperial sanction, to communicate the decision adopted "regarding the above point. In consequence, the assurances "formerly given to the British and French Governments with "reference to the question of *Renegades* are at present renewed, "and confirmed afresh, while an additional assurance is declared "and made known, that the terms of the decision at that time "adopted will be held *absolutely to comprise all Renegades*. It is "sincerely hoped, that this decision, which is a new and practical "proof of the Porte's refraining on all occasions from senselessly "thwarting, or opposing, measures of a practical character, will "meet with the satisfaction of your illustrious Allies."

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to the Earl of Clarendon.

Constantinople, February 12, 1856.

"My Lord,—I have received from Fuad Pasha the note, "which he had promised in reply to my representations, and "demands, on the subject of Religious opinions and the "impunity of Renegades. Inclosed herewith is an English "translation of it. Your Lordship will perceive, that the Porte "acknowledges and confirms its former declaration respecting "Renegades, and extends it expressly to all, including Mussal- "mans, though not mentioned by name. It is an official note, "signed by the Secretary of State, and given expressly with the "Sultan's sanction. Taken into consideration with the article "recommended by the three Representatives, adopted by the "Porte, and inserted in the Sultan's firmán invested with the

" Hatti-Sherif, it may be received, as covering the whole of " your Lordship's requisition. If this impression of mine should " not be confirmed by Her Majesty's Government, the door is " open for a return to the question; but, if no one is to be " molested on account of the Religion he professes, and no one " to be punished as a Renegade whatever form of faith he denies, " I do not see what room there can possibly be for any practical " persecutions in Future within the limits of the Sultan's Empire. " The Law of the Korán is not abolished, it is true, respecting " Renegades, and the Sultan's Ministers affirm, that such a " stretch of authority would exceed even His Majesty's legal " Power. But however that may be, the practical application " of it is renounced by means of a public document, and Her " Majesty's Government would at any time be justified in com- " plaining of a breach of engagement, if the Porte were to " authorize, or to permit, any exception to its own official " declaration."

This, as far as regards the Empire of Turkey, puts an end to any idea of a Mahometan convert being legally assailed: of course he is still in danger of popular indignation, and social disfavour.

The Empire of China at the extreme East of Asia has for many years been in the same position as the Empire of Turkey on the extreme West. China has also advanced on the course of Toleration, as evidenced by the following Proclamation, one of a series issued in the different Provinces:

Proclamation of Wei, Governor of Cheh-kiang.

" In the 3rd Moon of the present year (April, 1886), instruc- " tions to the following effect were received from the Tsung-li " Yamen:

" The protection of Christian Chinese being provided for in " the Treaties, and friendly relations having now been re- " established between China and France, it becomes our duty " to draw attention to the Imperial Decree issued in the 7th " Moon of the 10th year of Kuang Hsü (August, 1884), which " laid down that wherever there was a Chapel, proclamations " should be issued with a view to securing harmony between " the people and the converts.

" At the time of the receipt of this dispatch, I gave the " necessary directions; but, passing as they would through many " hands, there has of course been danger of delay or error in " their execution, and a possibility of the proclamation not " having been uniformly promulgated.

" In respectful furtherance, therefore, of the benevolent " intentions of the State, I feel it incumbent on me again to

" put the matter in plain terms. Know, therefore, all men of
" whatsoever sort or condition, that the sole object of establishing
" Chapels of the various Nationalities is to exhort men to virtue.
" *Those who embrace Christianity, are, as before, Chinese subjects,*
" and both converts and people should peacefully pursue their
" calling, and not let mutual jealousies be the cause of strife
" between them. If cases come before the Courts, the local
" Authority should investigate *them impartially*, having regard
" only to the merits of the case, and not as to whether the
" litigant is a convert or not, and should give his decision
" quickly. Thus neither party will inflict injury on the other,
" each will pursue in peace and quietude his calling, and the
" desire of the State to include in its kindly benevolence the
" men from afar [foreign Missionaries] equally with its own
" people, will not, I trust, be frustrated.

" From the date of this Proclamation, any lawless vagabonds,
" who make trouble, or stir up strife without a cause, shall be
" punished with the utmost rigour of the Law. No mercy will
" be shown. So beware!

" *12th Year of Kuang-Hsü, 9th Moon, 16th Day.*"
(*October 13th*, 1886.)

It is notorious that this Policy is not the result entirely of enlightenment, or conviction, but of a determination to free the Empire from the overbearing claim of France to be the Protector of all Roman Catholic Christians of whatever nationality. It was proposed at first to place their interests under the Protection of the Pope: the French Government resisted this. The Emperor of China, by *declaring Toleration of the Christian Religion, so long as the converts still remained his subjects with no change in their political status*, cut at the root of the difficulty entirely and for all times. So "per fas et nefas" we can record a distinct progress of Chinese Policy in the right direction.

In the comparatively small and unimportant Kingdom of Japan the same results have been arrived at, but in a more sound, legitimate, and commendable, way. The story of the progress of Religious liberty in Japan is one of the most interesting on record. There was no bloodshed, no dispatch of gunboats, no threats, or bullying. In 1860 the Missionaries were viewed by the Government with suspicion: the people, though not hostile, were timid. Christianity was dreaded as a pestilential Creed, the introduction of which would bring manifold evils on the country. Spies watched the Missionaries. In 1869 a conviction began to grow, that Protestantism was less harmful than either Roman Catholicism or the Russo-Greek Church, but the Law

against Christianity was enforced by the Authorities. When the new constitution of the Empire was formed, new enactments were posted upon the notice-boards in every town and village, to the effect, that the evil sect, called Christian, is strictly prohibited.

In 1873, all these notifications were withdrawn from the notice-boards; but the people were warned, that the Law was not changed. The Central Government had clearly adopted a liberal Policy, but the local Officials were slow to follow; but eventually all Official opposition ceased, and Toleration became virtually complete. Buildings for Christian Worship by Natives began to be erected: no obstacles were placed in the way of preaching: theatres and large buildings were made use of: Christian literature was handed about by Colporteurs.

In 1884, less than twelve years after the removal of the Edicts from the notice-boards, the final step was taken, and the top-stone of the edifice of Religious Toleration laid by the issue of notifications in regard to registration and burial. Public Cemeteries were open to all. In fact, Heathen Japan arrived at a level of Christian liberty, not yet fully attained in some portions of so-called Christian Europe, where the Priests in the name of their Religion still lacerate the feelings of the relatives of the deceased in the bitterest moment of their bereavement. Thus, in Japan, within thirty years of Commodore Perry's first Treaty, and twenty-five years of the opening of the Ports, the last obstacles of Christian liberty were removed, and perfect Religious equality was established, without any actual reference to Christianity by name; thus disarming all possible opposition. It must be recollected, that the Representatives of Christian States, and Christian Churches, have, throughout in Japan acted with caution and self-restraint; and thus in a perfectly legitimate manner, by the gradual change of public opinion, under the guidance of enlightened Rulers, by the overruling Grace of God, there has been secured for Japan perfect liberty of conscience in matters of Religion. Many different Missionary Societies are at work, but a gradual consolidation of Churches is in progress: the whole Bible has been translated, and perfect harmony is maintained.

It need scarcely be stated, that the whole of British India, both the dominions of Her Majesty, and the Protected Independent States, enjoy Toleration in the highest possible form. In the dispatch of the Secretary of State occurs the never-to-be forgotten passage, that "the Duty of doing unto others what we wish men to do unto us, underlies all true Religion." The words of the Victoria Proclamation of November 1, 1858, which I myself had a part in promulgating in Northern India, ran as follows: "Firmly relying on the Truth of Christianity, and

" acknowledging with gratitude the solace of Religion, We " disclaim alike the Right and Desire to impose Our convictions " on any of Our Subjects. We declare it to be Our Royal Will " and Pleasure, that none be in any wise favoured, none " molested, or disquieted, by reason of their Religious Faith, or " observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and " impartial Protection of the Law: and We do strictly charge " and enjoin all those, who may be in Authority under Us, that " they abstain from all interference with the Religious Belief, " or Worship, of any of Our Subjects on pain of Our highest " Displeasure.

"And it is Our further Will, that as far as may be, Our " Subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially " admitted to Offices in Our Service, the Duties of which they " may be qualified by their Education, ability, and integrity duly " to discharge."

How grand and knightly seems the image of Toleration thus raised before the eyes of a subject people by their conquerors in the hour of victory! How jealous we should be of any infringement of this Charter by evil men, by Missionary enthusiasts, or by despotic Governments! Toleration means Toleration of every form of Belief or Unbelief: it is impossible to draw any intermediate line, and to say, that such and such opinions shall be tolerated, and such and such persecuted, and that a negative system of persecution should be adopted of exclusion from office, or denial of privilege to take the place of the old and exploded forms of positive persecution. All are equally, hopelessly, radically, bad, and unworthy of a Christian man, for God is a Spirit to be worshipped in Spirit and Truth.

There are other countries, like Persia, where Toleration is doubtful: other forms of belief are tolerated, but conversion of a Mahometan would be followed by heavy penalties. In Barbarous countries Toleration is guaranteed by no Law, and is capricious: however, very often complete Toleration is experienced. As a rule the only thoroughgoing Religious Persecutors have been Mahometans or Christians.

The Missionaries who enjoy Toleration, should be tolerant to others. From want of reflection they often forget this rule. They are convinced of the Truth of their Holy Religion, and the falseness of any other view of the matter: but so is the Roman Catholic, the Mahometan, the Hindu, and even the poor Nature-worshipper. In every case the Missionary should reflect upon the principle of doing unto others what he would wish that men should do unto him, and mentally conjure up the vision of how he would like the measure, which he metes out to others, to be meted out to himself. I need scarcely add, that there is extreme political danger in a departure from the principles of Toleration,

but I would dwell not on the Danger, but on the Wrong. It is "Malum per se" in the stróngest sense. I give some instances, merely as illustrations.

In Banáras in Upper India is a Mission, and a learned young Brahmin had been, after a great struggle, converted and baptized: his wife's family refused to let her join him. A tumult about some matter happened to arise in that City, and I went down with troops to quell it: availing themselves of the confusion, some members of the Mission went to the house of the wife, and carried her off, with her consent, and fortunately without bloodshed. That same evening I met the Missionary's wife driving in a carriage with a young girl, and she told me who she was, how she had been captured, and that she had given her English food, and thus destroyed her caste. This seemed to me contrary to all laws, Human and Divine: had the parents complained, I must have passed a heavy sentence upon the Missionary party, who had invaded a Brahmin's house, kidnapped a woman, and wilfully destroyed her caste. What would they have thought, if a party of Mahometans had invaded the house of a Missionary, carried off his little boy, and circumcised him? The poor little girl died in childbed a few months afterwards, and the husband never married again.

How deeply the Christian Church still resents the appropriation of the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople to be a Mosque, the Church at Damascus to the same purpose, and the many instances of the desecration of Christian places of Worship to another Religion! And yet I read of this happening in the centre of China: "The whole body of Managers of the Temple, "together with the whole body of villagers, deliberating in a "public capacity, voluntarily agree to make over the Temple-"buildings to the Church of Christ, for the purpose of fitting "up a Meeting-house, in order to the public preaching of the "sacred doctrine, and for the purpose of establishing a public "School, that the youth of the village may become virtuous, a "benefit to future generations. The whole is to belong to the "Church, and subject to its control, *for a possession for ever*, and "the land belonging to the Temple is made over to the Chapel-"keeper, Chu Sien k'o, and his descendants, to be cultivated as "his own, and the Church is not at liberty to sell the same.

"The destruction of the Idols was to be begun to-day, and "after preaching at a neighbouring fair I went over there to "attend the funeral, for they had decided to bury them. The "Chinese have a saying that money can move the gods, but "here were about three-score gods moved most effectively "without the expenditure of any cash. For when I reached "there about noon, I found the work finished and both "Temples empty.

"A long cavity was found washed out by the water, into "which they were plunged headlong, and thus, dust as they "were, they returned to dust. The Idols often cost enormous "sums, because the clay is of a peculiar kind, the materials "expensive, such as oil, etc., especially the gilding. Moreover, "it is usual to subscribe a certain amount of silver, which is "incorporated in the body of the Image, and becomes, perhaps, "his heart. In demolishing the gods their hearts were not "found right, for in place of the lungs of silver was found "*pewter*. Thus the delusions of Idol-Worship were fitly typified "in the frauds of the Idol-makers. They that make them are "like unto them. It was suitable that such Divinities should "end their career by sepulture in a gutter!

"A large amount of lumber remains, which, once the plat- "forms for the Idols, will now become benches for our congre- "gation. There are drums, candlesticks, incense-holders, etc., "and several good bells, the largest of which is to be hung up."

In a conquered country like India this line of conduct would be dangerous: in China it seems to be madness: but was there no other land to be purchased? were there no other houses to be occupied? could no other material be used for the benches of the congregation? Surely a day of reprisals will arrive, and who can justify such conduct?

We all know in England of the sorrow caused in families, when a young boy or girl falls into the clutches of a designing Roman Catholic Priest, or of a Mormon, and in spite of the prayers of the Parents, is carried off to a Convent, or Home; and the conduct of the Priest is severely censured. Yet how often we read of a case equally cruel in British India! It is not that a man should not give up all for Christ's sake, but the way, in which it is done, the manner in which it is described by some Missionaries, that indicates the entire absence of Christian Toleration: the parents are spoken of unkindly as instruments of Satan; and it is forgotten, that the sacred ties of family should, under all circumstances, be respected. Christian men should do Christian things in a Christian manner. If the young convert has Faith, we know that, like the young Martyrs and Confessors in the early Centuries, he will be supported in his trial. The Church should now, as then, offer prayers in behalf of such sufferers for Christ's sake; the young convert should be allowed to return to his home. The Spirit of the Lord can watch over its own children. More zeal than Charity is often manifested, because the Missionary forgets, that the Heathen and Mahometan are men of like passions with ourselves, neither better nor worse, and that they love their offspring as much as we do. It is a terrible time for a Nation, when it is shaking off its old Creed, and adopting a new one; when its

Moral and Religious system is in the throes and agonies of a new birth. Terrible is the struggle, through which bold spirits, and tender hearts, have to pass. It seems so simple to be a Christian, when we are born so; but, when the leaven begins to work in a non-Christian Soul, and a wall of separation is built up between him and the Past, when the gods of his Parents, and his Friends, are no longer his gods, what domestic misery is caused! On the ruins of how many homes were the first altars of Christ raised? Wives left their husbands; old fathers cursed their sons, because they dared to be wiser than their Parents. Sons waited till the death of their Fathers before they dared to own Christ. Old associations, old friendships, old greetings on the steps of the Temple, old meetings at the Village-Saturnalia, sweet memories connected with the Past, the Dead, with Groves on Hill-tops, and happy days in the dawn of their career, all are swept away: the outer world loses all its poetic imagery: the very humblest trembles at the thought of being cut off from his kith and kin, at being received with a curse at doors where, since he was a child, he was greeted with blessings, to be pointed out in the streets as a renegade, to be nicknamed as a reprobate, to be severed from all he loves. These are the trials, of which the Missionary seems to make no account: the Heathen and Mahometan are described as children of Satan, and deserve no quarter, no pity, not even gentle words of consolation.

The tender-hearted Christian feels even for the bitterest enemy to the name of Christ: it is presumed, that Asiatics and Africans, because they are not Christians, have no Human feelings: let this Story of the Mother and Sisters of Bishop Samuel Crowther be read: "My mother, from whom I was "torn away about five-and-twenty years ago, came with my "brother in quest of me. When she saw me she trembled, "she could not believe her own eyes. We grasped one another, "looking at each other with silence and great astonishment; "big tears rolled down her emaciated cheeks. A great number "of people soon came together. She trembled as she held me "by the hand, and called me by the familiar names by which "I well remembered I used to be called by my grandmother, "who has since died in Slavery. We could not say much, but "sat still, and cast now and then an affectionate look at one "another, a look which violence and oppression had long "checked, an affection which had nearly been extinguished "by the long space of twenty-five years. My two sisters, who "were captured with us, are both with my mother, who takes "care of them and her grandchildren in a small town not far "from hence, called Abàkà. Thus unsought for, after all search "for me had failed, God has brought us together again, and "turned our sorrow into joy."

I have already alluded in full to the want of Toleration shown by the Missionary in matters of State-Education, how he would wish to have the Bible taught in Schools maintained by taxation of the Heathen, and Public Instruction made a means of conversion. There is no chance of such a Policy being carried out. A great improvement has taken place in their manner of addressing the Heathen. Insults are no longer heaped upon Heathen Divinities. Loving words, wise and gentle reasonings, friendly discussions, have taken the place of wholesale and foolish abuse. I myself heard in my youth a Missionary tell a crowd of Hindus, "that their gods were dung," and they laughed at him; but this was not the way to win their hearts.

An attempt was once made in Upper India to admit Missionaries into the Public Gaols to address the prisoners. I was strongly opposed to this, and it was forbidden. Clearly prisoners in Gaol are not free agents, and a Gaol is not the proper place for the preaching and teaching of the Gospel to the Heathen. What would be thought, if, in a Roman Catholic country, a Protestant prisoner had the horrors of confinement interrupted by having to listen to attempts to convert him from his Faith? All such devices are contrary to Toleration.

It is not quite easy to find the exact line to draw. A third of a century ago, when I held high offices in the Panjáb, I maintained my right to attend the Baptism of Native converts at the Mission Chapel at Amritsar, and the Viceroy, Lord Canning, who had called upon me to explain my conduct, admitted my right. My position was, that the Hindu and Mahometan Officials made no scruples in attending the ceremonial of their Religions, and I had the same right. I distinctly, however, admitted, that it would not be judicious in a high Official to attend the Baptism of a converted soldier of the Native Army, as entirely different considerations entered into such a case. While carefully observing my Duty, not to interfere by my Official acts in the Religious affairs of any Sect, I maintained my right to attend on the Religious ceremonies of my own Church, so long as the Public Service was in no way affected, or the principles of Toleration compromised. This is now an admitted precedent for this class of case.

Sir H. Maine states the principle clearly: "We will not force "any man to be a Christian; we will not tempt any man to be "a Christian: but if he choose to be a Christian, it would be "shameful, if we did not apply to him, and his, those principles "of equal dealing between man and man, of which we in India "are the sole depositories."

On the other hand, a Christian should firmly abstain from any personal concession to a false Religion. The well-known

Colonel Skinner, in the beginning of the century, built a Church, a Mosque, and a Hindu Temple, as, in fact, he had no Religion at all. In India I never knew of any Public Officer condescending to such a departure from respect to his own Religion, while at the same time, cold, but unsympathetic, respect is always exhibited to the Religion of the Natives. When the Viceroy, Lord Canning, visited Amritsar, I persuaded him not to place the usual bag of Rupees on the floor of the great Temple of the Sikhs, but the Priests went afterwards to the Foreign Office, and the money was given them.

As time goes on, all these Official compliments to non-Christian places of Worship will be discontinued, or perhaps have been so. They had no Religious, but only a Political, signification. It was certainly wrong, and contrary to a just view of Toleration, to require the Christian soldiers of the British Army to be drawn up, and salute the sacred carpet, on its road from Cairo to Mekka. This is just the one thing that ought to have been sternly resisted. In the French Colony of Algeria I remarked with regret, that at one place a Mosque had been utilized for the public Service, and at another the Government had erected a Mosque at the public expense. Here a double error was committed. I read in the letters of General Gordon at Khartúm, published by Dr. Birkbeck Hill, that he had a Mosque cleared, and repaired, and thought that it was a great coup, and he also paid the expenses of the circumcision of a boy; I trust that it was not a Christian boy. Still in both cases he committed a grave error, which would have cost him his appointment, had he been in India. In Egypt Englishmen seem to forget that they are Christians. In British India this is never forgotten.

It always pains me to see the Idols, and objects of Worship, of Heathen people, exhibited for purposes of derision before a Christian audience: the poor people, who made them, believed in the existence of a Supernatural Power, greater than themselves, and tried to conciliate it. They felt after God, if haply they could find Him. They had never the opportunity of knowing better. They were not advanced in Arts or Science, but they gave of their best to their gods, and generation after generation had prayed before those symbols of Divinity, returning thanks for abundant Harvests, or trying to appease anger in times of Famine and Pestilence. There is nothing to laugh at in these attempts of the Soul of Man, however imperfectly, to approach the great Controller of Human events. Some, perhaps, of those, who laugh at the poor savages' Superstition, have arrived at the more dangerous pinnacle of Human Wisdom, and doubt whether a God exists at all. Is it not better to say to the non-Christians the words, which Paul said to the Athenians: "Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you," and accept the

fact, that the non-Christian world worshipped the same great (to them) Unknown Power, but known to us through Christ? Paul quotes two Greek Poets, Aratus and Theognis:

"τοῦ γαρ γένος ἐσμεν."

"We are the offspring of the same Jehovah, Jove, or Lord."

I sum up the result of my experience. The Public Officer should assist at no Heathen Procession (unless he is on duty to keep the peace), he should make no offerings at Heathen Temples, allow no garlands, as in old times, to be placed round his neck at Heathen festivals: in no way, directly or indirectly, should he allow himself to be mixed up in the Worship of Idols: he should receive the Priests, if they visit him, as subjects of Her Majesty, and very jolly fellows some of them are. If he visits a Temple, or Mosque, on Duty or pleasure, if requested, he should take off his shoes out of respect to the conscience of the Worshippers, just as a non-Christian in Europe takes off his hat in a Church. If he lives in the midst of the people in daily contact, he will do well to abstain from beef, swine's flesh, and liquor, not for his own conscience, but for the conscience of those, over whom he wishes to exercise an influence for good. He should not be ashamed to be seen in prayer, but should not do so ostentatiously: he should religiously observe the Sabbath, and, setting a watch over his life and his conduct, walk before the Mahometan and the Heathen as a man, who fears and Loves the Lord, and Loves his neighbour also, and this includes the whole Duty of man. A good Hindu and good Mahometan are praised by their neighbours, and still more a good Christian.

The Missionary sometimes speaks depreciatingly of the Christian, Hindu, and Mahometan Official, because they will not listen to his short-sighted and one-sided requests. It would be a bad day, if a weak Magistrate were to listen to them. An experienced Missionary in the Panjáb of forty years' standing remarked, that he had never once asked anything of a Magistrate. The Mahometan Kádi would as a matter of course befriend his co-religionists in a suit before him, because in his intolerance he looks on the professor of any other Religion as dogs; but this is just what a British Official is charged not to do, but to maintain a sovereign disregard of the Religious tenets of the litigants. Any other policy engenders deep discontent, and produces among the converts a crop of rare hypocrites and dissemblers. The Duty of the Authorities is to give the Missionaries a fair field and free play, and to enforce equitable Laws, by which crime is defined, and rights are maintained of Freedom of Education, Freedom of Religion, personal liberty of choice, and of change, when a certain age has been obtained: till then the *patria*

potestas must be supported: and, when that change has been made, no loss of property, or deprivation of rights, follow. But the peace of families must not be wantonly disturbed by fanatics, or the sanctity of dwelling-houses invaded by intruders: no boycotting must be allowed, in the name of Religion and Morality, to interfere with the rights of the humblest before God and Man, whether the offender be Mahometan or Christian.

One other topic remains. When a Missionary is in danger from the tyranny of a Native Ruler, the cry is for the interference of the Arm of the Flesh. If there be one thing, which the Missionary puts forward more than another, it is that he has counted the cost, and carries his life in his hands. He asks no leave of Cæsar; he would resent any interference of Cæsar, if he attempted to arrest his progress: great dissatisfaction is always expressed against the Government of British India because it will not allow any Missionaries to cross the boundary into Afghanistan. Under what possible circumstances, then, can those, who thoroughly understand the theory, upon which Missions are based, talk about sending armies to rescue Missionaries.

The Political Relations with Afghanistan are undergoing a change, and it is within the bounds of possibility, that the work may advance among Mahometans, but the real object of the Missionary was to get at a barbarous Nature-worshipping Highland Tribe, called the Siah-Posh, or "black-clothed," who are credited with being descendants of a portion of the Army of Alexander the Great, and who never accepted Islam. The settlement of the British and Afghanistan boundary has placed this tribe under the Political Rule of the Amir, just as it has placed certain tracts, such as Chitral, under the Political Rule of British India. But here lies the difference: The British do not care what are the Religious views of their subjects, so long as they obey the Law. The Afghans have for generations called this unhappy tribe of Nature-worshippers Káfir, or unbeliever, and ostensibly they are determined to bring them into subjection, and this last word means obedience to the Law, and acceptance of Islam, and may eventuate in extermination, or forced migration of survivors into British Dominions.

The proper attitude of a Missionary is that of pitying Love to a dying world, of a medical man called in to a patient suffering under a desperate disease: there is no room for blame or abuse, or threats: it is not the fault of the Heathen, but his misfortune: it is of no use entering into discussions on abstract questions, or quoting European Authorities, or talking of the greatness of England: if the Gospel-Message were brought by the Maori of New Zealand, or the Hottentot of South Africa, it would be equally True. The converts should not form a new

class of citizens, but remain unchanged in dress, Language, Education, and lawful occupation. The Christian Religion exhibits a Code of the highest Morality. The Servant of God must not use unholy means to attain Holy ends: he must not steal into widows' homes, or, without the full knowledge of the Parents, set about the conversion of children in their tender years; it is better in most cases to wait, till the child is of full age, and give no occasion to the enemy for charges of fraud, or temptation, or pressure, or underhand methods. It must be thoroughly understood, that the sole object of the Mission-School is to effect conversions, and that the *raison d'être* of the Missionary is the same. Christ's net is spread over the world to catch Souls, but it is not the night-line of the Poacher, or the casting-net of armed intruders: it is spread in midday, under the light of the sun, without injury to the rights of others: "In Thy Name, Lord, we will cast our nets."

If I were to charge a Missionary with having a taste for intolerant persecution, he would resent it, but I quote the following passage written in 1859 in a Newspaper: "If they would speak "out, something of this sort is at the bottom of the minds of "not a few earnest and sincere Religious people among us. "India is given to us as a trust by God for one, and only one, "purpose: to further His glory and to spread His name. We "cannot and do not discharge our Commission, unless we "'compel them to come in.' If we are true believers, we must "not only boldly proclaim whose we are, but we must hold no "fellowship with worshippers of devils. Such was the burden "of the Fast-Day-Sermons, such is the staple of Missionary "Meetings. We reproduce it in no spirit of scoffing, but be-"cause it is really the transcript of some very natural and even "laudable sentiments of the Religious mind. Nor is it any in-"novation in Religious History. It is absurd to say, that at the "root of all the persecution and fanaticism, which have desolated "the earth in the name of the Gospel, there was not this *kernel "of earnest, hearty zeal*. The Spanish propagandism in South "America, the Crusades, the persecutions of the Jews, the raids "on the Covenanters, these cruel things were not done for "cruelty's sake. They began very often, perhaps generally, in "a deep sense of the blessedness of the Gospel, and in motives "as pure, and as alien from the feelings of a mere persecutor, "as those of the Church Missionary petitioners. It was simply, "because they had formed no definite plan, that Missions became "persecutions. It is by no means clear, that even Mahomet's "plan of preaching Islam by fire and sword was, in like manner, "not forced upon him by circumstances. And it is because we "are disgusted by the scanty ears of the Indian harvest, that "we are now calling for more active measures."

Anybody who reads carefully that valuable book, "Turning Points of General Church History," by Dr. Cutts, S.P.C.K., 1890, will find out, that Europe beyond the Alps was converted to Christianity by most intolerable cruelty, such as would be impossible now in British India. We need not be surprised at the cruelty of the Inquisition at the time of the Reformation, for the Policy adopted then was only on the usual precedent of previous centuries: "Every heretic must be killed."

The greatest enemy to Christian Missions is he, who attempts to use the Arm of the Flesh, directly, or indirectly, by foreign invasion, or by Treaty, or by Municipal Government, or Social disabilities, to advance the cause: the Mahometans tried it, and have failed; the Hindu and Buddhist never tried it, and, though politically weak, have the greatest number of Religious adherents. The Church of Rome tried it, and lost all the energetic, and wealthy, and really Religious races of Europe; the Greek Church never tried it. If the Truth, that is in Jesus, cannot find its way to the hearts of men by fair means, it will never do so by foul means. The strength of the Church of Christ is in its interior: it cannot be held up by carnal external buttresses. When the Missionary leans on the Arm of the Flesh, the Arm of the Lord is shortened: Not by Might, not by Human Wisdom, but by the Spirit of God!

July, 1888–1895.

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2. The Relation of Missionaries to great European or Asiatic Governments.

A period has arrived in the History of Missions to the non-Christian world, when it is as well to reflect calmly, whether it be wise or just, or consistent with the principles of the Religion which it is our object to extend, to do what may be generally called "lean on the Arm of the Flesh," and permit Missionaries and their converts to appeal to Treaties, and solicit the protection of the Powers that be. And it is more particularly necessary for British Missionaries to reflect upon this subject, as it is not the British Religion, which they are preaching, but the Christian, and one that is equally true whether the Message be delivered by a British Missionary, who has behind him the force of a giant, or by the Swedish, Danish, or Swiss Missionary, who have to depend only upon the goodness of their cause, and the protection of their Divine Master.

I purposely omit any allusion to any particular Societies, or particular instances of appeals to the British Government.

Missions to the Natives of Asia and Africa and Oceania are still, as it were, in their infancy, but may be expected to assume proportions in the next generation of a magnitude far beyond the wildest dreams, and it will be an unmixed blessing to them, both in their temporal and Spiritual matters, that God should have put in into the heart of Christian Nations to send out the very salt of their people to settle amidst the Heathen, not for any purpose of Commerce or conquest, but from motives of pure benevolence. Now Missions may be planted, and as a fact, have been planted, in countries, where Political circumstances represent two very distinct varieties:

(1) Where the Political Power is entirely in the hands of a Civilized European Government totally independent of foreign control.

(2) Where there is a Government established upon a basis of Asiatic Civilization, nominally independent, but circumscribed in its action by Treaties, and the powerful logic of Ships and Gunboats of foreign Nations.

It is no longer a matter of surprise to me, that Russia, Austria and France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, object to the appearance of a Missionary in their dominions or their Colonies. The Governments of these countries have only to mark the conduct of the Missionaries in British India, China, and Turkey. The most mistaken assertions are made in the most unscrupulous way. Every travelling grievance-monger quotes a Missionary as his authority. Holding as we do the Empire of British India with a very small European Army, which has to be renewed within a fearfully brief period, and the control of which is an anxious problem, it might have been imagined, that those, who live under the protection of that Army, would have been cautious in their mode of making statements. I can recollect the time when a portion of the British Army, the European soldiers, mutinied upon a purely regimental matter, and the Authorities were in a frightful dilemma: what would become of the Missionaries, their Schools, and their Chapels, and converts, if the British soldiers, in resentment for the hard things said by Missionaries about them, were to mutiny? There must indeed be a deep feeling of indignation throughout military circles, especially when an American citizen at a great Meeting in Exeter Hall is put forward to second a Resolution condemning the British Army as vicious and disreputable, and to state broadly, that the conduct of the Government of India was worse than the Bulgarian atrocities of the Turks, and that the British deserve to be turned out of India bag and baggage. A British

Missionary audience received these remarks with applause, and a paid servant of the British State, Sir Arthur Blackwood, put the Resolution thus supported to the Meeting and was not ashamed.

The Empire of British India presents a unique instance of the first variety. There is no country in the world, and never has been in the annals of History, where such entire liberty is given to the preacher of Spiritual Truths either by word of mouth or by printed matter. No permission is required or asked for. Protection of person and property, absolute and unrestricted, is conceded. Property in land may be purchased or leased; no law of mortmain, no legal incapacity of any kind exists; if the Mahometan, or Buddhist, or Brahmoist, were to set on foot Missions, the magistrate, Gallio-like, would care not for such things. On the other hand, Civil and Religious liberty is absolutely guaranteed to all classes: so long as the peace is preserved, and the rights of other subjects are respected, religionists of all kinds may erect places of worship, may ring bells, and fire guns, lead out long processions, and go upon distant pilgrimages, without let or hindrance. If, however, the preacher of one set of Spiritual doctrines should attempt to erect a place of Worship or assembly, in offensive proximity to that of another; if any act of illegal provocation or insult to the feelings of any portion of Her Majesty's subjects were to be committed under the guise of Religion, the Government would promptly interfere to anticipate the destruction of property or the shedding of blood. To the honour of Christian Missionaries in British India, be it said, no such act has ever been attempted by them; no improper applications to a Magistrate are made, or if made, would be attended to; in only one instance do I recollect a case of a Chapel being ordered to be removed by the Government, because it was erected on the edge of a sacred tank.

In such a Utopia of Missions are the Missionaries satisfied? Not in the least! *Quo plus habeant eo plus cupiunt.* Not even the Government of China or Turkey has been so unsparingly abused by the Missionary as the just and impartial Government of India, which is represented in its Governors, and Councils, and men in authority, by Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jew, Hindu, Mahometan, and Parsi members, not one of whom has ever been known to deviate from the line of strict impartiality in his Official position. The fact is, that the Protestant Missionary in his heart of hearts desires more than a free field to be conceded to him; he asks for a neutrality in Educational matters benevolent to his way of thinking, but which he would resent, if conceded to the way of thinking of others. If the Jesuits got round the Government, their influence would be denounced. The object of the Government of India is to retain

the country in the peaceful enjoyment of civil and Religious liberty; the Missionary in India should consider the circumstances of other Heathen countries, and so use his own Christian privilege, as not to interfere with the privilege of others: if we lost India, we should lose the greatest field for Missions that the world ever saw.

The liberties taken by some Missionaries are extraordinary. An Officer, high in employ, sent me a copy of a letter, which I have before me, actually written by a Missionary to the Prime Minister of the Sovereign-Prince, within whose territory he had with great difficulty obtained leave to open a Hospital, charging him with sending off boat-loads of people to be got rid of feloniously during the night: he admits in the letter, that he had no proof, but could not help thinking, that there was truth in the report. In a lofty style he writes, that he cannot pass over the matter in silence until full inquiry is made, and he (the Missionary) is satisfied that the rumour is false. The Sovereign-Prince ordered an inquiry to be made, and naturally asked for the names of the informants of the Missionary, which he declined to give, and the matter dropped. The question naturally suggests itself, who made the Missionary Ruler or Judge in such a matter? Can it be a matter of surprise, if a Native Sovereign in India does his best to keep a Missionary out of his territory?

A question of rent arose between the tenants and landowners in a Province of India. It would hardly be expected, that a Missionary would take a leading part in a kind of agrarian war. My own opinion was, that his view of the case was the right one, but it was not right for him to have any view at all: in fact, he was acting precisely as the Romish Priests are acting in Ireland now, siding with the tenants against the landowners. He became very popular with one party, but so unpopular with the other, that on a charge being brought he had a sentence of one month in gaol. Now all this must disturb the quite routine of Gospel-preaching, which is the only cause of the existence of the Missionary. So long as the British power is strong and unshaken, India has been open to all comers, and no passports or permissions to sojourn are required. But in time of peril like the Mutinies, passports are required from all foreigners. An amusing case occurred in 1857-8: the American Missionaries, as a matter of form, were called upon to take out passports, and one of them declined, thanking God that he was an Irishman! This might have surprised anyone not familiar with Missionary life. In a late visit to Damascus I find that the leading Missionary of the Irish Mission was an American, and in Egypt one of the leading Missionaries of the American Mission was a Scotchman.

Returning to the main subject, it cannot be too strongly impressed upon Missionaries, that any conduct on their part calculated to weaken, or oppose, or bring disrepute upon, the Government of India, is suicidal to their own prosperity. The old East India Company is blamed because it would not allow Missionaries in India in the beginning of this century. It is clear, that it would not have built up the Empire, had indiscreet Missionaries been at large before the Provinces were well in hand; and when the power of Great Britain in India becomes weakened, the greatest sufferers will be the Missionaries and the Christian congregations. The Roman Catholic Missionaries have given no trouble in India; they have been chiefly Italians or Portuguese. The Protestant Missionaries have been exclusively German, American, or British.

In South Africa a French Protestant Mission settled in Ba-Súto Land. I understood from the late Sir Bartle Frere, that much of the trouble in one of the wars in the Cape Colony arose from the conduct of the French Missionaries. At the Congress of Missionaries at Mildmay in 1878 (Report, p. 86), I read: "Hence, when you Englishmen in 1852 came to fight against the Ba-Súto, *we fought against you.*"

At the Congress of Missionaries in Exeter Hall in 1888, the Directors of this French Mission justified what they called "Missionary patriotism"; they took a pride in following a policy of direct *hostility to the British Government*, and it was difficult to see how this was consistent with the position of a foreign Missionary in British territory. The British and Foreign Bible Society in Christian Love supplied them with a translation of the whole Bible in the Language of the tribe: the President of the French Republic bestowed upon the Chief Director the Legion of Honour for "advancing French interests" (Heaven help the mark!) in British Colonies. The British take these matters coolly as cosmopolites, but the Germans very naturally rigidly exclude French Missionaries from their Colonies.

How do the French act in their own Colonies? The French Missionary, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, wherever he goes, puts his nationality offensively forward: the Governor of the French Colony makes the Colony too hot for Missionaries of another Nation. In Algeria and Tunisia the British Missionaries have a precarious existence: the Bible Society, however, is tolerated. In Senegambia there are none but French. From the Gabún Colony South of the Equator, the American Mission, which has done so much good, is being gradually pushed out. In Melanesia the British Missionaries are being expelled from the Loyalty islands, and are threatened in the New Hebrides: one of the chief objections to the French occupation is, that the

free action of the Missionaries will be jeopardized. In the Society's islands the French occupation has driven out, or is driving out, the British Mission, which has raised the inhabitants from the position of savages, in which Captain Cook found them.

Germany has only lately founded Colonies or subject States, and sets about Missions in a way peculiar to herself. One of the most experienced German writers on Missionary topics thus expresses himself: "The opinion of the German African Society "with regard to Missionary Societies, is that they are not un- "selfish attempts to spread the Gospel, but merely handmaids to "Colonial politics: a cow to give milk to the mother country."

The general conception seems to be as follows:

(1) Only German Missions in German Colonies.
(2) The Missionary is to be the Pastor of the German Colonist, as well as Evangelist of the Heathen.
(3) He is to work solely for German interests, and to make his converts good German subjects.
(4) He is to teach the Natives to work, by giving them an industrial education, as well as Spiritual: the motto is, "Work and pray, and pray and work"; but the prayers must be in German, and the work for Germans.
(5) No other Language to be taught but German. In the Kamerúns the English Language is to be trodden down, and German State-instructors are sent to teach German.

The first action of the Germans at Ebon in the Marshall islands in Mikronesia was to fine the Native Pastor of the American Mission 2,500 francs for wishing to protect the Natives against the deceit of foreign Missionaries. In the Kamerúns, where the British Baptists were got rid of, the German Government desired the Basle Missionary Society to accept the task, because it was composed of German elements, and consequently sympathetic to the interests, political and economical, of Germany. To this the Society bravely replied, that it always maintained a position above all political considerations, and would never depart from it, all that was asked being liberty of action.

At present in Eastern Equatorial Africa there are two Protestant British Missions within the sphere of German influence; but to mark the cynical view of the German Government towards all Missions, a German Roman Catholic Mission has been specially invited as a kind of equipoise to the existing French Roman Catholic Mission, and a German Protestant Mission as supplementary to the two British Missions.

It appears that the Government of the Netherlands, a Protestant country, to a certain extent connects the State with Missionary effort in her Asiatic colonies, and looks upon them as political engines. Spain has hitherto prevented any Protestant influence from penetrating into the Philippine islands, and caused some trouble to the American Missionaries in the Caroline islands in Mikronesia. It is recorded, that the American Board complained to their own Government of the deportation of their Missionary from the island; that the United States Government sent a man-of-War to the island; that it was considered a great point gained that "American Missionaries were cared for by their national Authorities"; and that the captain of the man-of-War, in a letter advised "all Americans, *whether Christians or not*, to get down on their knees and return thanks for having been born in free America." When it is recollected, that these Missionaries were in the ancient Colonies of Spain, that the right is admitted of every Sovereign-State to deport aliens at their will and pleasure, and that a man-of-War of an alien State was sent to encourage alien Missionaries apparently against the constituted Authority, it may be a source of wonder, how the Gospel of Peace can be preached under such circumstances, and no wonder will be felt, if the admission of alien Missionaries is for the future steadily opposed by second-rate powers like Spain and Portugal. In British India the American Missionary is welcomed according to the policy of the British Government, and in recognition of the personal qualities of the Missionary; yet, if the Missionary disobeyed the legal orders of the constituted Authorities, I doubt whether the appearance of the United States ship "Essex" on the Hooghly would have saved him from punishment. I deeply regret the interference of Ships of War, or gunboats, or the civil Power, in the affairs of Missions, and shall never cease denouncing it, whether those ships are British or American, or French, or German, or Spanish, or Portuguese.

I pass now to the second variety of circumstances, where there is a Government established upon a basis of Asiatic Civilization, nominally independent, but circumscribed in its action by Treaties, and the hard logic of Ships and Gunboats. China and Turkey supply conspicuous instances, and both countries are magnificent fields for Missions.

I have before me a little volume, published at Rome, called "Violation du Traité de Peking," which sets out the Roman Catholic grievances, of which France is the champion. Another small volume, "Aperçu historique sur la Chine," also published by the Propaganda, sets forth the long history of Missions to China, the martyrdoms by beheading and strangling, the imprisonments and the spoiling of goods, which have rendered

the Roman Catholic Mission-work of that land illustrious. Its staff a few years ago consisted of twenty-one Bishops, two hundred and seventy-eight European Missionaries, two hundred and thirty-three Native Priests, scattered in every part of the Chinese dominions, amidst half a million of converts. The Protestant Missionaries number six hundred, but do not form one compact body, and upon the subject now under discussion there exist two distinct parties.

The Roman Catholic Mission, with a strange inconsistency, is the loudest in its appeals to the eternal principle of Religious liberty guaranteed by Treaties and invoked by Consuls. Allusion is made with complacency on the one hand to a pagoda being converted into a Church, whilst no words are sufficient to denounce upon the other, the injustice of the secularization of a Church. Emperors are described as having been killed by lightning, and cities destroyed by earthquakes, to evince the anger of an outraged God. It seems strange, that Priests, with such a formidable arsenal in reserve, should regard as of such paramount importance the insignificant Treaty of Peking and the French Consulate.

The French Government has ever put itself forward as the protector of Religion in China, and the French have openly asserted in their own praise, that while other nations, especially the British, warred with China in the interests of Commerce, they warred in the interests of Religion. Lamentable indeed as have been the British Wars, still it would seem almost better to force Commerce into a country at the point of the bayonet than to force Missionaries into it after the same fashion. In the one case we have at least but a simple evil, in the other a compound one, and what might have been a blessing becomes a curse. We may rely upon it, under all circumstances, gunboat-Commerce is a less evil than gunboat-Christianity. It is well known, that it is only in the French copy of the Treaty that exists the well-known Religious clause, which could only be extended to British subjects by the application of the "most favoured nation" clause. Successive British Ministers have refused to adopt the French clause as the measure of our Treaty-Rights in the matter of Missionary-work. One of the chief occupations of the French Legation consists in pressing claims for redress, and in making reclamations on behalf of Missionaries. It is always in trouble, and with any but satisfactory results; and it is this constant source of trouble and anxiety, and the difficulty of giving effective protection in the interior, that have caused the indisposition of the British Government to press for similar rights.

It is notorious, that the Chinese Government, anxious to get rid of the semi-Religious, semi-Political claims of France, offered

to accept the Pope as the representative of all the Churches of the Roman Church, and the Pope was quite ready to accept the duty; but France would not agree to it, and, by threats of the repeal of the Concordat in France, compelled the Pope to withdraw from this arrangement: the Chinese Government in consequence issued a proclamation of Universal Toleration of the Christian Religion, thus reducing the possibility of French interference to a minimum.

The French Government urges the cases of the Roman Catholic Missions only. I have yet to learn whether Republican France would extend its protection to French Protestant Missions also. Under the ægis of Great Britain are many different Churches and Missions, and no one Missionary body has a right to go up to the Foreign Office, as a general representative of Protestant Missions in China. It is as well to hear the views of one Missionary Society on the question:

"*Relations to Governments.*

"Too great caution cannot be exercised by all Missionaries, "residing or journeying inland, to avoid difficulties and "complications with the people, and especially with the "Authorities. All the agents of the Mission must fully under- "stand, that they go out, depending for help and protection on "the LIVING GOD, and not relying on the Arm of the Flesh. "While availing themselves of any *privileges* offered by the "British or Chinese Governments, they must make no *claim* for "their help or protection. Appeals to Consuls to procure the "punishment of offenders, or to demand the vindication of real "or supposed rights, or indemnification for losses, are to be "avoided. Should trouble or persecution arise inland, *a* "*friendly representation* may be made to the local Chinese "Officials, failing redress from whom, those suffering must "be satisfied to leave their case in God's hands. *Under no* "*circumstances must any Missionary on his own responsibility make* "*any appeal to the British Authorities.* As a last resource the "injunction of the Master can be followed, 'If they persecute "you in this city, flee ye into another.'

"Those engaged in the Lord's work must be prepared to "'take joyfully the spoiling of their goods,' and to 'rejoice they "are counted worthy to suffer shame for His name.' Let them "be imbued with the same spirit as Ezra (Ez. viii, 21–3).

"In preaching and selling books, the collection of large "crowds in busy thoroughfares should as far as possible be "avoided; and, where it can be done, any difficulty should be "arranged without reference to the local Authorities. The "carrying about and display of unnecessary property is also to

" be deprecated ; it may lead to robbery and loss, in which case " no *demand* for restitution should be made. As little intercourse " with local Authorities as possible should be attempted, and, if " their help on any occasion become necessary, it should be " asked as a favour, and never demanded as a right. On no " account should threatening Language be used, or the threat " of appealing to the Consul be made. Great respect must be " shown towards all in authority, and must also be manifested " in speaking of them, as is required by the Word of God.

"Where prolonged stay in a city is likely to cause trouble, it " is better to journey onward ; and, where residence cannot be " peaceably and safely effected, to retire and give up, or defer " the attempt. God will open more doors than we can enter " and occupy. And in conclusion, the weapons of our warfare " must be *practically* recognized as Spiritual and not carnal."

How noble, how true to Bible-teaching, how expedient even from a worldly point of view, are such sentiments! Nor is it an empty boast. In 1879 Lord Shaftesbury quoted with satisfaction the statement, that no Missionary of this Society made any assumption of national superiority, or any undue insistence on Treaty-rights, and he remarked on the contrast, which this offered to the old scandal, that "*with the Missionary there was always the inevitable gunboat.*" A Missionary, who had traversed China on foot and unarmed, remarked, that all application to the British Foreign Office or pressure upon the British Consul, with a view of intimidating the Chinese Authorities, would be a mistake, would do no good, and probably do great harm. It may be accepted as a fact, that the Chinese Authorities are quite impervious to any argument unless they anticipate the will and the means of the Consul to enforce redress, and this means to move up gunboats. It is of no use for Missionaries to protest, that they do not wish to lean on the Arm of the Flesh or seek the aid of gunboats. They must understand that there is no medium. If they could persuade the Foreign Office to set the ball rolling, it must mean the application of threats and possibly bloodshed. Any amount of suffering or loss of property were preferable to this sad alternative.

The sentiments expressed by this Society are shared by other Missionary Societies in China. During the whole course of the history of some Missions, the Missionaries have never requested the aid of their Government; their only weapon has been kindness and a spirit of conciliation. And this line of conduct is more especially necessary in China, where other questions have been so inextricably mixed up with the policy of the British Government. The Missionary might suffer temporary injury and discouragement, but in the long run he would be the stronger by letting the people and Authorities feel that, as Missionaries,

they were not connected with the compulsory measures and the overbearing provisions of Treaties, whose stipulations rankle in the breast of every subject of that ancient Kingdom.

The subject is of such importance, and I am so desirous, that young Missionaries should understand the problem, that I quote extracts from the Secretaries of some of the leading Missionary Societies:

"I discourage our Missionaries from holding property in "China outside the Treaty-Ports, and then only the houses they "occupy. When Natives were willing to make over places, and "even family-Temples, to the Mission, I always urged them to "leave such properties in Native hands. In all our Missions "we try to avoid all reference to the British Authorities: they "hamper more than they aid.

"There are peculiar difficulties in one Province, owing to the "Policy and conduct of the Romanists: their constant reliance "on the Civil Power, and frequent unhappy use of it, have the "tendency to embitter the Heathen population, and also to "encourage injustice and a singular kind of arrogant *terrorism* "*among those who become Christians.*

"I am persuaded that official remonstrances do not help in the "long run. Patience is our strength, when we are in the right.

"During the whole course of the Mission's History, our "Agents have made their way, and found safety and acceptance "among savage tribes quite independently of any aid from "gunboats or otherwise from Government. The power, "which they exercise is that of kindness, and an evident "desire to deal justly, and to benefit them. Their response "has almost always been one of confidence and friendly "bearing, the healthful product of kindness and not of fear "of a gunboat in the background. Treaty-rights invoke "Treaty-wrongs, to the injury of the people, and the hindrance "in the most fatal manner of Missionary effort."

It is a common expression at Missionary meetings, that God's guidance is prayed for and sought for. God's mercies are recognized in success, and traces of His controlling Wisdom should be sought for in disappointment and failure. God speaks no longer in dreams and visions or by the voice of heavenly Messengers, but His guidance can be seen by those, who seek Him faithfully, in the persecution and the destruction of Churches, in imprisonment and martyrdom. By these is the sincerity of the converts tested. Both China and Madagascar have passed through this ordeal. If we use the Arm of the Flesh to combat these reverses, we may haply be found fighting against God. Strange to say, the same reports, which tell so sadly of the sufferings of the Missionaries, tell also of the steadfastness of the native Church and of additions to its

members. We are apt to set too great value on the bricks and mortar of our buildings. What matters it, whether they are consumed by a fire, as at Hakodáti, or by incendiaries as at Fu-chow? We must recognize the chastening hand of the Lord in both events, and be thankful.

In one district there had been persecution; several converts were beaten, and one or two killed, others imprisoned and tortured; these last were released at the earnest request of the Consul, who, however, had no lawful grounds of interference. These troubles may prove beneficial in keeping the Churches clear of insincere members, and by giving the converts clearly to see, that foreigners cannot protect them either from their own people or Officials, and may teach them to look more directly to God, and to trust in Him alone. It is profitable to read the accounts of the sufferings and the steadfastness of the early Christian martyrs in the first and second centuries, and during the persecutions of the Church of Rome in the fifteenth and sixteenth. The blood of the martyrs is still the seed of the Church. The British Missionary should read the stories of Columba of Iona, of Aidan of Lindisfarne, of Boniface of Exeter, and try to bear hardships like good soldiers and not to call for gunboats.

And when we plant the Church in China, we must seek to plant it as a Chinese Church, and not as a semi-Anglican one. Such a Native Church can only be solidly based on national self-respect, affected, it may be, by national weaknesses, and perhaps by national independent treatment of Christian Truths. It will then last long after the gunboats of Great Britain have fallen into decay, and her Commerce has shifted to younger Nations. The governing classes reflect the general feelings of the people: the literati and gentry, who are credited with all the opposition, are recruited from the ranks of the people, and fairly represent the Clergy and landowners in Great Britain, who are as a rule extremely conservative. The objection of the Chinese to Fung-chu is real and not fictitious, and as regards lands and houses these sentiments, however ridiculous they may seem, indicate the actual feelings of the people, and no doubt of the Native Christians also. Missionaries must deal gently with the prejudices which they encounter. To occupy a sacred site and build upon it a Missionary residence or School, under any view of the case, is an act of extreme indiscretion, to which no lapse of years can give a sanction. To convert a pagoda into a Christian place of Worship is one of those acts, which may be resented for centuries. We have instances of the evil consequences of such a policy written in blood in every country. If Mahometan or Brahmoist, or Buddhist, Missionaries were to appear in London, and erect a place of Worship under

the shadow of the Abbey, or appropriate a proprietary Chapel of any Denomination to their purposes, would a London mob tolerate it, however much Religious Tolerance be the Law of the land ?

The conclusion to be arrived at seems to me this: that a Missionary should try to win his way to the hearts of the people, and should under no circumstances invoke the Arm of the Flesh for the protection of property, or accept compensation for property lost. He will find it more profitable in the long run to exhibit the patience and charity and unselfishness, which will disarm his antagonists. If his life be endangered, he must save it by timely flight; if imprisoned, there can be no doubt, that collective intercession will be made for him in such a manner as to secure his liberation; if he fall, he falls a blessed martyr; he does no more than numerous examples have gloriously sanctioned, than the Gospel predicts, and than hundreds of his countrymen have been willing to do in every part of the world, even when the prize to be gained was but an earthly one. Persecutions were not unknown in the early days of Christianity, and yet it triumphed in the end. It is idle to expect the crown without the Cross. There are many sufferings still unsuffered, many Crosses not yet taken up, many crowns still to be won.

I have twice visited the Empire of Turkey with a view of contrasting their system of governing conquered Provinces with the British system in India. I was sitting in the diván with the Pasha of Damascus, when a European Consul was introduced, who hectored and bullied the Pasha while actually on the seat of judgment. I had myself governed large Asiatic districts, and recognized the salient features of the complaint as of not uncommon character. The Turk smoked and bore the abuse stolidly, at least to outer appearance. I felt for him, and felt also that, if any representative of any Power in the world had behaved in such a manner in my office, I should have had him turned out forthwith, and, if he repeated such conduct, should have fined him for contempt of Court, and looked to my own Government to support me. The British Magistrate and Consul know, that the best Missionaries give them the least trouble, if indeed they give any at all. The argument that the Consuls of other Nations have succeeded in compelling an unwilling Government to make concessions, is an unworthy one and not always true. In a discussion in a British committee-room about troubles in China, the Secretary to an American Board of Missions was asked, how it happened that their Missionaries were always backed by their Consul. The reply was an expression of surprise on the part of the American Secretary, and the dry remark that his Missionaries complained that the

British Missionaries were always backed by the British Consul, while the American Consul refused to interfere.

I have no love for the irrepressible Turk, and I have traversed great parts of Turkey and have studied its system, which is bad, thoroughly bad; yet I cannot excuse Missionaries of gross violation of the first principles of duty of an alien permitted to reside in a foreign country. Neither Russia, Austria, nor France would have tolerated such conduct for an instant. It is an understood principle of international Law, asserted and practised by every Continental Power, that they have a right to eject any foreigner from their country for reasons best known to themselves. Turkey has the same *de jure*, and some day will be irritated to the necessity of using it.

I visited a celebrated city in Turkey, and found that the medical Missionary was in great distress, because the Governor had stopped the erection of his new Hospital. I visited it: it was on a lofty hill commanding the town, and had the appearance and reality of a fort, with walls pierced for musketry and embrasures for guns. Any Hospital built on such a site and in such a style in British India, at Banáras or Amritsar, would have been dismantled at once. In the case of trouble it would have been at once occupied by rebels, and nothing but a siege would take it. And yet the Doctor abused the Turk!

Clearly a Sovereign State has the control of its own Educational Department. Austria, Russia, France, Germany, and Italy claim for the State the monopoly of Public Instruction. If Missionaries act with conciliation to the local Authorities, they can keep open their Schools, but it is of no use blustering, and claiming under a Treaty a right to open Schools avowedly to convert the Mahometans. I am not quite sure, that even in free England large Mahometan Schools would survive the popular indignation.

Then, again, as regards the criminal Law and the police, the Missionaries are not the judges, whether the local Governor is just or unjust, and it is a monstrous abuse of the hospitality of a friendly State for a resident alien to give shelter to a man, for whose arrest a warrant has been issued, to conceal him in the Mission-premises, and smuggle him out of the jurisdiction. Yet such a case is reported with complacency by a Missionary, who thinks that he has done a praiseworthy act. In British India, any Missionary who acted thus would have found himself next day in prison without benefit of clergy.

My opinion is, that the Missionary should mind his own business, and following the example of Paul keep on good terms with the Powers that rule, whether in India, China, Japan, or Turkey: he should abstain from writing complaints home, but get access to the local Authorities, and get them over to his

side by the pleasantness of his bearing and conversation. Missionaries very rarely quarrel with the Authorities in British India, as they are highly valued, and as a rule are reasonable men. The oldest Missionaries never think of complaining: they put up with little inconveniences, and get their way in the long run, when their wishes are reasonable. The difference is well known between the real Gospel-preacher, the simple-hearted Missionary, and the grievance-monger, the spy, who introduces himself into the military cantonments to watch the proceedings of the brave but thoughtless British soldier, the frothy declaimer against the liqour-shop, and the man who is always at war with the Education-Department. The former are loved, honoured, and always welcome.

My first idea of a Missionary was in 1844, when I met at Ludiána on the Satlaj good John Newton of the American Presbyterian Board. For twenty years I was as an Official in relation with him, and never heard a complaint from his lips; but I marked well his consistent Christian walk. There are others of his stamp, and I wish that all were like them; but a great deal depends upon the character of the Missionary, the local Authority, and the general population. There must be light and shade in the life of Missions as in the life of man; and a spirit of conciliation, a practical illustration of the principles that are preached, a determination not to depart from the law of Love and discipline of patience except under extreme necessity, will work its way at last. If it does not, let us remember, that in all cases it will be better to abandon the Mission at least for a time, rather than to alienate the hearts of the non-Christians, and make Christianity odious in their eyes.

1888–1895.

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3. The Relation of Missionaries to Barbarous Sovereigns, or Petty Chiefs in Asia, Africa, and Oceania.

I pass to the consideration of those non-Christian countries, which lie outside the limits of European Authority. The Missionary enters these with his life in his hand. He passes beyond all the immediate, indirect, protection of any European Government. If he fall by the hand of the bandit, or assassin, no demand for reparation can be made. If plundered of his property, he can hope for no redress. If imprisoned, he can only hope for liberty by means of friendly interference, or payment of ransom. Worldly men would look on in greater admiration and astonishment at such self-devotion, if it were

not patent to all observers, that the Traveller, the Man of Commerce, the Man of Science, the mere adventurer, the great hunter of wild beasts, had done the same in all climes, and at all periods of History. But the majority of these last are birds of passage, and pass on, leaving no trace behind them.

The Missionary, on the other hand, seeks to make the country his home, to occupy land, erect buildings, and found a new society among the indigenous population. Herein lies the great difference betwixt the Missionary and any other subjects of European Governments in non-Christian countries. The object of the Missionary is soon discovered to be, to a certain extent, subversive of existing Institutions; he is indeed founding a new polity, and propagating a new idea. He offends the ignorant lower classes by denying the sanctity of what they have hitherto deemed sacred. He alarms the ruling classes by his strange communist doctrine, that the lives and possessions of the meanest individual are entitled to protection. He alienates those, who were originally well disposed, by prematurely denouncing Polygamy, and domestic Slavery, ancient customs of the Oriental world, which should be allowed to die out. He does not advance into the country alone, for he is followed, or preceded, by the trader in firearms, and spirituous liquors. As soon as a Native Congregation is established, unless he maintains over his feelings a strong restraint, he forgets, that the Kingdom, which he has been preaching, is not of this world, and that his converts are still subjects of an independent Native State, and members of a Native community. He forgets, that the Native can no more alter the customs of his race, than he can change his skin, and that in his heart of hearts he can see no evil in Polygamy or Slavery. Complications, which already exist to some extent, will be further developed, if the Consular system be introduced, with this anomaly, that, if a British Missionary kill a Native, the Queen's warrant will issue against him; but if a Native kill a Missionary nothing can be done. We must face the difficulty. Either the territory, within which the Mission is located, is under some recognized Sovereign, or it is utterly outside any jurisdiction. Let me consider both contingencies.

Of the first case we have an instance in the Protestant Mission of one of our great Societies, and the Roman Catholic Mission of the French, located at Rubága, the capital of the King of U-Gánda, on the Victoria Nyanza. Unquestionably this Sovereign rules over a constituted State, with the will and power to enforce his orders. Both Missions have, apparently with a want of worldly Wisdom, placed themselves and their property, and their Missionary prospects, in the hands of this Potentate, who undoubtedly has a contempt for Human life, and is guided by no

Law beyond his own will. We have two sets of documents, which furnish unmistakable evidence of the unsatisfactory state of affairs, and of the utter absence of any fixed policy upon the part of the responsible heads of both Missions. *Les Missions Catholiques*, a weekly paper published at Lyons, and *The Record and Intelligencer* of the Church Missionary Society, abundantly enable us, in this matter, to form a judgment. The Roman Catholic Missionaries brought out most unsuitable presents to the King, viz, warlike weapons and trappings; the Protestant Missionaries allowed themselves at one time to be employed in repairing instruments of war. Both parties condescended, in the presence of non-Christians, to discuss the abstruse tenets of their respective systems, thus exposing Christianity upon its weakest flank.

It need cause no great surprise, if the Priests and conservative classes, of a country long left in Spiritual darkness, should be opposed to the introduction of light coming in an unexplained way from an unknown country, and delivered by untrained and unskilled Messengers, with an imperfect knowledge of the Language. What are we to think of Rifles, Revolvers, and one thousand rounds of Ball-cartridge being part of the outfit of a Christian Missionary to Africa in 1880? Will no experience make us wiser? Mr. McCarthy, of the Inland Mission, walked through China unarmed, and passed among its people uninjured and uninsulted. It need excite no astonishment, if the Arabs, or rather Arabic-speaking Mahometan Natives of Eastern Africa, resent the intrusion into their domains of Christians preaching against Slavery and Polygamy. The pages of Livingstone, Stanley, Cameron, and Schweinfurth, amply testify, that the Arabs have behaved, on the whole, remarkably well to the Christian Traveller and Missionary. But they would be more than mortals, if they submitted without a struggle to the avowed enemies of their Religion, Commerce, and domestic habits. The Mission to the Victoria Nyanza presents a problem of extreme difficulty, and imperatively demands in the Missionary Gifts of the highest order. More, perhaps, than anywhere else, are needed here, a spirit of entire self-Sacrifice, a fixed policy of doing, or abstaining from doing, a sublime patience, the Wisdom of the serpent joined to the harmlessness of the dove, and a complete control of both tongue and temper, and a single eye to the spread of the Gospel. Many of these Graces have been entirely wanting. Precious lives have been lost, some by the hand of the assassin, some by disease; the complications of the fate of Emin Pasha, the Expedition of Henry Stanley, the Exploration of Joseph Thomson, the colonial ambition of Germany, have all added to the difficulty of the problem, which has often been aggravated by the want of judgment of the

agents. Periods of great affliction and persecution, and spoiling of goods, have had to be passed through, and the labour of many years, and the enormous outlay, appear like handfuls of sand cast into the Equatorial Lake.

The King of U-Gánda is of Galla extraction, ruling over Bántu subjects. His Kingdom is just on the dividing-line of four distinct races, the Hamitic, Negro, Nuba, and Bántu. He had heard, no doubt, that the Christian King of Abyssinia had turned all the European Missionaries out of his country, that the Empire of the Turks, which once touched, and threatened to swallow up, his dominions, had in some way disappeared beyond his horizon; but rumours reached him from the North of the movements of Emin Pasha, and of one greater than him, the great "stone-crusher," Stanley, who years ago visited Rubága. From the South his Semite, or Semitized, Arab guests tell him of the occupation of the whole country South and East of the Lake by the Germans and British: he is aware that arms and Gunpowder are becoming very plentiful, and that European liquor is beginning to be not unknown. He connects these phenomena, and not illogically, with the Missionaries. He has already killed a Bishop, and he cannot understand, how such an act can be pardoned: he thinks rather that vengeance would have been taken, if vengeance had been possible. The murder of a white man is an evil in itself, because, if unnoticed, it encourages a repetition of the offence. The tiger has tasted blood.

Some sympathy with, and even pity for, an African Sovereign should be felt by those, who have had experience in rule. He feels, that he is being somehow eaten up; he has to deal with a danger, the extent of which he cannot understand. The farmer of North Africa cannot cope with the flights of locusts and crickets, which eat him up: the African Chief is in the same plight. He demands presents and services of various kinds, but he finds, to his astonishment, that his wives and his pages are taking up new Moral and Religious ideas, positively or negatively disobeying his wishes: his advisers give him insidious advice, while his habits of intemperance make him unfit for serious counsel. If he could only read the European Newspapers, he would find, that the Missionaries, his guests, describe him as a living monster, and say all manner of unkind things about his personal habits, his Morals, and public policy: possibly the Arabs at Zanzibár do send him some extracts of these reports, which in a garbled form are communicated to him, and madden him.

The Missionaries are of necessity extremely young men, and totally unversed in public affairs; nor are they men of learning, or power, or high Education: they are constantly changing, and

quarrelling with each other: of the two main divisions, the French are ready to say an evil word against the British, and the British warn the King against the French and their doctrines: this is another cause of wonder and confusion, and both parties speak of the policy of the third, the German, with condemnation. The demand for "Hongo" is a source of endless trouble. It is at once a transit-duty, and an Income-Tax, and, if a reasonable amount is properly levied, there can be no manner of complaint, for the transit duty is in return for the roads being kept open to Travellers, and the Income-Tax is the lawful return to the Supreme Power for Protection of Life and Property. In all Oriental countries, notably British India, exchange of presents, or payment of tolls, is part of the understood machinery of intercourse. But the difficulty arises, when the claim is unreasonable, excessive, and pressed in a hostile manner. The Missionary must submit to it: the only remedy is to take as little property with him as possible, and tempt the cupidity of the Native Chief as little as possible. It is a difficulty which must be faced, and which may perhaps compel the enterprize to be abandoned. Under no circumstances should arms, or ammunition, or liquors, form part of these presents: in fact, the Missionary should not have such things to offer.

In the *Illustrated Catholic Missions*, the organ of the Bishop of Salford, February, 1888, p. 153, appears an article headed "The Gospel and the Sword," which marks a new departure in Mission-work. It suggests, that the Missionary should arm his converts, so that they may be able to defend their rights against their Heathen Sovereign and fellow-countrymen. The writer quotes with approbation the policy of the Jesuits in Paraguay, who conducted military operations against the Portuguese. Thirty or forty Native Christians, trained and armed with repeating rifles, would be a force, which no Native Potentate or Slaver would dare to molest. In the May number, p. 6, it is admitted, that U-Gánda is the region, in which this new departure is proposed: a Member of the Church Militant, from Colorádo in America, offers to subscribe one hundred dollars, and is of opinion, that the great work of *converting* and *civilizing* the Heathen will not be accomplished until the suggestion of the "Gospel and the Sword" be carried out in a practical manner. At a meeting of the Manchester Geographical Society, in my address I called the particular attention of a Roman Catholic dignitary, who was present, to this really abominable proposal of Missionary-buccaneering, and entire departure from Gospel-precept: "they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." The policy would lead to the extermination of the few Christians, and the slaughter of the Missionary, his wife, children, and followers. It is quite possible, that the Missionaries of one Denomination

would attack the other, and the Jesuit Priest would shoot the Protestant Missionary. The ill-omened Mission in Paraguay has long since passed away. In the July number the Editor again returns to the subject, justifies it, but would not have the Christian Missionaries become Military Chiefs, and adds a condition, which at once places the suggestion outside of practical politics, that "the sanction of the respective Governments of the Missionaries be obtained." After the lesson taught to the British Nation by the fate of Gordon at Khartúm, it is not likely, that letters of marque will be issued to British Missionaries in Central Equatorial Africa. Unless the accounts of the fearful massacre of Native Christians in Tonquin by their enraged Sovereign is merely a device to collect subscriptions, the policy of the Roman Catholics in that country is a warning against the policy of the "Gospel and the Sword."

Wherever, therefore, there is a recognized Sovereign of a State, it is the duty of the Preacher of the Gospel, as of the Merchant and the Traveller, to submit to the laws of that State, or to leave it. Peter's utterances are very clear on this subject (I. ii. 13): "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King, or unto Governors." The Missionary forgets, that he is the intruder, and that, if his entry be opposed, or his remaining rendered impossible, it may be a leading of Providence, that he should retire. It is very objectionable, that he should be invested with any Secular power, such as that of Vice-Consul, or Magistrate, or Judge: he should appear solely as Christ's Ambassador, and put away the haughtiness of the Briton, and put on a little more of the meekness and humility of a Christian: it is to be feared, that Christian men do not always do Christian work in a Christian way. Patience and Humility are not ordinary Graces of the young Briton, ordained or secular.

On the South Coast of Victoria Nyanza, in the Region stretching Westward to Lake Tangányika, and Southward to the Zambési, there are no great Kings, but a great many Chiefs, some of whom are well known to readers of Missionary Periodicals. Hongo is of course the first difficulty; a regular supply of necessaries, the second; permission to teach, the third. In some portions of this vast Region two new elements of confusion arise: the invasion of professional plunderers of Zulu extraction, from beyond the Zambési, but known by many local names, a kind of Adullamites, whose numbers are recruited by the outlaws of each tribe; and secondly, the organized Caravans, or Settlements, of Arab Slave-dealers. In the midst of such a Region no less than five British Missions are working, as well as the Roman Catholics, and it is well to consider, without favour, or prejudice, and as fearlessly as impartially, the

tremendous difficulties of the positions occupied, and to notice with sincerity and faithfulness, the dangers, the errors, the temptations, of the environment.

The object of the promoters of these Missions is to locate a Christian Colony in the very heart of a Savage Heathendom, to gather round a small number of European Missionaries, both lay and ordained, a Christian family, which should develop into a Christian Village, and expand into a Christian Community, supporting itself by honest industry, living a Christian life, and destined to hand on the Lamp of Life, further and further over the Dark Continent. This was clearly a policy of aggression against Paganism, Islam, Slavery, and Polygamy; against violent crimes, abominable habits, and bloody customs; it was a struggle for dear life between the most exalted form of Christian culture and Savagery, between the Gospel on the one hand, and cruelty, Lawlessness, and Idolatry upon the other. The good men engaged in this contest, asked no leave of their own Sovereign, or of foreign Potentates; they appealed to no Treaty: if one of their number fell, they had to bury him, and lift up their eyes to the Lord, and go on, hoping that their cry might not be in vain for fresh recruits to fill the vacant places. But the difficulty of their position cannot be ignored. It was likely to increase as they grew more settled, and to become more urgent as their numbers multiplied. Rural wealth would accumulate, comforts of all kinds would multiply, and the plunderer would have to be kept at bay.

This implies *Defensive Warfare*. When men congregate together, the necessity of some kind of Police, and of some sort of Magisterial Power, to protect the weak from the strong, and the honest man from the thief, will be absolutely necessary. In the case of a new Colony of men of the same race, those public offices would be conferred by election. But where the community consists of an aggregate of runaway slaves, and converted Africans, in the lowest state of culture, it is simply indispensable that those, who brought them together, should assume controlling power. Such has ever been the origin of all Political Society. Missionary Bodies must boldly face the difficulty thus encountered, and treat their Settlements as the decks of a Ship in the open sea. They must authorize in these cases one of their Lay Agents to introduce a system of Police, and a scale of punishment, the chief of which last should be expulsion from the Community. Punishment by death should not even be allowed to be discussed, as inconsistent with the position of a Missionary; but slight fines, moderate chastisement of youthful male offenders with a rattan, brief imprisonment in the stocks in some open space, and expulsion, must be recognized as lawful under the circumstances. If any member of the

Community be guilty of a homicide, which in a Civilized country would amount to murder, such a person must be expelled from the Community, but nothing more. In the hard necessity of a Defensive War, to protect life and honour, life may be sacrificed; but it may safely be laid down, that without the warrant of his Sovereign, no Briton can under any other circumstance take away the life even of the blackest Criminal. Neither would it be expedient to invest the Head of such a Mission with Consular Powers. This would cut both ways. The Queen of Great Britain will not entrust such powers, except under certain conditions, and, as the death of a Consul is an international wrong, such conditions would no doubt hamper the freedom of the Mission, or might lead, for political reasons, to its entire withdrawal at a moment, when Missionary prospects were perhaps the brightest. The Missionaries would be impeded rather than assisted by such powers, for they come under the head of an appeal to the Arm of the Flesh. Any such appeal will involve a Mission in a sea of difficulties. Great judgment would have to be used in the exercise of the powers above described as lawful. Many an offender must be allowed to escape, as the least of two evils.

Those, who know the country, state that there is no "No man's land," and that a Chieftain is always forthcoming. He must be encouraged, supported, and advised to maintain his authority. But here other difficulties arise: their crimes are not our crimes, their view of right and wrong is not our view, their rules of evidence are not ours, their forms of punishment are not ours. A Native Rája in the Panjáb used to hamstring all thieves caught in the act of theft. In some countries adulterers are emasculated. In the narrative of an expedition up the Nile I read, that some British Travellers made over a thief to the local Pasha; but when they discovered what the punishment was to be, they all went with tears to recall their charge, and beg for the criminal's liberty. Thus it is seen, that there is great danger in making over a case to a Native Chief. Reckless of the life of the poor, they have no discrimination in trial or judgment.

But this presupposes an environment of peaceful savages, but the Slave-dealer, and the Zulu Robber, disturb that peace. The Missionary, if left alone, has the bitter task of seeing a friendly village laid waste, and its inhabitants killed, or carried off, and dares not, *and ought not to*, interfere. So long as no one attacks his ship, he has no warrant to attack another ship with a view of protecting a third. If he does, he runs the risk of being defeated, and sharing the ruin, or being a conqueror stained with blood, or encumbered with prisoners in fetters. How can Gospel-preaching be carried on under such conditions?

A further complication arises, when, independent of, yet in

strict alliance with, the Missionaries, good and honourable European traders are occupied in a legitimate Commerce, strictly excluding Arms, Ammunition, and Liquor, and become the objects of attack from the Slave-dealer, or the Brigand, who covet possession of his wares, and whose trade he interferes with. Can the Missionary look calmly on the murder and plunder of his secular friend? Can he, on the other hand, as a servant of Christ, take part in actual warfare?

The situation of affairs on the Lake Nyása is very complicated, and it is difficult to define what a Missionary should do, or should not. We may place the difficulty with the Portuguese on one side: there is no doubt, that the freedom of navigation of the River Zambési will be secured. The difficulty is as regards the Arabs, who are described as Slave-dealers, and are in fact quite as much aliens on the Shores of the Lake, as the British Missionaries. But the three Societies, whose interests are affected, do not state distinctly, what they desire, or do not realize what the gratification of those desires means. There are four objects placed before the public, only one of which, in my opinion, concerns them as Missionaries, the first.

(1) Evangelization of the Heathen.

The other three may, or may not, be desirable, but they have no necessary connection with Missionary operations.

(2) Abolition of the Slave-trade.
(3) Expansion of Lawful Commerce.
(4) Enlargement of the British Sphere of Influence, Protectorate, or Dominions.

Then there are several schemes suggested for the purpose of attaining these objects:

(1) The placing under the British Sphere of Influence or Protectorate the Basin of the Lake Nyása.
(2) The dispatch of an armed force of British Soldiers to conquer and occupy the Region, as in the analogous case of Barma in British India. This would make the whole of the British Empire, its Army, and resources, responsible for the success of the enterprize. Is it worth it? Is the game worth the candle?
(3) The enlisting of armed men by the Mercantile Company, who own the steamers: these would wage open war with the Arabs: they might, or might not, be victorious: in neither case would the British Empire be affected; but the Men of God would be sadly affected in the eyes of the Natives by their contact with the Men of the Sword.

Every one of these schemes belongs to the category of the Arm of the Flesh, and a Christian Missionary should keep clear of all. Success by such means would be more dangerous to their blessed work than defeat. I repeat what I said at the Conference at Manchester in their presence, that I would sooner see Livingstonia destroyed, and the Missionaries swept out of the Lake Region, than to have the Gospel preached with the aid and support of Rifles, and in a blood-stained Region. The Missionaries seem to take a low view of their high office, when they press upon the Government the fact, that they have sunk so many thousand pounds in the enterprize: this smacks more of Commerce than of Gospel-preaching. At how many thousand pounds can we value one saved Soul? Lord Salisbury cynically replied to the Deputation, that against the Arabs he could undertake to promise no help whatsoever, but that the Europeans on the Lake *might fight themselves, without risking the prestige of the British Empire*: this showed a very inadequate perception of the holy position and Duty of a Christian Missionary. There can be no manner of blessing on work conducted under such conditions, no chance of preaching and teaching among a willing population. The Swedes have had to leave Abyssinia: they had no Consuls or ships to bully the Negus with: the British Missionaries must, it needs be, leave the Nyása. The occupation of these African Lakes, so far in the Interior, was a gallant feat, but not a prudent enterprize. A sound Military or Commercial undertaking would have commenced with a basis on the Coast, and worked inwards with supporting stations.

Such phrases as the following do not read well in a Religious Periodical: "It would be utterly intolerable, that all our vast "outlay in men and money, in stations and steamers, in "Languages reduced, and a hundred and one kindred labours, "should be strangled body and soul, to suit the convenience of "Portugal." And this is written with regard to a Mission, whose magnificent work is nearly entirely within the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibár, and the German Emperor, with only one outlying Station, and one steamer at the most, and a few Agents on Lake Nyása.

I am afraid of not stating the case of the Missionaries with sufficient clearness, so I quote extracts from reports: "The "Church, with which he was connected, had a Mission in the "Nyása country. The experience of its Missionaries was the "same as that of other Europeans, viz., that the question was, "whether the Arab or the European was to rule in Central "Africa. Were the principles of Christianity or the principles "of Mahometanism, with its system of reckless waste of Human "life, and licensed robbery, to guide that unhappy country? He "thought all those acquainted with the state of affairs in East

" Central Africa would say, that all those who had the power, " and were exercising the power there, were the Arabs. Those, " who had got most benefit, if benefit it could be called, from " the discoveries of the European Travellers, were the Arabs " of Zanzibár, who had acted in a most atrocious way. The " British Government would do exactly what the public opinion " of this country led them to do, and the object of the present " Meeting was that of educating public opinion on the subject. " They did not want a British armed force in Nyása-Land, but " they wanted that the enemies of mankind, the Slave-raiders, " might be kept from molesting and killing the people, whom " the Missionaries went to bless.

" The real question at issue is, and we cannot set this up too " clearly before us, 'Is Arab and Mahometan influence, or is " English, and German, and Christian, influence, to prevail in " this country?' Are we to stand by and see Mahometanism " carried by fire and sword through Central Africa, and every " Christian Mission and Christian influence, established by " peaceful means and at immense cost of men and money, " isolated, paralyzed, and destroyed? It seems to some, that " England has been sufficiently humbled at Zanzibár. Surely " we are not going to offer the spectacle to Europe of Lake " Nyása, discovered by English enterprize, on which subjects " of Britain, alone of European Powers, have settled for pur- " poses of trade or the higher purposes of Religion, surely we " are not going to abandon Lake Nyása to the Arabs and the " desolations of the Slave-trade."

One very distinguished member of a governing body openly recommended British annexation; another headed a contribution to a leading paper, " How to Fight the Slave-Trade."

Every Missionary disclaimed any wish for the Arm of the Flesh, and yet I read the following lines, wondering what they mean: " There had been great troubles on the Lake recently. " The Arabs seemed to be getting tired of the restraint, which " the presence of white people placed upon them, and they had " made an attack on the station of the Lakes Company. He " trusted, that the powerful Government of England would not " so far forget its duty as to refuse to come to their aid. *He did* " *not want any force to be used on behalf of the Missionaries.* The " Missionaries knew the dangers of the life, which they had " chosen, they held their lives in their hands, and, if any of " them were killed, he should not wish for a moment that there " should be anything like revenge or force used. But at least " they might ask to be free from the *interference* of European " Powers like the Portuguese, and from the people, who came " from Zanzibár, and who could have pressure put upon them " through that Government.

"Had half the insult therein detailed been offered thirty "years ago to this Nation, or a tithe of the injury done to our "fellow-subjects, a British Fleet with an ultimatum would have "been in Lisbon Harbour in four days.

"It is settled beyond recalling, that whether it be at Lukóma, "Bondawé, or Blantyre, our Missionaries must not look for "'Protection' in the African acceptation of the word; nor "do we think, that there are many amongst them, who would "wish it otherwise. Such as they go thither to experience to "the full the wondrous Providence of day by day, and the clear "vision is not withheld from them. The *smoke of a gunboat* "under steam would leave a long trail across the landscape in "such scenes, hard to harmonize!"

The Secretary of the Scottish Geographical Society, from his point of view naturally thinks, that, if the Trading Company *and the Mission* are to flourish on the Lake, it is evident that some strong guarantee must be furnished to them of their independent position. I take the liberty of replying that, rising from a survey of the Missions of the world, I cannot find, that the blessed work of preaching the Gospel can be lumped together with bales of calico, and Manchester-goods, or brought home to the heart of the Heathen by Elephant-Rifles and armed Steamers.

How thankful we ought to be, that such men as Dr. Crosse, and Mr. Johnson, were the Missionaries on the spot on either side of the Lake, belonging to different denominations, but with the same appreciation of their Duties. Dr. Crosse writes: "I "am very much concerned at what action I should take in this "affair. Up till now I have been entirely free from fighting. "I am inclined to take this position, offering my services as "a Surgeon, but refusing to fight unless the Mission-Station "is attacked. I will take no action in offensive measures."

Mr. Johnson submitted patiently to personal indignities, and tells his tale in a Christian Spirit, worthy of all admiration. The example of the sufferings of his Lord and Master had not been lost on him. Both these excellent men showed true valour and sound judgment. The Natives hereafter will tell of their conduct with love and reverence. For His sake and the Gospel they retained their self-control under tremendous provocation.

It is all very well to say, that Livingstone's great object in occupying the Lake Nyása was to cut the Slave-Trade into two, and paralyze it: well and good, but the Preacher of the Gospel is not sent out to attack Slave-dealers by force of arms: his Duty is to trust in God and keep the Mission free from all non-Missionary entanglements, whether of Commerce, or War, or opposition to the Slave-Trade. Rebuffs, delays, disappointments, personal assault, loss of property, inconveniences, insults,

should be taken patiently for the Lord's sake, and are so taken in many countries by many holy men. If life, liberty, and female honour, are in jeopardy, recourse must be had to the Civil Power, or, failing that, to God's blessing and personal endeavours. It is all very well to talk of a Mission-village being the nucleus of a State: it is really only the leaven of a State founded for secular purposes, and the Missionary should never lose sight of the simple Evangelical character of his enterprize. The remarks of the Prime Minister, in June, 1888, must have dissipated the last idea of any interference of the State in the Lake-Regions, which are beyond the Sphere of British Influence:

"The only note in my noble friend's speech, that jarred on "my ear was, when he seemed to point to action, which means "military action, on the part of England to assure the possession "to these communities of Lake Nyása. Has he really formed "any idea of the task he is laying out for the Government of "this country? If he proposes to send an expedition, which "can subdue all this territory, according to our idea of how "expeditions should be organized and what they should cost, "I think he would find, that the expedition to Egypt of a few "years ago would melt into the faintest insignificance compared "with the task, to which he has invited this country. I will not "use any language to encourage the belief, that the Govern-"ment will make any attempt by military action *to support the* "*Commercial and Religious efforts of the Missionaries there. It is* "*not our Duty to do it.* We should be risking tremendous sacri-"fices for a very doubtful gain. It is one of those tasks, which "must be and will be carried through by the individual English-"men, who have undertaken it. All that the Government can do "on the sea-coast, all that we can do diplomatically within the "sphere of political efforts in this country, we will do. But we "are certain, that we should only injure instead of promoting "these great civilized and Missionary efforts, if we were to "convert them into a cause of War, of War the most exhausting, "the most terrible, the least remunerative in any sense; War "with the countless savages, who fill these Territories. Because "it is not a Civilized Power, with which we have to fight; it is "a collection of all the scum of Humanity, that is found over "that vast Territory, which is governed principally by Arabs of "the sort, with whom we have dealt in the Sudán, who combine "the grossest cruelty with a species of fanaticism. We must "leave the dispersal of this terrible army of wickedness to the "gradual advance of Civilization and Christianity, which in "these countries, though slow, seems now to be sure."

"Sphere of Influence" is a grand new word, coined in the last three years, something more hazy than a Protectorate, and a Protectorate does not create any responsibilities on the part

of the Protector. Let me follow out the subject. On Lake Tangányika there are, as on Victoria Nyanza, two Missions, a French, and a British. Already two Frenchmen have been killed by the tribes; the Mission is still at work. The British Mission has a Steamer on the Lake. Evil days may be at hand. Tipú Tib may find Stanley-Falls and Nyangwe too hot to hold him and fall back on Tangányika; and we may find the features described on the Nyása Lake repeated, and the British Missionary crying out for British protection, and the French Missionary for French protection. And when we penetrate further into the interior, we find a small party of gallant French Protestants holding their own among the Ba-Rotsi on the Upper Zambési, beyond all Human help, and yet not afraid. Beyond them is young Arnot, an Englishman, alone, among the Garaganja, a tribe dimly known from the reports of the traveller Cameron. If once the precedent is set of Missionary Societies, as in this case, pressing on European Governments to extend their sphere of influence for the sake of Missionaries, where will it end?

There is another danger. When a country is annexed, as Barma, the British Government introduces its system of management, and is responsible for the protection of aliens. In a Protectorate the responsibility is less, but the protected Chiefs are ordered to pay compensation. In a "Sphere of Influence" no responsibility is claimed, or admitted. It is merely a device of one great European Nation to keep other European Nations out. In the British Sphere of Influence on the Niger and in Yáribaland horrible crimes are committed, like Cannibalism and Human Sacrifices, Crimes against Human Nature. I have reported the cases, which came to my notice, to the Foreign Office: the reply always is, that it cannot be helped. In the Report of the German East African Missionary Society, I read how the Agents of the German Missionary Society at Neukirchen had settled at Ngao within the Sphere of British Influence, West of Mombása, to Evangelize the Wa-Pokómo. They were building their houses and forming a village, when the wild Somáli fell upon them. They had to fly for their lives to the Station of the British United Methodists, and everything, which they had, was robbed and burnt: they had lost everything, and were even in want of food. Have they any claim on the British Government? None: two years ago two Missionaries of the British United Methodists were killed North of Mombása, within the Sphere of British Influence, and they have no claim; and no meetings were assembled at Manchester, Glasgow, or London, and no agitation made to Government for revenge or protection. Two British Missions and one French Mission, are located within the Sphere of German Influence in East Africa. If any evil falls

upon them, the German Government will disclaim all responsibility. It is as well, that Missionary Societies should understand this.

It is thoroughly understood, that a British Missionary will not use physical force, except to defend life and female honour; but it is not quite so clearly understood by those, who have not studied the subject, that, if a particular policy is followed, the Missionary will find himself in a very difficult position: if he lives on intimate terms with traders, gets his supplies from them, associates with them, takes counsel with them, and *they fight*, the Natives will certainly not acquit them of complicity, and lookers-on in Great Britain, and France, and Germany, will scarcely do so either. Missions have often been given up temporarily or for ever, and it is no discredit. The British Missions at U-Gánda may be compelled to retire, after having been maintained more than ten years at a cost exceeding one hundred thousand pounds: if there be a lion in the path, what can the servant of the Lord do? If the door be shut, who can open it? Abyssinia is a standing example. I am on the Committee of the London Society to the Jews, and of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and am well acquainted with the circumstances of the Swedish Mission, and remember how Krapf and Gobat and Isenberg had to abandon the country, and seek other openings. Such may be the fate of the Nyása Missions: anything better than bloodshed. I think so strongly, as for fifteen years I lived in Northern India in the midst of Annexations, Protectorates, Rebellions, Mutinies, bloodshed on the field of battle, hanging on the gallows. These dreadful things were forced upon us by Political circumstances. God forbid, that a Missionary should be the cause, and that he should bring a sword instead of the Gospel!

My notebook supplies a sad account of the different policy adopted in Oceania. I quote it as a warning. In 1865 Sir W. Wiseman, Commodore, in the Ship "Curaçoa," cannonaded villages in the islands of the New Hebrides, because they had taken the liberty of ejecting one Missionary, and been rude to another. It is shocking to think, that on both occasions the Missionary was present on board, and begged the Commodore to spare his School-house. We do not read of anxiety expressed for the women and children. The matter was taken up by the Governing Board of the Mission, and a severe censure passed on the Missionary, who was himself killed on the island soon afterwards. In the narrative of the cruise of the "Curaçoa," published in 1875, the story is told by an eye-witness. The Mission ought to have been abandoned, rather than bring a Ship of War against the island.

It is of no use denying, that the arrogance, and self-assertion,

of the great Anglo-Saxon race on both sides of the Atlantic exhibit themselves as markedly, and as unamiably, in their Missionaries as in their Merchants, Soldiers, Travellers, and Officials. How would a Swedish, or Swiss, Mission have fared on Lake Nyása? And yet they are the ambassadors of Christ. We have only to try to imagine Paul in his trouble being protected by the United States man-of-war "Essex," or by Consul O'Neil in the "Hála." How different does his description of the labours of an Evangelist read from those of the modern Missionary, as reflected in the side-lights thrown upon it in the Debates of the British Parliament, or the Conferences of British Geographical Societies? What have "British Interests," as such, to do with Christ's Gospel, which existed long before, and which will outlive, the power and greatness of the Anglo Saxon? Such a policy as the one, which I have denounced, and which all good Missionaries denounce, must make Missionaries odious to the races, among whom they work: it has made the name of the French Missionary stink in every quarter of the world, to which French ships can get near. I appeal to all the Churches to resist the insidious evil: it destroys the character of the Missionary to hear him state, that his Society has invested so much capital in this Region, as if he had taken shares in a Joint-Stock Company, and could call upon his Government to get him compensation. I wonder how much capital during the last century the London Missionary Society invested in the Society islands and the Loyalty islands: to the eye of man it seems all lost by French occupation; yet it has been well spent, as the most profitable of all investments is the purchase of hundreds of redeemed souls. If the Government were weak, and the pressure of the Missionary Society were strong, the country might be goaded on into Protectorates, Annexations, or Military Expeditions, to end as miserably as that of Gordon at Khartúm. When the Government turns a cold shoulder on the Missionary, it is so much the better for his cause.

July, 1888.

Seven years have passed away, and a wonderful material advance has been made. The Gospel is now preached on Lake Victoria and Lake Nyása with the support of Maxim-guns, and Rifles. Up to this time Liquor has been kept out, but lethal weapons have been supplied in great quantities, and gunpowder. Slavery still exists, and the Slave-Trade is not yet put down. British, French, and German Missionaries, both Protestant and Romish, are on the spot: the end is not yet: how will matters stand in 1905?

1895.

F. Polygamy not possible to a Christian.

1. Paper circulated at Episcopal Conference in 1888.
2. Polygamy in the Christian Church.

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1. Paper circulated at Episcopal Conference in 1888.

A letter was read from the Bishop of Zululand in the Upper House of Convocation during the Summer of 1886, requesting guidance on the question of baptizing persons living in Polygamy. It was determined, that communications should be made to those Churches of the Anglican Communion, in which questions relating to Polygamy had been found of pressing importance, and that the ancient Ecclesiastical Law relating to the subject should be ascertained. At the annual meeting of the S.P.G., the Primate again alluded to the subject, and notified, that it would be discussed in the Pan-Anglican Synod, which would, D.V., meet in 1888 at Lambeth.

It may be deemed not inexpedient to recall what has been written on the subject, and to consider it as God-fearing men, and yet not afraid to look firmly in the face the facts recorded in past history, and the circumstances of the days in which we live. We should show, that we are neither slaves to precedents, nor desirous of needless change, nor contemptuous of Holy Writ, wisely and widely interpreted.

In the Table of Literature on the subject, ancient memories will be awakened, and the opinions of men now at rest will be cited. There is still room for discussion, when we find that a quarter of a century ago Archbishop Whately, Bishop Colenso, Bishop Cotton, Bishop Milman were on one side, and Bishop Cotterell, Bishop Daniel Wilson, and Mr. Henry Venn were on the other. Different Missionaries have acted, and made utterances, in different manners. Such of the laity, as have spoken, have as a rule, upheld the sanctity of contracts made *bonâ fide*, the contract of the union of the sexes, which is the most sacred, if not always the most holy, of contracts, and repudiated the idea of a Polygamist purchasing admission into the Church of Christ at the expense of the comfort, the rights, the respectability, and possibly the Morals, of his wives. We read in the "Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Panjáb Church Council" (p. 59), that both Bishops Milman and Robinson, of Calcutta, sanctioned the baptism of Polygamists: we may well hold our breath here: and we read how in South Africa Polygamists were allowed to select one wife and enter the Church, and that

the others were sometimes allowed to live not far from him, sometimes allowed to depart, sometimes married off to others: we may well feel a feeling of shame here, for these poor women had Souls to be saved also.

What is Polygamy? Its real meaning, is the status of a man, who has a plurality of wives, and of a woman, who has a plurality of husbands. The legal test of the word "husband" and "wife" is, that the civil Law recognizes the status, and the rights flowing therefrom, and that the children are legitimate. We have both Polygyny and Polyandry in India, thoroughly recognized in the courts of Law. Be it remembered, that we guaranteed to the people of India Toleration of their Religion, and their own Laws, as regards Marriage and inheritance, and no wise Ruler would venture to meddle with them. And here I at once lay down another principle: whatever theologians or short-sighted Missionaries may say, Polygamy is not a crime. The Rulers of India put down with a high hand atrocious crime. When we annexed the Panjáb in 1846, I was with Lord Lawrence, and we summoned the landowners, and told them, that they must not burn their widows, or kill their daughters, or bury alive their lepers. We knew very well, that the greater part were Idolaters, and all of them possible Polygynists, and some Polyandrists; but that was no affair of ours. Polygyny and Polyandry may be highly objectionable, but their position ranges with profligacy, intoxication, gambling, and other habits condemned by the Moralist, yet extensively practised in Christian countries.

According to Sir W. Hunter, Polyandry is found in the Himaláyan valleys and in Travancór, at each end of India; one woman has several husbands, generally brothers. In the great heroic poem, the "Mahabhárata," the heroine, Draúpadi, marries five brothers and lives happily. So entirely is Polyandry a feature of the customs of some tribes in Central India, that General Dalton mentions, that, at the request of a father, he directed search to be made for a runaway daughter, who was brought in by the police with her *two* lovers, with whom she had eloped. In the Panjáb, among the Ját families, too poor to bear the expense of the marriage of all the males, the wife of the eldest son has to accept his brothers as joint husbands. One tribe is mentioned by Mahometan writers in 1008 A.D. as practising Polyandry. In South India the custom has a different and more primitive development, for the sister's son always succeeds to a man's property; and according to Sir W. Hunter, the women of certain tribes live promiscuously without the form of Marriage. The successor to the Throne is restricted to the issue of a certain number of Princesses, who are kept like queen-bees.

Polygyny is lawful throughout India, both to Hindu and Mahometan, but the practice is quite the exception, as it is expensive. Moreover, India is a Realm of Law, and has been so for centuries. A Marriage is only lawful with certain persons, and must be ratified in a certain way and at a considerable expense. This causes a great restriction of the privilege, and, as a fact, none but the rich avail themselves of it. Very good feeling is often shown. A rich banker came to see me, and told me of his sorrow, that he had no son to perform the funeral-rites over him. I suggested to him a second wife, but he would not hear of anything, which would vex his wife. On one occasion I heard in my Office, that my head-man of business had had two babies born at the same time from different mothers; when alone, I asked him about it, as it appeared to me to be disreputable, and he said, that it was not his fault, that his parents had married him in childhood to his two wives; that they were both good women, and he had no power to cast either off. I remember a young Rajpút noble marrying the two daughters of a Rajpút neighbour, who added a niece as well to the bargain. The Mahárája Dulíp Singh, so well known in England, is the issue of a Polygamist father, who left a great many widows. Shír Ali, the unfortunate Ruler of Afghanistan in the last War, was the issue of a Polygamous connection. I remember the Mahárája of Pateála, a Polygamist, in his desire to have a son, ordering a wife to be looked for of his own Caste, who belonged to a family, where the women always had large families, and his plan succeeded. Nothing is more mistaken than to suppose that sensuality, in India at least, has anything to do with the matter. We read how the high-priest Jehoiada gave King Joash two wives, when he was quite a child. As a rule, the bridegroom has never seen the bride before the marriage. The Marriage-vow is preserved faithfully by the woman at least, and by a very great majority of the men. We quite know, that Monogamy does not put a stop to gross sensuality. My object is to show, that it is raising a false issue to exaggerate the foulness of Polygyny. It exists, respected by the Law; but, if left alone, will gradually die out under the influence of enlightenment, Education, and general softening of manners.

Leaving India, let us consider Polygamy in South Africa. Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Hon. Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, on March 26, 1861, expressed the following opinions at Pietermaritzburg:

(1) Native Law recognizes every Woman as a wife, whose position as such has been consented to by the two families concerned, and when such consent has been ratified or carried out by a formal Marriage-ceremony.

(2) For a Marriage to be valid, there must be a consideration on both sides, the two families being the contracting parties, and this must be measured by the rank and condition of these families.

(3) The suitor must make over cattle to the amount settled, and the girl on her Marriage must be accompanied by cattle and ornaments, as may be due to her rank. In some cases she brings nearly as much as her husband has paid.

(4) The Marriage-ceremonies differ with different tribes: but the essence of it is friendship betwixt the families; promise to protect and cherish wife, on part of husband; promise of obedience and good behaviour, on part of wife; and a further recognition of the new relations with each other, which can always be pleaded in any subsequent dispute.

(5) The cattle are taken beforehand to the girl's family, but the girl can refuse them, and does often refuse them, and send them back; and the meaning of this is known.

(6) Her friends may press and threaten her; but a girl, if determined, is sure of victory. In case of personal violence the British Magistrate would interfere and protect her, and maintain her right of free choice, and punish violence.

(7) In every stage of the proceedings before and after Marriage will be found the exact counterparts and analogies of the higher form of Marriage elsewhere, but in their Native form peculiar to the state of culture.

(8) The wife is not a Slave, or sold as such. The parent of the girl never loses his right to protect his child. The cattle given at the Marriage is a guarantee for her good treatment.

(9) She has, of course, to work, and help to maintain her family. If idle she is punished. But public opinion has the same effect among women here as elsewhere.

(10) A widow may continue with her children, or leave them and marry again. The husband's heirs may claim something, but they cannot control her free action.

(11) If she runs away from her husband, and her friends refuse to give her up, the matter comes before the Magistrate, who settles it as best he can.

(12) When separation takes place before children are born, it often happens, that all property is mutually restored. Such cases often come before the Magistrate, who, if cruelty and oppression of the Woman be proved, would not order the cattle to be given back to the husband.

Sir Theophilus admits the evil of Polygamy, but gross exaggeration of that evil will not help the matter. There are many evils also in monogamic Marriages. He states distinctly, that in any case of oppression by father of his daughter, or husband of wife, the Magistrate will interfere.

He considers that it is wrong to teach a Heathen, as a duty enjoined by Christ's Religion, that *he must injure others to benefit himself*, that he must commit an unlawful act, involving oppression and injustice, and a reckless sacrifice of the interests of others, to further his own. These women are wives according to their Law, or custom having force of Law; and their *consciences*, and their self-respect, should not be destroyed by inducing them to believe, that they are something less, in fact, dishonoured prostitutes; their children should not be bastardized, who by the Law are legitimate, and have rights as such. These women are admitted to be *faithful* wives, because they consider themselves wives. Why subvert this notion and, in fact, encourage licentiousness? A wife at present has within her reach full means of protection, because she has the legal rights of a wife to plead. If deprived of these, her moral sense and her legal rights disappear. It may be expedient to legislate so as to discourage and extinguish Polygamy eventually, but any other course is neither politic nor just.

In India the wives are all equal; but we gather from Sir T. Shepstone, that one Zulu wife ranks above another. But it rarely happens, that the first wife, according to date, enjoys the highest rank; nor does the issue of the first wife succeed as of right to a chieftainship; this point is of importance, as will appear below. In South Africa no system of concubinage is recognized, nor in India: this fact must also be borne in mind. In South Africa, as in India among the Hindu, a man cannot marry any female, with whom he is in the remotest degree connected in blood. In South Africa the suitor has seen the girl, who is apparently an adult, and has a veto on the arrangement; in India the bride is generally a child, and has no voice in the matter. In India, with the Hindu female, divorce or re-marriage as a widow is impossible. With the Mahometan there is no difficulty, as the woman can even divorce her husband, and can, as a widow, re-marry. Change of Religion from the Hindu and Mahometan point of view dissolves the contract of Marriage; but a Christian does not obtain his liberty to re-marry in that way.

But there is a third class of circumstances, which presents itself. In British India the "Law of the person" is enforced by British Courts. In the colonies of Natal and the Cape, Law, to a certain extent, prevails, but of a rougher character; but on

the West Coast of Africa there exists no Law, or custom having the force of Law, and there is no Executive to enforce it, if it did exist. Polygamy is made more odious by the existence of Slavery and the Slave-Trade; and it is obvious, that sensuality is the motive here, and that in fact Marriage scarcely exists. The connection of the Arab, and the Negro chief, with the women of his harem is simply that of wholesale concubinage. If the phenomena presented are more distressing, they are simpler. The male convert in such cases can be dealt with very summarily, as a reformed profligate; the poor women have no conjugal duties to render, but have to be rescued, as best may be, from a life of infamy.

Beyond India and Africa there are other regions, where Polygamy prevails, but it is in these two countries, that the opposing forces of Polygamy and Christianity come into collision.

The environment of the chosen people at Hebron and Shechem, in Egypt, and in Canaan, was so totally different, that it is difficult to imagine anything more unreasonable than to seek for analogies there, wherewith to solve this problem of the nineteenth century in India and Africa. If Polygamy prevailed in the Old Testament times, it was obviously of a totally different character from the secluded Indian zanána, the Zulu kraal, and the Yáriba harem. In the first case the woman does nothing, absolutely nothing; in the last two she works like a day-labourer, and helps to support herself, her children, and her husband, or master, by daily toil. The wives of the Hebrew Polygamist appeared in public, were admitted to the place of Worship, were treated with honour and deference, and in the case of Hannah, a second, and Bathshebá, an eighth wife, their issue was the recipient of the highest honour from the Almighty. There were harlots in those days, and there were concubines; but these were *wives*, and the Priests did not think them unworthy of their notice. They had even a higher status than is conceded by Law to the wives of the Indian and African Polygamist; and in some cases, though not all, in the case of the mother of Solomon certainly, Polygamy was the result of sensuality, and yet went unpunished under a system of government controlled by a powerful Priesthood, and stimulated and awed by inspired Prophets, who were never wearied in describing the sins and backslidings of the Nation (Ezekiel, iii, 18), but never spake one word against this great domestic weakness. I mention these facts to justify the British Government of India and South Africa in the policy of forbearance, which they have adopted towards Polygamy, as in past years they did to Slavery, until in India the latter died out of itself, and this will be the fate of Polygamy also.

Great stress should be laid upon a consideration of the state of the world, as described by Classic Authors, at the time of the appearance of our Lord. The Greek culture had dominated Western Asia and North Africa, and was perpetuated by their successors, the Romans. Can we doubt that the Heroes of the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," Priam, Hector, Menelaus, Ulysses, Agamemnon, were Monogamists, not always faithful husbands, but never with two wives lawfully married at the same time? The Gods, and Goddesses, the creatures of the Greek conception, were Monogamists. There is nothing in the "Iliad" or "Odyssey" to suggest Polygamy: to the reader of the great Hindu Epics, the "Rámáyana" and "Mahabhárata," Polygamy is the one feature, which cannot be overlooked. Palestine, Syria, and Egypt had been thoroughly Hellenized before the advent of our Lord (see Maccabees, II, iv, 10), and the four bad customs, which had prevailed in the elder world, and which are still found to prevail in Heathen countries in a low culture, had disappeared. How could Paul have written verse 31 of the fifth chapter of the Ephesians, if the having a plurality of lawful consorts had been a possible conception for the Apostle's mind? He knew very clearly what a harlot was, but an alternative wife did not suggest itself. The same conviction arises from a perusal of Corinthians, I, vii, 2, that Paul, a Greek scholar, a Roman citizen, and a Hebrew Pharisee, knew nothing about Polygamy any more than of Anthropophagy, and Human Sacrifices.

My own view is that of Michaelis ("Law of Moses," iii, 5), that subsequent to the return from the Babylonish Captivity, Polygamy did not exist. I challenge anyone to produce an instance of the practice, or a passage inferring the practice, in the Apocrypha or any Greek or Roman Author; the only instance on record is that of Herod the Great, mentioned by Josephus. An unlimited power of divorce, and no doubt profligacy, had taken its place. The world had advanced. *Successive* Polygamy had taken the place of *concurrent* Polygamy in the Western world. In Greece and Rome Polygamy was unknown. We only read of one wife of Pilate. Esther is the last Hebrew maiden on record, who fell so low as to be one of the many concubines of a sensual tyrant, a Heathen, to whom her Law forbade her to be married. Her contemporary, the Roman Virginia, preferred death to shame. If it be conceded, that Polygamy had ceased to exist many centuries before the time of our Lord and His Apostles, we are spared much useless discussion about inapplicable texts, which could not be meant to cover circumstances, which never existed. In the elder world Cannibalism, Human sacrifices, Witchcraft, and Polygamy had existed, but as far as regards the Nations dwelling within the area of the Roman Empire, they had died out. There is an abundance of abominable crime alluded to by

Paul, but it was beyond his experience and imagination, that a man should err in these particulars. It seems impossible, that he should have overlooked them in the first Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, had they existed.

I have perused a bundle of letters from Bishops and Missionaries in India, which have arrived at the Church Missionary Society this year in answer to the query: they represent the outcome of solitary minds, which had never discussed the subject in any Indian Conference, and were void of all African and Oceanic experiences: some would baptize a Polygamist offhand; some would make him put away his extra wives (though a wife in India is a reality, not a mere concubine); some would exclude him from the Lord's Supper, and others from Church-Office. The well-known verses of Timothy, I, iii, 2, 12, are freely quoted, but Timothy, I, v, 9, is never quoted; and yet, if it be a just inference from the first passages, that a Bishop and a Deacon must be restricted to Monogamy, while their flock might be Polygamists, it follows that it may with equal force be inferred that, if widows admitted into the number were to be wives of one husband, the rest of the sex might at discretion be Polyandrous. We may just as well argue, that Polyandry existed among the Samaritans at the time of our Lord. Clearly the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well had five husbands, and, as Dean Alford remarks, they were certainly lawful husbands: we are not told whether they were contemporary husbands, or successive under the operation of Death or of Divorce; but our Lord adds: "he whom thou now hast is not thy husband," showing that the wretched woman had fallen from so-called legal unchastity to something worse, the position of a harlot, and she admits the fact: "He told me all things that ever I did." Of neither custom is there a scintilla of evidence. There are three other alternative explanations: (1) the Bishop, Deacon, and widow, must not have suffered bereavement and had two partners in succession in lawful Matrimony; (2) they must not have availed themselves of the lax rules of divorce, and made new alliances, while their former partner was living; (3) they must not be, like Roman Priests, celibates. The Morals of the Corinthian Church were evidently very low, and Paul speaks out his mind on the duties of the married state very explicitly: he could not have passed over Polygamy without notice, if it had existed.

Since these days the uttermost ends of the world have been reached, and we find traces of these four giants in America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania. We find nearly all the crimes described by the Apostle, and these in addition. Civilization may have trodden down the three former in China, Japan, and India, but the fourth remains. Elsewhere all are rampant. This leads to another reflection. We cannot conceal from ourselves, that

all mankind is not on the same level of culture, and privileges, and responsibilities. Europe and European Colonies are far ahead of Asia, Asia is ahead of Africa, and Africa of America, and Oceania. It is idle to apply the same methods of government, to require the same standard of Morals, to enforce the same discipline, upon tribes just emerging from savagery, in the lowest rounds of culture, left out in the cold for long centuries, never visited by Prophet or Evangelist, never elevated by certain hopes of a Future Heaven, never awed by certain prospects of everlasting damnation. And yet some Missionaries would try to induce *per saltum* ordinances and standards, which they could scarcely be able to enforce in the British islands, into the African kraal, or the Indian village. Let them set before their flock the highest, the very highest, standard, but be merciful in the application of it for the first or second generations.

All other sins and offences against the Law of God and Human Nature seem to come to an end with the committal and the punishment, the repentance and the pardon. In Oceania we have excellent Christians, who once were Cannibals. The sorcerer-priest, the official murderer of the Human Sacrifice, has been admitted as a communicant; the profligate, the drunkard, the adulterer, the Atheist, the blasphemer, the persecutor of martyred Christians, all find, that there is pardon: but the curse of the unhappy Polygamist is, by the nature of the case, a continuing one; he cannot get rid of it until his own death, or that of all but one of his unhappy wives. And yet Polygamy, though it clearly existed, is not condemned in the Decalogue. The few words, "Thou shalt have but one wife," would have settled the matter absolutely and for ever. To our Nineteenth-century ideas the sin of theft, which is condemned in the Decalogue, is as nothing compared to that of Polygamy. As time went on, and the thoughts of men widened with the progress of the suns, no Prophet denounced this canker-worm of domestic purity, causing rivalry among women occupying the same house, hatred among the children of the same father. The misfortunes of the lives of David and Solomon could be so clearly traced to Polygamy, that the conscience of the Nation would have accepted the prohibition, as indeed it did after the Captivity. It cannot be said, as regards Israel, as it can truly be said with regard to the people of India, that the position of the ruling Power was so delicate and precarious, that it dared not run the risk of intruding into family-customs, for Ezra and Nehemiah plainly compelled the people to put away their alien wives. A word from Moses and Joshua would have nipped Polygamy in the bud; and David's conduct would have been as unjustifiable in taking eight wives one thousand years before the Christian era,

as Herod's was in taking nine wives at the time of the birth of our Lord. On the contrary, special favour attaches itself to Rachel, Hannah, and Bathshebá, and their issue, Joseph, Samuel, and Solomon, all begotten by polygamist fathers. The Missionary must, therefore, maintain some restraint upon himself in his wholesale abuse of Polygamy, or cease to read the Old Testament to his congregation. I have it on the authority of one distinguished Traveller, that a Woman in West Africa would disdain to marry a man, who had only one wife. I have it on the authority of a Missionary, that after becoming pregnant the wife withdraws herself absolutely from the society of her husband for three years, that she may suckle her offspring. Everything assumes a weird and awful form in Africa. A well-known Traveller a few years ago tells us of a Chief, who, in addition to his well-stocked harem, claimed a right to every woman in his Kingdom, on whom his fancy fell; and among the numbers of his harem were his sisters, his stepmothers, his cousins, his aunts, and his own children. The Polygamy of India, which excludes everyone within the limits of consanguinity and affinity, and limits the number to four at the same time, all of the same Caste as the husband, seems quite a decent and orderly custom, compared to the frightful excesses of the Africans in Regions, which have not yet come under European Law.

I have no wish to fortify myself by the opinions of others. As stated above, I regard all the cases quoted in the Old Testament as inapplicable to Christianity in the Nineteenth century, and the pages of the New Testament are silent; but the words, "Male and female created He them," "In the beginning it was not so," seem to govern the whole matter, and to forbid imperatively the admission of Polygamy in any form into the Christian Church. To this may be added the words from our Lord's lips in the inspired Greek version, "They *twain* shall be one flesh," and in Genesis, "I will make him *an helpmeet* for him"; and *one* of Adam's ribs was taken, emphatically "*one only*." The equality of members of the two sexes, that are born, is beyond doubt: the superior fecundity of a monogamous population is a fact capable of proof. Canon Westcott's words, in his "Social Aspects of Christianity," should be reflected upon with regard to those words of our Lord, "the twain shall become one flesh": "Marriage is the Divine pattern and ground of Human Communities, the original Sacrament of completed manhood." How can this be, if a Polygamist be admitted to the Church? Marriage is a type of the union of the Redeemer with the Church. How can that be brought home, if seated in the Church is a tolerated Polygamist with his miscellaneous contemporary offspring, differentiated like cattle

by the name of their sire and dam? If once Polygamists are admitted into the Church, even for the lifetime of existing Polygamists, a new lease of life will be given to the Institution. The Native Churches are rapidly becoming independent, and it may please some lax Christians to assert a right for a Church to be polygamous. Nor is this fear without foundation, as is evidenced by the letter of a Native Pastor at Abeokúta in Yáriba-land, West Africa, 1883: "The Polygamists had gained ground, "and had trodden down the communicant members of the "Community: I have since begun to effect separation between "the two. The Polygamists dislike this, and complain against "me bitterly, that I virtually separate them from my congrega-"tion, because they are sinners. They would persecute the "communicants, whenever they had an opportunity. They "used to be members of my local Church-committee, so "as to be consulted before anything is done by me in the "Church, and whatever they do not sanction they would not "have me to do. What makes it worse is, that they are "the more enlightened of the congregation. The *young* "Polygamists have a company, which meets once a month for "feasting, and on this occasion Monogamy is a subject of "scandal and reproach. Some young male communicants had "joined them before I came to this station: up till now I have "not been able to disconnect them, although they do not seem "to join them in heart and mind."

At the Diocesan Conference at Lagos, 1887, the Rev. J. Buckley Wood, a Missionary of great experience, spoke as follows: "Another difficulty in the way of Church-progress is "the multiplication of women by some Christians. There are "some, who are dead to the heinousness of the sin, in which "they live, whilst there are others, who are far from being at "ease in their sin, and who would (so they say, and I am "inclined to believe them) leave it, if they could see how. "That there are great difficulties, which cannot be mentioned "particularly, in the way of such, is a fact. These persons "attend Divine Service regularly; their every-day life, except "as to the sin in question, is above the average; they use their "influence on the side of right, they are ready to subscribe to "good objects. Such form a stumbling-block in the Church. "People, seeing their general conduct, are drawn to think less "of the one deadly sin, and the result is, that the protest of the "consciences of the really godly members is apt to be lessened, "and there is something like a compromise to be made with "this sin."

At the Diocesan Conference at Sierra Leone, in 1888, Mr. T. J. Sawyer, a most respectable coloured citizen, openly claimed for the Heathen and Mahometan, the right of having

a plurality of wives, and the drift of his argument was such, as to justify the opinion, entertained by a member of the Conference, that by implication he asserted the right for the members of Christian Churches, not only if the ties had been formed previous to Baptism, *but if contracted after Baptism.*

In 1894 the *African Review* of June gave the following conversation with Sir Gilbert Carter, the Governor of the Colony of Lagos:

"'A point of view you would also wish to emphasize, Sir "Gilbert, in regard to Polygamy?'

"'Yes, the Christian Churches will not make much headway, "*so long as they oppose Polygamy*. The very idea of celibacy, in "the way we understand it, is foreign to Africans. This fact "has come to be recognized by a section of the Native Christian "Church in Lagos, which connives at Polygamy. You see, the "Africans have always been Polygamists. If you abolish "Polygamy, what is to become of the women? You can, too, "only substitute something infinitely more degrading, that "particular form of sexual relationship, which parades itself "publicly in the principal London-thoroughfares, and makes "this great city a bye-word with all Europe. As a matter of "fact, this social evil has raised its head triumphantly in Sierra "Leone since nominal Christianity has made way there. One "is accosted in the streets as one is here, and in Lagos things "are getting just as bad, so I am credibly informed.'

"I then asked Sir Gilbert Carter, whether the African's view "of the marital relationship, which undoubtedly is of a crudely "material kind, was on the whole more primitive than the view "of the mass of Englishmen, who also take an extremely utili-"tarian view of the relationship. Sir Gilbert said, that there "was this difference, that so far as he could discover, and he "had made, he said, many inquiries, the African was not in-"fluenced by any kind of æsthetic sense, even if he had that "sense, which was doubtful, in selecting his wife. He had "often heard certain women spoken of as beauties, who, upon "seeing them, proved to be more than ordinarily ill-favoured; "but when the meaning of the word 'beauty,' applied to them, "was inquired into, it was found to have reference to their "culinary or bargaining capacities. Sir Gilbert was also sure "that the idea of romantic love, of that kind of affection be-"tween man and woman, of which poets write, but which is rare "enough even in Western countries, is practically non-existent "among Africans; but if the Africans have not a high ideal, "they do not fall so low as we do. Englishmen should take "the beam out of their own eyes and look at home, where, in "our fashionable world, half the men seem to spend their time "qualifying for the Divorce-Court, before they condemn Africans

" for the mote that is in theirs. 'We blindly shut our eyes,'
" said Sir Gilbert with delightful candour, 'to our own vices,
" and set to work to *reclaim* the African, with the set purpose,
" as it seems to me, of making him as immoral as we are
" ourselves.'

" 'I believe, that the women are as strong in their advocacy
" of Polygamy as the men, and that a woman likes to be one of
" many wives, in that it indicates the importance of her husband,
" and she therefore shines by a reflected light?'

" 'That is entirely true,' answered Sir Gilbert. 'By the way,
" on one occasion I opened a mosque at Lagos, and I spoke
" then about the Religious question and about Polygamy at
" some length, my remarks finding their way into the English
" papers. But what I said then I repeat now. I do not believe
" in Polygamy for English folk, but I do for African people.
" One little fact may not be generally known in England. A
" Native mother suckles her child for three years, during the
" whole of which time her husband is her protector, but he
" lives apart from her.'

" 'And that a man should have half-a-dozen wives does not
" rob other men of the chance of having one?' I asked.

" 'Certainly not. There are many more women than men;
" and, as a matter of fact, few men have more than one wife:
" they can't afford it; it is entirely an economic question.' "

We have clearly arrived at the place of the parting of the ways, and must put down our foot now, or be carried away by the stream.

But in avoiding Scylla, do not let us run into Charybdis. The King of Kongo professed lately to the Missionaries at San Salvador, that he was in great trouble about his wives, and anxious to know what he should do. The Missionaries made the prudent reply, that they could not advise him to put them away, as *this could only be productive of greater evils*. This is the whole gist of the matter: let us think it out upon the facts recorded, and not on the opinions on those facts.

Some Missionaries would receive the Polygamist on the condition of his retaining one wife only: but which wife? the one, who was the first married to him, perhaps old, childless, neglected, and a hopeless Heathen; or the mother of the largest number of his children, or the one, to whom his fancy turns, or the one who is ready to become a Christian, or the chief wife, where there is a certain gradation of rank among them? In the event of the chosen wife dying, must he choose another from his reserve-wives, or from an entirely new connection? We enter here into a succession of hopeless dilemmas, to which no satisfactory solution can be found. Some bolder spirits would suggest, that all the previous marriages were worthless, and the

new Christian should, like a snake, come out of his old skin and abandon all, "wife, children, for His sake," and be united by Christian matrimony to a Christian Woman. I should not have ventured to have suggested such a shocking device, if I had not read of it as proposed. But natural affection may be too strong for him, and a Missionary from Be-Chuána-land writes, that in ten years he never had a case of a Polygamist being converted, but he had known one instance of a man putting away a second wife, and becoming a Catechumen; but she came back to him, and he received her, and left the Faith. We read in Helps' "Spanish Conquest of America," that it was settled in a Roman Catholic Synod, that the Polygamist husband might choose the wife, whom he liked best to be his partner in Baptism: the reason given was, that he could not know who was his first wife, but he knew very well the one, whom he wished to have. The Priests did not care for the poor rejected Squaws.

I give an instance of the offhand way, in which a young Clergyman, who would have been only a curate in England, disposes of the persons, Morals, honour, and rights, of the poor wives of his baptized converts. "An interesting ceremony took "place here last Sunday, the Marriage by joining of hands, in "the presence of the Christians, of three of our brethren. We "strongly insist, that everyone, who is called a brother, shall "bring the Woman, whom he has chosen as his wife, that they "may make a solemn public compact. Of course, we hope to "encourage Christian men only to marry Christian women; but, "as the case stands, most of the converts have had wives, some "three or four, before their conversion. We then insist, that "one be chosen out, and that the rest be given full liberty, if "they think well, *to seek other husbands*. We have been deeply "thankful, that the Native Christians have seen the *propriety* of "this, and have not put difficulties in our way."

A lay Missionary at a Station in North America arrogated the power of divorce and redistribution of wives among his converts, thus causing a confusion in one of the fundamental bases of Society, and indicating the necessity of the Heads of the Church speaking very distinctly on such subjects. It is hardly necessary to say, that he has been got rid of.

But we must lift up this subject to a higher level. The Missionary sometimes argues, that the African Woman is a mere beast of burden and a Slave, and at another time an object of sensual lust. She can scarcely be both at the same time. It is sometimes urged, that she is not a wife at all, but only a concubine. The Be-Chuána Missionary above quoted goes so far as to say, that the women, who were put away, would not consider themselves injured, and that it was quite a common thing for a Woman to have been united to five or six men in

succession. Such a state of things could not happen in India, and, if the last statement be true, the reply is, that the man with such connections *is not a Polygamist* any more than any profligate European deserves that name. But such is not the case ever in India, and only exceptionally in Africa. We must treat these women as *wives*, and mothers of legitimate children, and as faithful wives. It scarcely seems consistent with the tenets of our Holy Religion to try and save the Soul of a man at the expense of the feelings, and Morals, and comforts, and rights, of his rejected, or perhaps worn-out, wives. They in honour gave all, that hard fortune had endowed them with, their person and their youth, to this man, called him husband, bore to him children, who inherit his tribal position, his name, and such portions of his goods as fall to them. It is a prodigious breach of Faith to make a clean sweep, or partial sweep, of all his responsibilities: if they are old and childless, it is a bad beginning of a higher life, that they should be cast out for no offence of their own, deprived of all solace and protection; if they are young, it is terrible to read such words as these from the pen of a living Bishop, "She will easily get another husband from her father's home." It would have been better to discontinue the use of the words "husband and wife" altogether, and talk of the Africans in the same terms, as a cattle-breeder, or shepherd, talks of the brute beasts in his charge. We all know what an illicit connection is, and what a natural child is in Europe and in India: if by a process of inquiry it is found, that any, or all, of these women were the divorced wives of other men, or were unfaithful wives, or within the lawful limitations of kindred and affinity, or actually married to some other man, let their names be struck off the list of his wives; perhaps some of them may run away, or disappear, or die, or it may be proved that they were the wives of his brother, or the servants of the house, and thus by a judicial process it may come out that the man is a Monogamist, or a bachelor, after all. But, if we are to trust Sir Theophilus Shepstone, and the common report of the country, these women are wives in South Africa, and they most assuredly are so in India. Whether Hindu or Mahometan, or Pagan, let the Missionaries recollect, that they contracted to each other in good Faith, and that no wrong ought to be done to the wives, for all have a claim on their husband, not only for maintenance and protection, but that which Paul describes (as rendered in the Revised Version) as "her due." If condemned to live apart, they may wax wanton, and be tempted; and it is their husband then, who causes them to commit adultery, by casting them off.

Forbidding, then, on the one hand the admission of the Polygamist into the Church by Baptism, and resisting to the

utmost on the other hand any attempt to get rid of the burden of Polygamy at the expense of his wives and children, what course do I recommend for the present necessity? I take the following narrative from *Central Africa*, the organ of the Universities Mission, March, 1886, p. 42: "On the last "Sunday of 1885 Matóla, a powerful Chief, was solemnly "admitted by Bishop Smithies to the rank of *Catechumen*. He "knelt down in the full congregation, and received a cross, as "token of his admission. One stumbling-block he has in his "way before he can be admitted to *Baptism*: he had in former "years become a Polygamist, and it can only be hoped, that "God will open *a way for him without injury to those, who have* "*borne him children*, to come out of the state, which the Law of "the Church in all ages seems to have determined to be a barrier "to admission to the Christian Covenant."

This seems to be the happy *via media*, if extended to the wives, whose wombs have been barren. The man must accept, as his cross, the status, which his own conduct has induced. He is not excluded from Christian teaching, or Christian Worship; but it is distinctly understood by the Church, that such as he cannot be admitted to either of the Sacraments. His children come at once under tuition and Baptism; and for his wives the door is also open, to such as prove, that she being a virgin or widow of a deceased husband honestly and in good faith became the wife of one man, and truly not in any way excluded from Christian privileges, living after the manner of Rachel and Hannah.

Such is the opinion which I have arrived at:

(1) Polygamist men are not to be admitted to Baptism, but their wives may be.

(2) Polyandrists, men and women, are totally excluded; here both men and women are sinning, for the Woman in cohabiting with her husband's brother during his lifetime commits incest.

(3) No man should be encouraged to put away his *lawful wives*; he should be reminded, that his union with them is for the term of their natural lives.

(4) Polygamists may be admitted as Catechumens.

I now add some opinions of others:

In the fifth Report of the Annual Meeting of Native Church Council of the Panjáb a letter was read from the Rev. T. P. Hughes, C.M.S. Missionary at Pesháwar, in which this passage occurs: "In the case of Polygamous Marriages, the blessings "of the Church could hardly be expected; but both the late "(Metropolitan) Bishop Milman, and the Bishop of the Lahore

" Diocese (Bishop French), have sanctioned the Baptism of " Polygamists."

In 1834 the Conference of Missionaries of various denominations in Calcutta, including those of the Baptist, the London, the Church Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland, and the American Presbyterian Board, after having had the whole subject frequently under discussion, and after much and serious deliberation, *unanimously* agreed on the following propositions, though there had been previously much diversity of sentiment among them on various points:

(1) " It is in accordance with the spirit of the Bible and the " practice of the Protestant Church to consider the State as " the proper fountain of legislation in all civil questions affecting " Marriage and Divorce.

(2) " The Bible, being the true standard of Morals, ought to " be consulted in everything, which it contains on the subjects " of Marriage and Divorce, and nothing determined evidently " contrary to its general principles.

(3) " If a convert before becoming a Christian has married " more wives than one, in accordance with the practice of " Jewish and primitive Christian Churches, *he shall be permitted* " *to keep all*; but such a person is not eligible to any Office in " the Church. In no other cases is Polygamy to be tolerated " amongst Christians.

" There were twenty or more, who adopted the propositions " without any exemption."—Calcutta *Christian Observer*, vol. iv, p. 22.

The Calcutta Missionaries a few years afterwards reviewed these propositions, and established them in a form more specifically applicable to India. With regard to Polygamy, the deliverance, which they gave, was even more decided than in the original propositions: " The meeting was unanimously of " opinion, that, although Polygamy is one of the greatest evils, " and is never to be tolerated in a Christian Community, when " it can be regulated by the Law of the Gospel, yet in the case " of Polygamy antecedently to conversion, the husband is bound " to retain and provide for all his wives, as such, unless *they* " *choose to take advantage of their own Law.* This last clause " refers to the renunciation of Hinduism and Mahometanism " by either of the married parties being regarded by both " Hindu and Mahometan as entailing divorce."—Calcutta " *Christian Observer*, vol. xi, p. 401.

A writer in the Calcutta *Christian Observer*, vol. iv, pp. 91, 371, 400, commenting upon the resolutions of the Missionaries, remarks: " The Missionaries are of opinion, that the very " allowances which God, through Moses, made for the Jews in " their infant state as a people, is by parity of reason to be

"made now for Polygamists, who from Heathens become "Christians." I have already alluded above to the fact, that Nations are at different levels of progress, and this argument may fairly be urged in favour of the Africans, the South Sea Islanders, and North American Indians, but scarcely in favour of the Hindu, who are not in a barbarous state, but the heirs of an old and advanced Civilization, and still less in favour of the Mahometan, many of whose ancestors were Christians, and therefore Monogamist, and who appeal as their authority not to time-honoured custom, but the comparatively modern Law of Mahomet. I protest against the assertion, that Polygamy was ever sanctioned in any primitive Christian Church. Let us have the proofs.

It may be true, that owing to the contact of weak Christians with the Persian, Teuton, Arabian, and African, Idolaters in the early centuries after Christ, terrible errors of dogma and practice crept into the Church, and the custom of Polygamy may have made some way; but it was sternly resisted by the Authorities of the Church, and by the Grace of God has survived in none; for, however much the Oriental Churches may have fallen, still at this day, in the midst of Mahometan Polygamists, *though on the same level of culture*, they are Monogamists. But it is sufficient for my argument, that in the Church, as left by Paul, it did not exist as a fact, and its possibility was not contemplated.

Bishop Milman's opinion referred to was as follows: "The "very exceptional case of married life among Natives of India "justified him in allowing a man, lawfully married to more than "one wife, to be baptized and retain his wives, and give them "their conjugal due. He must not marry another, or, if one "die, take another in her place; he must not hold any eccle-"siastical Office."—"Mission Life," 1880, p. 227.

Bishop Douglas, of Bombay, decided against the Baptism of a Hindu with two wives, unless he put one away. The present Bishop of Bombay rather leans to the Baptism of such a man without that requirement. Similar leanings are ascribed to the Bishop of Colombo.

It was stated, that Bishop Caldwell would baptize a Polygamist *in articulo mortis* ("Mission Life," 1880, p. 185). The Bishop of Melanesia (Selwyn the younger) seemed to think, that the putting away of the supernumerary wives should be the rule, but he had difficulty in facing it. The late Primate of New Zealand (Selwyn the elder) was of the same opinion. We read in his "Life" the following: "Are you thinking of becoming a Christian?" said the Bishop to a Native Chief. "Yes," said the Chief. I saw the Bishop hold up two fingers, and then bend one down. The Chief nodded assent. The Bishop meant, that the Chief must get rid of one of his wives. I do

not find, that he indicated, which wife should be unjustly deprived of her home, and the society of her husband.

There is a dark side, as illustrated by the following anecdote, given in the island Voyage of the Melanesian Mission in 1885: "In the island of Florida, of the Solomon Group, a man was "held back from Baptism, as having two wives: one died, "and he was baptized, and his surviving wife placed under "instruction: it seemed sad, that the poor dead wife by living "had kept back her husband, and her fellow-wife, from Baptism, "and had died unbaptized. Bishop Pattison felt the difficulty, "but the argument against baptizing a Polygamist was too "weighty; but there seemed no reason for keeping back the "poor wives from Baptism, as they were not Polygamists."

The Missionaries of the Basle Society in Switzerland would receive Polygamists in case of extreme necessity, as, when a man had children by both his wives, and all parties agreed in the impossibility of separation; yet there is not one Polygamist in any of their Missionary congregations in the West Coast of Africa. The Missionaries of this Society recognize a Heathen Marriage as a binding one, and declare, that a Christian cannot put away his wife, though a Heathen.

The Wesleyan Missionaries positively refuse all Polygamists, recognizing only a Christian Marriage, that is to say, one performed in a Christian Church. If a Heathen become a Christian he may keep (or rather marry) his Heathen wife, or he may send her away, if she re-marries a Heathen. They direct their converts to dismiss all their wives, and marry a Christian: in fact, under their rule, if a man wishes to get rid of his wives, *he has only to become a Christian.*

The Moravian Missionaries had to deal with Negro Slaves in America. Their original rules were: (1) They would not oblige a man who, previous to his conversion, had taken more than one wife, to put the others away without their consent; (2) they would not appoint such a one to be helper in the congregation; (3) they would allow no Christian to take more than one wife, and he is bound to her for life. In 1880 they modified these rules, and their present rule is, that in general an applicant for Baptism is to dismiss all his wives but one, but that, when this may lead to greater sin, an exception may be made under the authority of the District Mission Conference.

I wrote to my friend Dr. Schrader, of the Rhenish Missionary Society, at Barmen, in Germany, to ask for a statement of their present practice; and in his reply, July, 1886, he says: "We do "not think it right, nor indicated by any clear Word of God, "that anyone, who has taken two or more legal wives, as a "Heathen, should be compelled to dismiss them all, except "one, before he can be admitted to Baptism. It seems to me

" to be a bad beginning of his Christian life to break legal " promises, which he has given formerly. Of course every " Polygamist must be told, that this state of affairs is not in " accordance with the Gospel, and, as soon as there is an " opportunity to get rid of it in a legal way, he ought to do it ; " but I do not know, if it be advisable to postpone Baptism until " that can be done.

" The great difficulty, which has been felt several times, is " this, that very often in Churches, where Polygamists have been " admitted, persons, who for special reasons wish to take a " second wife, cannot easily understand, why something, *that is* " *allowed to others, should be denied to them.* But to avoid this, all " persons entering the Church should be clearly made to under- " stand, that they will never be allowed to take a second wife, " as long as the first is still living ; and the Polygamist can hold " no Church-Office. We have had amongst our Missionaries a " few, who have protested against such a liberal praxis, as it is " called ; but after much renewed discussion (for instance, in " our Borneo-Mission lately) we have always come back upon " this one opinion, which has been in use in the Rhenish " Mission for a long time."

This Society labours in the Indian Colonies of Holland and Borneo, as well as in South Africa.

With regard to Africa, let me quote the opinion of Mr. Buckley Wood, an experienced Missionary of the C.M.S. in Yáriba-land in Western Africa: " No one, who knows Africa " and Polygamy in Africa, can ever doubt, that the C.M.S. is " perfectly right in not for an hour allowing such an abominable " custom to exist. The Diocesan Conference, convened by " the Bishop, in Lagos, in April, 1888, and to which several lay " delegates from our Abeokúta Church were invited, was regarded " by our people with much interest. After the return of the " delegates from Lagos, a meeting was called, and was largely " attended, to which they gave an account of what had taken " place at the Conference. The sounder portion of our people " were greatly pleased on learning, that the feeling at the Con- " ference had been so decidedly in favour of going forward on " the old lines, and of giving no recognized place in the Church " to Polygamy in any form. This feeling was not shared by " all. Some of those, who have become entangled in the sin of " keeping a plurality of women, would have welcomed some " relaxation of the rules, that have hitherto been followed."

Thus we have the direct contrary practice in force in different portions of the Mission-field.

I have already stated that the status of " wife " should be defined, and in each case ascertained; and that the concubine, the wife of another man, the divorced wife, the Slave-girl, the

person within the limits of blood or affinity, cannot be deemed *wives*, and that the man is in such cases a profligate, but *not* a Polygamist. It seems so simple; but I read in a Missionary Periodical, June, 1886, the following: "A convert proved the "sincerity of his Faith by making quite a Sacrifice. An uncle "died leaving two wives; these, according to Native custom, "fell by Law of inheritance to the nephew. He was betrothed "to another girl, whom he has since married. He was told, "that if he continued to commit Polygamy, he could not be "admitted to the Church: to put away his two wives, *his aunts* "*by marriage*, was a great Sacrifice; but this convert was not "long in deciding, and the two *wives* were put away."

Can anything reflect more on the common-sense of a Missionary than this? Can he not see that, under no Law, Human or Divine, could it have been right for a man to take as his wife the widow of the brother of his father or his mother? It is rank incest. Every Hindu and Mahometan would protest against such a thing. The wife of an uncle is to a man as his own mother. They were not *wives*, and the man was not a Polygamist, but guilty of incest.

There will be no difficulty in asking each candidate for Baptism to give the history of his family, and the circumstances, under which he began to cohabit with each female: there will be the Slave-girl, the chance concubine, the divorced wife of some one else, the runaway wife of some one else, the female relations, whom he has inherited, the captive (like poor Hecuba, and Andromaché), and perhaps the real wife, or possibly the *real wives*: it is too true, that many real wives in Africa did not always enter Marriage in a state of virginity, and this is a fact to be weighed: we are opening out a question, not of Human, but of Divine, Law, and the virgin-spouse may in the sight of God be the only lawful wife, and in the sight of man the one, which deserves the most consideration.

We must remember that to live with two women after the way of the flesh is a sin: it is too late in the History of the Christian Church to argue about this. How can the Preacher from the Pulpit inveigh against this and cognate sins, if under his eyes sits a Baptized Polygamist with a wife on each side of him, and a third on the opposite seat, with babies in their arms of nearly the same age? As mentioned above, such events cause a laugh even among the Hindu, but something like a blush of shame, or a tear, among Christians. If we return to Old Testament-practice, how can we reject the prayer of the barren wife, good soul! who wishes to see offspring begotten by her husband from her maidservant, that, like Rachel, she may also have children on her knee by her: how can we resist the practice of the Law of Leviriate marriage?

This is no allusion to an obsolete practice. I have, as a judge in the Panjáb, decided scores of cases turning upon this right, claimed by the male, resisted by the female, for the sake of the property of the deceased, not the person of his widow. If we allow Polygyny, how can we resist Polyandry? They hang upon the same thread. Read the following lines:

"One other event is linked with this season, the attendance at "Holy Communion of one, who had for many months absented "herself, viz., Rachel, a Christian from Giriáma. She had run "away from her country about June, 1886, rather than marry "her brother-in-law, who was a Heathen, on the death of her "husband. She has since come regularly, and, I doubt not, "found help and strength thereby."—*Mombása*, 1888.

"There are many things here to hinder the progress of our "work, but amongst them all there is not one, that gives rise to "half the difficulties, that in one way or another originate from "Polygamy. There are many of those who, though they have "renounced Heathenism, cannot be baptized because of their "addictedness to Polygamy, and other sensual habits. I might "have perhaps reported larger results, had we to contend against "simple Idolatry; because there are many, whose confidence in "Idolatry has been shaken, but who yet stick to it, because they "cannot rise up to the high and Holy living which Christianity "demands. Ondo Idolatry is consorted on one hand to Poly-"gamy and Polyandry, and on the other hand to the revolting "custom of Human Sacrifices."—*Rev. C. Phillips, Native Pastor of Ondo, W. Africa.*

I have decided cases in India turning upon this latter custom, and found the women with a plurality of husbands quite as jealous as to the suspicious conduct of one of her husbands, as the man with a plurality of wives is as to the conduct of his wives.

Finally, we must think not of the sufferings, or the deprivations, of a single individual, but of the Holiness of the Church of Christ. No one can read the paper read by Mr. Sawyer, a pure Negro, at the Diocesan Conference at Sierra Leone, this very year, 1888, without being satisfied, that the African Church would willingly tolerate Polygamy, if they were free from European influences. His paper is most timely, as it discloses the thoughts of a respectable African Christian gentleman, that Monogamy cannot be enforced anywhere without the aid of Human Law; that the precepts of Morality, the common Law of Europe since the time of Homer, the words of our Lord, "Male and Female created He them," go for nothing; and finally, that the hope of raising a woman to a place of honour by the side of her husband, as the sole partner of his joys and sorrows, the sole mother of his children, is vain.

These lines are written by one, who knows Polygamy, having lived many years amidst a Polygamous people, and become familiar with the domestic history of Nations, where that practice has prevailed. In an analysis of the magnificent Sanskrit Epic Poem, "The Ramayána," I wrote as follows thirty-five years ago:

"All was joy and exultation, when a dire calamity fell on the "head of the King, and the people, and the faultless hero. It "was the curse of that hated Polygamy, that licensed concu- "binage, that chartered libertinism, which is still tolerated in "our Indian Empire, that brought on the catastrophe. When "shall we cease to talk of the ladies of the Zanána, the "wives of the Rája, in allusion to the poor victims of family- "custom, who are still immured in palaces? When shall we learn "to call things by their right names, and at least not countenance "the abuse? It was the curse, which has toppled dynasties, and "ruined families, from the day that Abraham banished Ishmael "to clear the prospects of Isaac, from the day that the feasting "of Adonijah at En-rogel, beneath Mount Moriah, was inter- "rupted by the cries of 'God save King Solomon!' from the "valley of Gihon under the heights of Mount Zion. The old "King had three consorts: to the eldest was born Rama, the "hero of the story; to the second, a young and beautiful "woman, was born Bhárata, his unwilling and yet fatal rival." —"Linguistic and Oriental Essays," 1880, p. 75.

A great responsibility falls upon the Episcopal Synod assembled at Lambeth this year, 1888. If the Bishops yield to a pretended present necessity, it will be like the letting out of a stream, which cannot be controlled. The late revelations at Sierra Leone, to which the Bishop of Sierra Leone can in person testify, show clearly, that it is not the Baptism of an occasional Polygamist, which is sought for, but the Toleration of Polygamy in the Christian Church. No line can be drawn. The converts are not necessarily old men, whose family-arrangements are complete, but young men with a possible plurality of young wives, and for twenty years the scandal would be manifested of children being brought to the baptismal Font, born by different women to the same father. What will be the feeling of other young men in the congregation, who have been unhappy in their Marriages, but a desire to share the privileges of their contemporary? Moreover, if the cohabitation of a man with two women is wrong, hopelessly wrong, fundamentally wrong, and contrary to Christian Morals, how can the accident of such a practice having commenced *before such a date* satisfy the Christian Moralist? Consideration for the poor innocent woman forbids the cruel policy of putting her away and driving her into sin: consideration for the Church of Christ forbids the admission of a man encumbered with such ties to be admitted

to Baptism on account of the bad example, which would be set to others? As to the man's own Salvation, we can leave it without anxiety to the unfailing and unlimited mercies of our Saviour and his Saviour. The whole hope of the purity of Oriental Churches depends upon the elevation of women to their proper dignity, purity, and respect from the other sex. It matters not, whether a woman is of noble origin, and respectable parentage, or sprung of infamous parents, and a slave: to the Christian man she is surrounded with the halo of being a "woman." In no Christian country is corporal punishment inflicted by Law upon a woman, however much she may deserve it. The sight of a woman being struck, or ill-used, justifies any man to interfere in her behalf against her parent, against her husband. The relations, which she fills towards men of daughter, sister, wife, and mother, are so delicate, that they should be guarded from any possible contamination, confusion, weakening, or pollution. To render it possible that any woman, herself a Christian, should share the bed of a Christian man with others of her own sex, would be a disgrace to any Church, and a sure herald of the decadence of that Church.

At the time of the introduction of a new Religion into a race, or tribe, the mode, in which the mystery of the union of the two sexes is dealt with, is the highest test of the Religious evolution. Marriage is at once the gratification of a legitimate and Holy wish, the machinery of a Holy life, and the divinely ordained method of perpetuating a Holy people. Whatever may be the practice of worldlings, the Church must regard it with the profoundest anxiety, as the laxer the marriage-tie, the lower the form of Religion developed.

The Churchman, 1886–1895.

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3. Dr. Colenso's Reply to an American Missionary. Pamphlet. Pietermaritzburg, 1856.
4. An Answer to Bishop Colenso's Letter on the Polygamy Question, by an American Missionary (H. A. Wilder). Pietermaritzburg, 1856.

5. Apology for the Toleration of Polygamy in Converts from Heathenism, by a Protestant Dissenter. 1856.
6. Bishop Colenso's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the Polygamy Question. Pietermaritzburg, March 1, 1861.
7. Review of Bishop Colenso's Remarks. Durban, 1855.
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10. Polygamy among Candidates for Baptism, by Bishop Cotterill, of Grahamstown, 1861.
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12. Two Sermons by H. Callaway. Pietermaritzburg, 1866.
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30. Paper read by T. J. Sawyer, Esq., at Diocesan Conference, Sierra Leone, 1888.
31. Indian *Evangelical Review*, April, 1886, Rev. J. J. Lucas.

32. The Proper Mode of dealing with Cases of Polygamy in Candidates for Baptism, by Dean Green, of Maritzburg, South Africa. *English Church Union*, 1888.
33. Reports of Deputation of Church Missionary Society to Sierra Leone and Yáriba-land, 1888.
34. Bishop of Melanesia's Letter to the Lambeth-Conference, 1888.
35. Missionary Conference-Report of the Anglican Communion, 1894.

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2. Polygamy in the Christian Church.

Paper read at the Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion, May, 1894.

The only aspect of this subject in a Missionary Conference is, "Whether a Polygamist can be permitted to be baptized?" I reply without hesitation: "Under no possible circumstances, "but all his *bonâ fide* wives, married according to the Laws of "their tribe, and not within the prohibited degrees of relation-"ship, such as Aunt, Niece, or Sister, and their offspring, may "be admitted." I proceed to show why.

Among the Hebrews, the Seventh Commandment notwithstanding, Polygamy was allowed not only to powerful Sovereigns but to humble Levites, such as the father of Samuel. In the matter of Bathsheba, Nathan the Prophet says distinctly to David: "The Lord God gave thee thy Master's *wives* to thy bosom": but after the return from the Captivity the bad custom had died out. No single instance is recorded of a Polygamist Hebrew in the post Exilic Books, or the New Testament. In the annals of the Greeks and Romans the custom was unknown. In Homer we read of Priam and Hecuba, Hector and Andromaché, and in the long catena of Greek and Latin literature no case occurs.

We are told in Genesis that in Paradise "male and female created He them." "God gave man a helpmate," but only one, and took only one rib from the side of man. Our Lord emphatically supports this view. Paul, in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, makes no allusion to the prevalence of such a sinful and degrading custom.

There are two kinds of Polygamy: Polygyny and Polyandry. No one has been bold enough to suggest the Baptism of a Polyandrist female, and yet the civil status is a legal one. I have had to recognize it, in fact, in my Indian Court, as regards the legitimacy of the children.

If the reasons given above are not sufficient, there is a third, which is the dignity of the female sex. In Europe that has always been respected. In Asia and Africa Woman has been treated as a Slave and a chattel. The Church must recognize the equality of the two sexes in Moral dignity and Religious privileges. Where Woman has been degraded, she must now be elevated, and no compromise tolerated, which would make her social position more intolerable than it was before.

What is the compromise proposed? Bishop Selwyn, the elder, being asked by a Chief in Oceania to baptize him, lifted up two fingers of his hand, and then slowly lowered one, indicating that the Chief must put away one of his wives. This feeling might have been good fifty years ago, but it is impossible now, at least in a realm of Law.

In British India Marriage is fenced round with Religious ceremonies, and legal rights, and a man cannot fling away his extra wives. In addition to this it would be a Moral offence to do so. His wives have entered his family as virgins, generally as children of immature age, and he is the only husband of each one of them; and with the Hindu the tie is indissoluble, and re-marriage impossible. The married woman is protected by her friends, and British Law. By casting them off, and his children lawfully begotten, and the heirs of his property, he might possibly drive the poor woman into adultery by cohabiting in a quasi-Marriage with another man. He would have to support them in their enforced widowhood: the Law and custom would still recognize them as his deserted wives. It is idle to argue that a Marriage solemnized by non-Christian rites is less a Moral contract than the union of Christians, and may be set aside at pleasure. Consider the marriage of the Patriarchs, and the other holy men of Jewish history.

In Africa the union of the sexes is not fenced round with the same safeguards. Still, in most cases the *bonâ-fide* wives come to their husbands in purity, or at least not in notorious impurity, and a contract takes place. Even in cases, where they may have lived in sin before Matrimony, it does not lie in the mouth of the African man to urge that plea, having himself led a notoriously unclean life.

It would be a bad beginning of a new and higher life of a neo-Christian, who happened to be partial at that moment to one of the mothers of his children, to cast off the others, and send them back to their parents to be provided with new husbands. If given to another, they would be guilty of adultery. Besides, it is an insult to the female sex to transfer them to another man, as if they were brute beasts. What will become of the poor children? The very idea is iniquitous; and, moreover, the Missionary in any Region occupied by a European or

Mahometan Power, would be unable to enforce his regulations, and under any circumstances he could never prevent his newly-baptized Christian from secretly visiting his abandoned wives, to whom he was drawn by affection.

My opinion, after long familiarity with the subject in Indian Courts, and a close study of the subject in Africa, is, that a man who has placed himself in such a dilemma, must suffer the consequences of his own fault. He cannot be permitted to set himself right at the expense of his innocent wives: he must remain a catechumen until all but one of his wives have died. Bishop Caldwell proposed to baptize him "in articulo mortis." I cannot endorse that view of the rite of Baptism.

In the introduction of new Religious conceptions into a neo-Christian tribe, the great test of the quality of the Morality of the new association is the mode, in which the relation of the sexes to each other is handled. Our duty is to safeguard the purity of the Church. In the Evangelical letter of the Lambeth Conference of 1888 we read: "Our first care is to maintain and protect the conception of Marriage: any success purchased by the lowering of this tie would be dearly purchased." And the Marriage-tie is only evidenced in a country, which is not a realm of Law, by cohabitation with consent of the woman's relations.

When a Missionary makes a condition precedent to Baptism, that the candidate should put away all but one of his wives, he is usurping a power, which does not belong to his office, and which is not sanctioned by the Bible, or the Church, and he is doing a great wrong to poor innocent women, mothers of the children of the candidate, who can claim support from him. The women cannot be restored to their virgin purity: they cannot be free from the tie, which unites them to their only husband. It is unjust to tell them, that they were concubines, to be dismissed at pleasure. Would anyone dare to attach that expression to the mother of Joseph, or of Samuel? If in despair they enter into illicit connections, the responsibility rests with the Missionary, who drove them to that course by denying to them the society and benevolence of their lawful husband. It makes matters worse to argue, that the sacrifice of wives is made to enable a notoriously libidinous man to be baptized.

A startling incident occurred two or three years ago at the Sierra Leone Diocesan Congress. Mr. Sawyer, a most respectable, educated, Christian Negro, claimed the right of Polygamy for Christian communicants. I have a file of papers from Lagos on my table discussing in serious terms the question. They admit, that Monogamy is good for the cold climate of Europe, but not for the hot climate of Africa. They argue, that Polygamy is practised by four-fifths of the Human race, and that it is arrogant for the remaining one-fifth to assert, that the custom

is immoral: at any rate, according to them it is not immoral in Africa. British Law can make it illegal, but the Divine Law is the only sanction of Morality, and it was allowed to the Hebrews in spite of the Seventh Commandment, and was not in so many words forbidden by the Lord.

It is clear, that we have arrived at the parting of the ways. If we wish to propagate a pure Christianity, we must not baptize Polygamists, for, if they attend Divine Service, and are seated alongside of their numerous wives, and present at the font the children born from different mothers at the same time, it will not be surprising, if the same privilege be claimed by others who were born Christians. They will state, that what is Morally right for converted Heathen is equally right for born Christians, if all kneel at the Lord's Table side by side. And unless the Missionary makes the Polygamist present to the congregation, with some form of service, all his wives, who will be sure that they are not concubines only, and changed from time to time?

G. Caste.

1. In the World.
2. In the Christian Church.

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1. Caste in the World.

Address delivered at the National Indian Association, 1879.

I consider myself fortunate in having the opportunity to bring this subject forward in an assembly presided over by Sir Arthur Hobhouse, for the following cogent reasons. Those who, like myself, have spent their lives in India, have the reputation of being prejudiced in favour of the people; those, who stay at home, sometimes from incorrect reports conceive a feeling against them. You, Sir, who had the privilege of taking mature English experience to India, and of bringing back Indian experience to England, are able to hold the scales fairly betwixt those, who know the people too well, and those who do not know them personally at all.

The subject of Caste is one of considerable importance. There exists unquestionably a social institution in British India, which is found nowhere else in such compact rigidity: it lays

claim to considerable antiquity, and is a social phenomenon, which cannot be overlooked: it is proposed to examine the features of this institution.

It is of no practical advantage to discuss the origin of Caste. Of one thing there is no doubt, that it is not alluded to in the Rig-Veda, as a social feature of the early Arian population. The Post-Vedic Laws of Manu lay great stress upon Caste, but it is not clear, when these Laws were compiled, by whose authority, and in what part of India. The idea has been hazarded, that they were compiled at a comparatively late date, with a view of upholding Caste against the levelling tenets of the Buddhists. At any rate, they have no more binding force upon the people of India generally than the Book of Leviticus has upon Europe. We shall see further on, that eighty-six per cent. of the population of British India does not belong to either of the Priest, Warrior, or Merchant Castes of the Books of Manu, but are members of the Sudra Caste, or of a mixed Caste, or absolutely without any Caste properly so called. The subdivision of a nation into Priest, Warrior, and Merchant classes, with a fourth for the common herd, is not unusual in Oriental nations. It is notorious, that the difficulty, where it exists at all, is found among the lower Castes, the great majority of whom cannot be included under any pretence in the lowest of the Castes of Manu; and this ought to be convincing, that the question is not one practically of Religion, but of deep-rooted social custom and tribal etiquette, among a people, who really have no Religious belief in the sense, in which that word is known by Christian and Mahometan. The Samskrit term for Caste is "Varna," or "colour," clearly alluding to ethnical features. The ordinary term is "Játi," or "birth," an elastic expression, like the "good family" of England. The people themselves call it "Bhaibundi," or "brotherhood," as the essence of the matter lies in the fact, that it is a close link, uniting sections of the Community by unwritten Laws of their own devising.

Caste has certainly a good side, and its sudden destruction or collapse would entail considerable evils by the complete disorganization of society, which would ensue. I would ask the question, whether those Provinces of South-Eastern Asia, where Caste does not prevail, such as Afghanistan, Barma, Ceylon, the Settlement of the Straits of Malacca, and Hong Kong, are more easily governed; whether the people are more Moral, or advancing more steadily in the paths of Civilization and Education, than the people of British India, who are absurdly described as enslaved by Caste? One of the most time-honoured maxims in the Science of Government is that famous phrase "Divide et impera," and in Caste we have ready-made fissures in the

community, which render the institution of secret societies, so common and so dangerous among the Chinese and Malays, almost impossible in India.

The striking features of Caste may be described as (1) Matrimonial; (2) Religious, or rather quasi-Religious; (3) social. We must consider each separately.

The rules of Caste are of course theoretically bad in preventing the free intermarriage of tribe with tribe, just as it was bad in Rebecca not wishing her son Jacob to marry one of the daughters of Heth; as it was exceedingly bad in Nehemiah compelling the Hebrews, after the return from the Captivity, to put away their wives of the country; as it would be bad in a quiet English family shuddering at the idea of one of their younger members forming an alliance with a Negress, a Gipsy, a Chinese, or a Malay. Many speak of the vast country of India, as if it were occupied by people of one race, one Religion, one rank in life, instead of being the habitat of infinite varieties of the Human race. Moreover, ever since the world began, and as long as it lasts, there will be a restriction, based upon unwritten and most capricious Law, upon promiscuous alliances in Marriage; and the fault of the native in India is, that it has been made so rigid. The better class of Mahometans, are, however, in this respect quite as strict, and among native converts to Christianity of undoubted excellence we find, that this difficulty cannot be got over, and that a man of good family will seek for a wife among people of his own Caste, and no equitable person could find fault with him for doing so.

Caste is thoroughly bad, and worthy of all condemnation, if it encourages the notion, that all mankind are not equal in the face of God and their fellow-creatures, just as it was bad in the Greeks looking upon all the world as barbarians; as it was bad in the Hebrew asserting a superiority over the rest of mankind; as it is bad in the Anglo-Saxon asserting a superiority over the uncivilized weaker races, and the aboriginal tribes, with whom he comes into contact. But the question may fairly be stated, does Caste do so? Individual fatuous Brahmins may in their shrine, or their seclusion, say so or think so; but I am dealing with the Millions, and I lay down broadly, that members of the thousand respectable Castes, which make up the population of India, do not assert, that their particular Caste is something *better than, or superior to*, the Caste of another, but that it is *different from* that of another, and they would object to eat or intermarry with the members of a Caste notoriously *superior*, just as much as with a Caste notoriously *inferior*, or even with particular subdivisions of their own Caste, separated from them by some imperceptible shade of difference.

Caste may lastly be called bad in placing restriction upon

promiscuous commensality, and thus limiting the form of hospitality and good-fellowship, which is common in Europe, just as it was bad in the Egyptians considering it an abomination to eat with the Hebrews, and in the Hebrews a thousand years later objecting to eat with the Gentiles. We might quote numerous other cases of tribes and classes refusing to eat together from notions of ceremonial purity, both in ancient and modern times. The habits of Oriental life must be considered: insensibly certain kinds of food are objected to by one class, and indulged in by others. Some classes are exceedingly nice and clean; others are very much the contrary. The hand is the only instrument used in feeding: the state, in which that hand is kept, is therefore a consideration. Besides, we know as a fact, in Europe, that one of the main tests of the division of the social strata is, that of taking food together, or separately. It would be repulsive in the extreme to be compelled to eat and drink with those, whose vocations are nauseous, and habits uncleanly, or whose tastes in the choice, and mode of preparation, of food, differed materially. Even as the social ladder is mounted, and there is an assimilation in culture and personal niceties, yet still by an unwritten Law, the table of persons is kept separate, who are intimate in other relations of life. We find, therefore, the groundwork of a common Law of Humanity even in the exaggerated Law of Caste with regard to the modes of eating. It is an error, however, to suppose that any restriction is thereby placed upon hospitality. I have, myself, accepted the hospitality of the highest Castes of Hindu, and dined by the side of the host, who excused himself courteously of partaking of the food for reasons, which I quite understood; and I have, on the other hand, entertained scores, both Hindu and Mahometan, by entrusting to others the details of the banquet: and this is the practice of good-fellowship all over India. The Mahometan in Turkey shares the food of the Christian, but it does not follow, that he is on that account more intimate with Europeans than his fellow-religionist in India is with the Hindu, and Christian, whose food he would not touch.

I have dwelt upon these features of Caste to show, that it is one of the Old-World customs, which has unluckily survived in India, in a hard and crystallized form, to the present day, while other Nations under the influence of Progress have toned it down, or abandoned it altogether. Among such customs may be reckoned domestic Slavery of the gentle and patriarchal type, child-Marriage, Polygamy, restriction on re-Marriage of widows, belief in magic and divination, cremation of the dead, painting or seaming of the features and limbs, swathing of the feet, circumcision, and even blood-feuds and duelling. It is

difficult for Europeans in the Nineteenth century to understand, how any one of such customs can be defended in theory, far less practised by intelligent and educated men; and yet no wise Ruler of an Oriental people would venture, except in an indirect and cautious way, to interfere with such customs, which must rather be left to the slow but certain discipline of Intellectual, Moral, and Religious Progress. As regards abominable customs, offending against Laws Human and Divine, such as Human Sacrifices, burying alive of lepers, female infanticide, traffic in Slaves, horrible mutilation of the Human body, and threats of immolation, the Government of India has not been wanting in measures of stern repression.

When I said above, that Caste is not noticed as existing in Vedic periods, I did not forget the famous stanza in the Rig-Veda, of which such liberal use is made by the antagonists of the custom. It runs thus:

The Brahmin is his mouth; the Kshatriya was made his arms;
What the Vaisya was, that was his hips; from his feet sprang the Sudra.

Now it is worthy of remark, that this stanza is not written in Vedic or Archaic Sanskrit, but in the modern form of that Language. What should we think of lines of Ciceronian Latin found in the Laws of the Ten Tables? Again, the word "sudra" is of unknown origin, and not grammatically connected with any Vedic word. But even if the lines be genuine, they imply nothing beyond what is expressed in other countries in poetic diction; in other words, that the Priest is the mouthpiece, the Warrior the arm of defence, the Merchant the sinew, and the Working Man the groundwork of the body politic.

In this argument, however, I set aside the Hindu Scriptures, as having no direct relation to the issue, and turn to the reports of the official Census of British India, 1871, as we have to deal with Caste, not as it was three thousand years ago, but as it is now, after seven hundred years of Mahometan, and one hundred of Christian, domination.

The striking results are that there are: Brahmin, ten Millions; Kshatriya, five Millions; other Castes, one hundred and five Millions; without recorded Caste, ten Millions; Mahometan, fifty Millions; non-Arian, eighteen Millions: making a total of one hundred and ninety-eight Millions.

Now, taking the Province under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bangál as a fair sample for analysis, we find out of a total of sixty-four Millions, sixty-nine specified Castes, although the number of separate tribes and Castes is calculated at little less than one thousand; and if the minor subdivisions, such as

gotra, sept, and clan, are taken into consideration, the number will swell to many thousands. There are four superior and three intermediate Castes, and then come the following: trading, pastoral, preparers of cooked food, agriculture, general servants, artizans, weavers, labourers, sellers of fish and vegetables, boatmen and fishermen, dancers, musicians, and beggars. In the North-West Provinces there are two hundred and ninety-one specified Castes; in Oudh, seventy-seven; in the Panjáb, nineteen; in the Central Provinces, forty-eight; in Bombay, one hundred and forty; in Madras, seventeen. Clearly the takers of the Census have not followed out the same principle of enumeration, and upon the data thus supplied it is not possible to arrive at an accurate detail of the Castes of British India: but it is evident, that their number far exceeds what was contemplated by the ancient men, who codified the Laws of Manu.

It must not be supposed for a moment, that the members of any Caste are restricted to any one particular trade, profession, or calling. This is one of the greatest of the inaccuracies, into which writers on this subject have fallen; and the assertion, that the institution of Caste confines a man and his family for ever to the grade, in which he is born, and prevents his rising to a higher class of society, whatever may be his character and merits, will not stand the test of inquiry. The History of the Maráṭha and Sikh Nations tells the story of the upheaving of the lower Castes; and what is there in the present social state of British India to prevent a duly qualified man rising to the highest walks of life without reference to his origin of Caste? Successful adventurers are known to improve their Castes, as they get richer. Fictitious Castes are a device as common as fictitious pedigrees. The ten Millions of Brahmins have no doubt been recruited from several inferior Castes and from the issue of mixed marriages, for their ranks contain specimens of the most opposite physical types. If anyone supposes, that Brahmins, as a general rule, are engaged in priestly duties, or that any proportion of them lay claim to any arrogant superiority over their fellows, he is greatly mistaken. A gentleman is always a gentleman, and the long hereditary culture of the Brahmins has told upon their appearance and manners. Their ranks supply many of the ablest public servants of the State, though by no means a majority of the Official ranks, and they are themselves subdivided into so many numerous tribes, that a Kingdom composed solely of the ten Million Brahmins, would still be indelibly streaked by Caste, for there are as many subdivisions of Brahmins as there are great Castes, and as completely separated in the matters of matrimony, commensality, and social intercourse. The Gour Brahmins would shudder at the possibility of any communion, beyond that of general acquaintance, with the Kashmíri Brahmins, who represent

the ablest class in Upper India, but are eaters of flesh (excepting beef) and drinkers of spirits, which are abomination to the Gour Brahmins. The Sáraswat Brahmins, who abound in the Panjáb, eat and drink with the Khatri Caste, and are employed in servile duties. Nor have the Brahmins even the monopoly of priestly duties or of sanctity; at many shrines other Castes officiate. With the great Sikh Nation the Khatri Caste has quite superseded the Brahmin. In the Anglo-Indian Army there is an abundance of Brahmin soldiers under the orders of low-Caste men and of Mahometans. Brahmins are always sought after as cooks, a useful but not honourable or sacred position.

The Kshatriya Caste, if existing at all, is represented by the Rajpút and Khatri. In considering the Rajpúts, the new anomaly presents itself, that thousands of these have become Mahometans, but still claim to be Rajpúts, keep up their own family customs and Law of inheritance, attend the weddings of their own Hindu Tribal brethren, have their particular bard and family Priest. No intermarriage and actual commensality is possible; but still it is a wonderful instance of the elasticity of the Caste system, when the breakers of Caste have power and numbers on their side. The Rája of one of the Mountain Rajpút States in the Himaláya is a Mahometan Rajpút, ruling over his Hindu brethren. Rajpúts take every kind of service requiring fidelity or strength; but the arm has to wield the pen as well as the sword, and at a period probably subsequent to the Laws of Manu the art of writing was imported from the West into India, and a powerful group of Castes, uncontemplated in the original division of mankind, came into existence, viz., the "men of the pen," or the Writer-Castes, who are not likely to be overlooked or crushed in any part of the world. They are known by different names in many parts of India, such as the Khatri, the Káyat, the Parbhu, but it must not be supposed, that these classes monopolize the right of using the pen. It would be impossible to follow in detail the other hundreds of Castes, but imperfect as confessedly our knowledge is as to the ramification of Castes, we can see clearly, that Religion is the smallest factor in the system. For the sake of exhausting the subject, it may be stated that Caste has arisen from the operation of three causes: (1) Religious or quasi-Religious, (2) professional, (3) ethnical. We can hardly suppose, that any person would argue, that the origin of any of the Castes, bearing obvious trade and professional names, was Religious, as such are clearly hereditary guilds. Still less could it be urged, that the Castes of dancing-girls, jugglers, musicians, beggars, thieves, and other baser occupations, had the sanction of Religion; and yet the great mass of the population is divided into such kinds of Caste, and

so entirely do the people mix up the questions of Caste and profession, that a watchman is generally spoken of by the Caste, to which he belongs, as the men of that Caste are all watchmen, and the great backbone of the population of the Panjáb is described indiscriminately as "Ját," which is their Caste, or Zemindár, which is their calling, as agriculturists.

Those, who have not studied the mode, in which the motley population of India has been built up, hardly appreciate at its full value the effect of the ethnical fissures in the lower strata. The Chamárs of the North-West Provinces amount to three millions and a half, scattered in every part of the Province, employed in hereditary servile duties, or in trades of an offensive character, allowing themselves the license of eating carrion or the flesh of unclean animals, worshipping other Gods than those of the Hindu, who avoid even their touch. In every village, moreover, there is a Helot class, engaged in servile duties as watchmen, sweepers, scavengers, removers of the dead, contact with whom is shunned, as that of the Cagots in the South of France, where the same feeling has survived the European culture of many centuries. It is clear, that the Shanárs of South India are ethnically distinct from the rest of the population. There is no question, that all such races or tribes are of non-Arian origin, which have not accepted the thin veneer of Hindu culture, and are therefore hated and shunned as out of the pale of Hindu society, and at the same time not strong enough, like the Mahometan and Christian, to establish a rival and independent social organization of their own. It is an absurdity to quote the famous Vedic "Foot and Mouth" stanza, or the Laws of Manu, with regard to such classes, as those Laws bear no relation to any, who are not Arian in origin, or who have not introduced themselves into the Arian system. The Shanárs worship Spirits, have peculiar customs; and it is no matter of surprise, that the real Hindu of Arian origin, and those of the non-Arian, who have advanced to a certain extent up the ladder of Arian culture, look upon them with abhorrence, and that the antipathetic feeling of a superior race operates here as strongly as it does on the part of the Anglo-Saxon in America against the Negro. Men must be more than men, if in one generation such antipathies could be softened down. The lower the Caste, to which the semi-Hindu has climbed, the greater the jealousy felt towards those outside the line. Among the very low classes in India this feeling must show itself by such outward signs as shunning contact, intermarriage, and commensality, as their life is spent in the streets and market-place, without the sanctity and privacy of a home, by which the richer classes keep out the unclean and the common herd.

Under a native Hindu rule it is more than probable, that the

yoke of Caste pressed very heavily on the lower classes, but the sting is very much taken out under Mahometan and Christian rule. Moreover, I call attention to the following remarkable facts, as indicating that a Caste-feeling is, as it were, part of the common law of the Indian people. All the Hindu sectarians, who have disturbed the peace of the Brahmanical system in a long succession for several centuries, have, like the Protestant Missionaries, selected the Brahmins as the object of their abuse, and attempted the destruction of Caste under the alleged vaunt of the equality of mankind. Slowly and surely Caste has forced itself back again. Buddhism, which was based upon the abolition of Caste, was fairly driven out of India. The more plastic Jáin accepted Caste and a transitional position. In Ceylon the Buddhists even exhibit traces of Caste. The Sikhs of the Panjáb, after a long tilt against Caste, have relaxed their rules and relapsed into Caste. A band of celebrated ascetics, or vagrant beggars, may shake off Caste, but no body of Religionists has ever settled down in India to decent family life without throwing round a fence of Caste more or less rigid. The non-Arian races of the Hills, as they settle down to be agriculturists and adopt a semi-Hinduism, of their own free will assert their claim to a Caste; and, wonder of wonders! the Mahometan, who in Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, and Afghanistan, marries anyone, on whom his fancy falls, and eats and drinks with the European, in India is particular as to commensality, and, if he be a member of a respectable tribe, is very restricted in the choice of a wife. The Census-report shows, that Caste is almost as prevalent among them as among the Hindu, for the descendants of the conquering races, who immigrated from Western Asia, the Arab, the Persian, the Mogul, the Turk, and the Pathán, generally marry each among his own kith and kin. The Mahometan Rajpút and other of the good Hindu Castes, who became Mahometan in the time of the Empire, keep close to their tribal rules, which differ from Caste only in name. The lower Mahometans, converts from the non-Arian races, are in practice less rigid; but even among them increase of wealth is sometimes accompanied by a fictitious improvement of Caste-designation. The successful corn-factor has been known in a time of dearth to have sprung from the ranks of the Shaikh, or New Mahometan, to that of Sayyid, or descendant of the Prophet, and the self-asserting pride of a Sayyid is only equalled by that of a Brahmin.

I proceed now to show, how the strong and impartial Government of British India has acted with a view of disarming and controlling the bad and exaggerated features of Caste. In the State-Schools and Hospitals the difference of Caste is totally ignored. All, who enter there, are known as students and patients. In the railway-trains the community is reduced to

the common denomination of passengers. We have heard of Anglo-Saxon Colonies, where black and white will not mix on such occasions. In the Courts of Justice, civil and criminal, all subjects of the Queen are absolutely equal in theory and practice. A Brahmin murderer would be hanged at Banáras without benefit of clergy, and the rights of the lowest Chamár would be vindicated. In the State-Prisons all are associated together; but a prisoner of good Caste is selected as cook, as it would be obviously unjust to enhance the penalty fixed by Law for a particular offence by adding a feature, which would affect some prejudicially, but not all. It is insisted, that the wells of a village are available to all, and an attempt to exclude Native Christian converts was distinctly put a stop to. Any attempt to exclude men of lower Caste from the use of the streets, or to prevent males and females from wearing such dress as they chose, would not be tolerated for an instant. The service of State, civil and military, is open to all, and men of the highest Caste are constantly subordinated to men of lower, according to their position in the Service. On the other hand, any positive injury caused by one person to another, entailing injury to Caste, is the ground of an action for Tort: thus a valuable property is recognized as existing. Moreover, the Native Laws of Marriage and Inheritance are accepted by the Civil Courts, and consequently the issue of a Marriage, contracted contrary to the rules of Caste, is declared illegitimate.

How has society dealt with Caste? I can only give an opinion based upon experience acquired in a solitary life among the people of Upper India, where Caste is at its highest pressure, for weeks and months together, without any European companion. I never found Caste an obstacle to social intercourse, nor did the subject ever press itself forward, and yet the population of the villages and towns visited each day differed considerably. Few villages were absolutely without Mahometans, none without men of the lowest Caste, and in the thronging of an Indian crowd there must be indiscriminate contact. In my establishment there were Brahmins, with whom I transacted ordinary business, Rajpúts, who carried my messages, Khatri and Káyat, who engrossed my orders. Mahometan and Hindu sat upon the floor working side by side; and, if the half-Caste Christian sat at a table to write English letters, it was only because the method of English correspondence requires this distinction. My own tent was daily thronged by men of all Castes and position in life, and my visits to the male apartments of the notables was considered an honour; and yet of all outcastes the European is the worst, as he asserts his right to eat both beef and pork. Thus, professors of different Religions mingle in social life without any unpleasant friction: each man respects his neighbour; he has

no wish, indeed, to intermarry with the family of his neighbour, or share the cup and platter of his neighbour, but he does not consider himself in the least superior or inferior.

In one sense, and one sense only, Caste may be said to be Religious. All that remains to the non-Mahometan population of India, the Religious idea and instinct, has centuries ago shrunk into the notion of Caste; just as in Europe in the Middle Ages all that to many men remained of Religion was a keen sense of personal honour. Now both Caste and honour restrain a man's actions from what is contrary to the rules of the brotherhood, is dishonourable, and often from crime in a way, in which nothing else will restrain them; and in that sense Caste and honour may be said to be Religious sanctions, but in no other; and no wise Legislator would venture to do aught to weaken such sanctions, the existence of which marks a certain progress in Civilization.

I cannot see that Caste is an evil of the kind and degree, which it is imagined to be. In an exaggerated and self-asserting form it would certainly be an evil under a Hindu system of Government of the stiff and intolerant form of modern Religious Creeds; but Tolerance has ever been of the essence of the Hindu system, and in British India the claws of Caste have been cut by a strong and impartial Government, and the social pressure of a population, composed of various elements, which would not submit to oppression. I submit, that in Europe classes lie in strata *horizontally*, and that in India the separation is by *vertical* fissures. I have known men of good Caste and social position as gentlemen, who were not ashamed to have in their families near relations in the grade of menial or cook. Now such a state of affairs would be impossible in Europe, and marks the enormous divergence of social customs.

Viewing the matter, therefore, from the point of view of a Statesman, a Moralist, an advocate for civil and Religious liberty, Education, and Progress, I can see nothing in the National custom of Caste, that requires any interference from the Legislature. I recognize the existence in different Nations of an infinite variety of family customs, habits, and tendencies; and, where they are prejudicial to the better interests of the Human race, the work of amelioration may be left to time, Education, intercourse with other Nations, and general intellectual progress.

1879–1895.

2. Caste in the Christian Church.

There exists an ancient custom in British India among the whole of the Arian and a portion of the Dravidian population, known by the name of Caste in English, Játi in the Vernacular, and Varna in the sacred Languages. This Custom does not extend to British Barma, or to the Buddhist portion of Ceylon to an appreciable extent, nor is it rigorously adopted by the non-Arian Races of India, the Dravidian, Kolarian, and Tibeto-Barman Races, which have remained uninfluenced by the Brahmanical Religion. On the other hand, those Hindu, who have adopted the Mahometan Faith, and the vast number of non-Arians, who have attached themselves to the lower strata of the great Brahmanical Polity, and, strange to say, the descendants of the Afghan, Turk, Persian, and Arab immigrants, who during the last eight hundred years have floated into India on each Mahometan wave of invasion, have sensibly, and unmistakably, adopted the custom, as a mark of respectability, and though they talk only of Tribes, and not of Castes, yet are under the same yoke, as regards Matrimony and Commensality.

In a Paper which I read in 1870 before the National Indian Association, I discussed the nature of this custom, and the infinite variety of its primary and secondary divisions. I showed how the claws of a custom, which might possibly be intolerant, had been cut by the long domination of the Mahometan, and the uncompromising system of the British Administration, based on absolute equality of man with man in the Courts of Criminal and Civil Justice, the Public Service, the Railways, the Schools, and Hospitals. I pointed out how mistaken was the idea, that a man was in any way compelled to follow the profession of his Father, or was in any way debarred from his rights as a free agent. My conclusion was, that there was nothing in this ancient custom, as limited by British practice rather than Law, that prevented any of Her Majesty's subjects discharging his Duty to the State; that the custom was so far guaranteed by the State, that an action lay in the Civil Courts for Tort on the ground of wilful breach of Caste; and that the issue of children born of Hindu unions, entered into contrary to the rules of Caste, were illegitimate, and did not inherit. The custom, therefore, did not deserve the wholesale abuse showered down upon it by certain persons. I reprinted in 1881 my Paper in my "Pictures of Indian Life," and I believe, that my sentiments on this subject are shared by all Statesmen, who are acquainted

with, and interested in, the People of India. On this subject therefore I, and many other ardent supporters of Missions, are at direct issue with a great body of Missionaries. I believe them to be thoroughly mistaken.

In the course of discussion, which ensued after my Paper had been read, a gentleman of great experience in India, formerly an Editor of one of the best English Newspapers, remarked, that I had not touched upon the relation of Caste to the Christian Church. My reply was, that the National Indian Association was not the proper arena for such a discussion. I had already brought it prominently forward in a Missionary Society, with which I am more particularly connected, and now I proceed to ventilate the subject.

I honour the Christian Missionaries, who devote their talents, and their lives, to the benefit of Asiatic, African, and Oceanic, races. But it must needs be, that they go out early in life, and the necessity of the Language ties them to one field. Their views thus become narrowed to their own environment. The Missionary from China writes and speaks, as if the world could be converted, but for the sale of opium and the hostile action of the Chinese educated classes. The Missionary from India is overpowered by the opposition caused by Caste and Secular Education. The Missionary in Africa tells sad stories of Human Sacrifice, witchcraft, Cannibalism, and Polygamy. And so on in the other fields. The Missionary in China or Barma does not feel any sensible advantage from the absence of Caste. The Missionary in Africa looks rather longingly for Secular Education, and repression of monstrous crimes. The experienced and enlightened Missionary in each field is generally silent on such topics, for he feels, that it is the same depravity of the Human heart, which opposes him in a different development in different parts of the world.

In that portion of the so-called in Missionary Periodicals *Kingdom of Satan*, which is known to Geographers as British India, I have spent a quarter of a century, and loved the people very dearly, because I became aware of their excellences by familiar contact. No doubt the scum of the Bazár of a great town is no more a fair representation of a great Nation, than the roughs of London are of the British people. The strong and impartial British Government has paved the way for the Missionary by putting down, with a high hand, all abominable customs, which are contrary to laws Human and Divine, such as Human Sacrifices, burning of widows, burying of lepers alive, female infanticide, traffic in slaves, mutilation of the body, and so forth. An enlightened Government of the Nineteenth century does not interfere with Morals, and leaves drunkenness, profligacy, and the use of bad language, to be counteracted by the

Moral and Religious influences of the people, and by their spiritual guides, restricting itself to the punishment of offences, scheduled in the Criminal Code. But besides these things in Oriental Countries, there exists a group of customs, objectionable *per se*, yet not such as to warrant the interference of an enlightened Ruler. These are domestic Slavery of the gentle and patriarchal type, child-Marriage, Polygamy, cremation of the dead, painting or searing of the face and limbs, circumcision, and Caste. These are Old-World customs. We hear of them in the infancy of other Nations, who have outgrown them: but, unluckily, customs in India survive in a hard and crystallized form, and the people are very conservative. I can quite imagine an enthusiastic young Missionary being shocked at any, or all, of these customs, and wondering, why they are not at once suppressed. But those, who have had experience in ruling Oriental Nations, know, that the attempt to do so would fail, might cause the loss of Empire, would certainly entail loss of life in rebellion, and do more harm than good. The work of amelioration must be left to time, Education, intercourse with other Nations, and general intellectual progress.

So speaks the Statesman. But the Evangelist seeks to gather into his nascent Church Souls to be saved, and he appeals to a higher than Human Law. He admits, that offences against Morals occur quite as much among Christians as among Heathen, and must be left to the discipline of the Church, and the influence of the Pastor, for they are recurring evils, from which none are safe until death. But he at once puts his foot down upon some of the Old-World customs, above described, and insists that Polygamy, cremation of the dead, circumcision, Caste-marks on the face, must cease, as a condition precedent to Baptism. He declares the right of the widow to re-marry, and, if any remnant of domestic Slavery remained, he would denounce it, and do his best to get rid of it. But if he be wise (and Missionaries do not always possess the Wisdom of this world), he will analyze the ancient custom of Caste, and make the abandonment of certain portions an essential, reserve certain portions for pastoral admonition, and leave other portions alone, for the simple reason, that to oppose them is to war against the common feeling of Human Nature. "Naturam expelles furcâ, tamen usque recurret."

In analyzing the Census of British India, I find that the great Indian Nation is made up of most conflicting elements as regards race, Religion, Language, and culture. Under the pressure of a strong foreign Government, a certain amount of fusion has taken place, and this process is slowly advancing year by year. But the Nation has never yet learnt to forget, that it is only an amalgam of very discordant materials, which discordancy is

intensified by segregation from the rest of the world, Religious dogma, fashioned in the interest of a dominant class, and the universal practice of what is known in Europe as Trade-Unions, and ancestral occupations and possessions. Insensibly rigid rules have surrounded Marriage and Commensality; this leads on to the feeling, that one stratum, or rather vertical slice of society, is different from another, and the whole culminates in pride, overbearing conduct, and, if opportunity offered, social ostracizing. But if an educated man of an ordinary Caste is asked, he will at once admit, that his Caste is not *superior to*, but only *different from*, that of his neighbour.

For a moment let us turn aside from India, and, looking round us, let us consider the phenomena of Caste, as developed from ethnical and social causes, in the United States, a land of strict equality of man with man, as regards the Negro; as regards the Bántu tribes in the Cape Colony; and in England.

Sir George Campbell made a tour in the United States in 1878, and carefully considered the relation of the antagonist races to each other. His conclusions are that: "The separation " of the two Castes is becoming more pronounced than ever; " that since the admission of the Negro to Political equality, " the movement has been rather against social equality than " otherwise; that there are entirely separate Negro Churches; " that the difficulty about public conveyances had been got over, " and all travel together, which is a great step in advance; that, " as is the case of the Hindu, no Intermarriage or Commensality " is possible; that there is universal separation in the public " Schools, at the wish of the Negro, though good feeling and " good temper are exhibited in daily relations; that half-Castes, " even when quite fair in complexion, go to the Negro Schools; " that the Caste-system must be accepted as a fact; that the " most pronounced philo-Negro in the States would recoil from " the idea of interrmariage, *which is positively prohibited by Law* " *in most of the States*; that Christianity might effect much to " bring the races together, but not for the present."

I quote his concluding words: " To one accustomed to see " great Communities in India, where varieties of Caste do not " interfere with union in a common social system; where, on " the contrary, Caste but represents a variety of occupations " and functions in the same system, the existence of two Castes " in America does not seem to present an insuperable obstacle " to well-being. In India all the Castes live very well together, " and support one another, by each contributing their functions " to the village-existence. It is hard, then, that in the United " States two Castes cannot co-exist, supposing that means of " amalgamating them are not found."

In South Africa we have an unexceptional witness in

Mr. Anthony Trollope. At the great Lovedale Missionary Institution of the Free Church of Scotland the boys and girls, black and white, are described as intermixed. But the European boys would not come to the School, if compelled to eat with the Káfirs. Any idea of intermarriage with the two races would not be thought of.

Lastly, in Great Britain, where all are of the Anglo-Saxon or kindred races, and no differences exist of Customs, or Colour, can we truthfully say, that there are not restrictions upon Intermarriage and Commensality, which have the essence, though not the name, of Caste? The Law, indeed, does not hold the penalty of illegitimacy over unequal marriages; but would the most devoted servant of God, lay or clerical, in a better class of life, relish the Marriage of his son or daughter to the pious pew-opener? Or would he admit to his table the upright, though unsavoury, scavenger? Has any of our European Missionaries as yet admitted a Native of India to the honour of being his son-in-law? Is it not the fact, that the white Missionary forms a Caste with superior position and superior emoluments to the Native and half-Caste? And I deny that it it is right, that it should be so. The Briton landed in India considers himself, however low in the strata of English society, to be superior to the highest Indian. But to the eye of the Ethnologist the position of the superior Native Caste is as much removed above the lower (and they feel it as much to be so), as the Briton, rightly or wrongly, thinks himself above the Indian referred to. Even in Africa we find traces of Caste among some, if not among all tribes. In fact, self-respect and dawning Civilization first evidence themselves in tribes becoming particular about Marriage and Commensality. I do not for one moment deny, that the custom is developed in India in a more rigid and unpleasant form than elsewhere. But what I do maintain is, that it is but a tree grown up to an extravagant height and bulk from the same germ, which is found more or less in every Community of men.

In the *Mission Field* I read the remarks of Sir Frederick Goldsmid: "It is easy to say to a Native of India, that Caste is "not acknowledged in Europe, but the Natives would see, that "the very fact, that it is not acknowledged makes the shapeless "sentiment so difficult to deal with, that it becomes a barrier of "actual separation. We have Castes in Europe, and Castes "totally opposed to the spirit of Christianity, as regards colour, "birth, Education, wealth, and fashion."

To myself, with all my recollections of valued friends left behind me in India, whose features and voices live in my memory, and some of whose portraits still decorate my walls, it is matter of no small surprise to hear these good easy people,

amiable and ignorant, tolerant and affectionate, described in a Missionary Periodical, March, 1879, as practising "A custom "fraught with destruction to their Souls, utterly divorced from "Morality, a custom, which eats out Human sympathy, anni- "hilates fellow-feeling, renders the heart cruel and callous, and "dams up the stream of affection."

I can scarcely believe, that my Brahmin and Khatri friends, who still send me letters, though they can never hope for any advantage at my hands, and tell me about their children and our mutual friends, Christian, Mahometan, and Hindu, without distinction of race or Religion, are "slaves of a system which "tends, more than anything else the Devil has invented, to "destroy the feelings of general benevolence, and make three- "fourths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the other; that it "was an invention of the author of evil, the father of lies, "by which he enthralls Millions of Souls; that it is Satan's "masterpiece, Satan's chief institution, the monster evil of "India, obstructive to all efforts for the improvement of the "*temporal* condition of the people, as well as a Soul-destroying "influence."

It is sad to read such a foolish tirade as this, for the spirit of it is foreign to the precepts of Christ. It may be called *tall* talk, and indeed *foolish* talk; or it may only be a flowery, oratorical way of implying, that the writer disapproved of Caste. And, no doubt, with a *tabula rasa*, Caste, as well as many other time-honoured customs, might be dispensed with. But we have to deal with a Nation as we find it, and it is idle to say, that the Indians with Caste are not as prosperous, as advanced in culture, Arts, and Sciences, as benevolent, Law-abiding, temperate, Moral, and, in their own way, as Religious, as the Chinese, with whom Caste has never prevailed. Nor do we find in Ceylon, Barma, China, and Japan, though the people are entirely free from this snare of Satan, that the Gospel makes greater progress on account of its absence. In truth, people, who are free from Caste, or Opium-eating, or Cannibalism, are still far from God, and the educated classes of China, the Brahmins of India, and the Medicine-men of Africa, are but the Pharisees of the Scriptures, or the good old Conservatives of modern time, who stand on their old ways, and, right or wrong, will not listen to new doctrines. A learned and devoted Bishop has wisely remarked, that the "Christian Church has no "commission to bring all Nations to any other uniformity than "that of the Faith. She must leave National habits and "customs (not amounting to deliberate sins, or crimes by Law) "alone. The Spirit of Jesus will, in its own good time, by the "influence of Preaching, Teaching, and Example, work out the "special type of culture, Civilization, and social habit, which is

" good, or at least possible, under the Political and physical " circumstances of the country."

The evils of Caste have been intensified to the Christian Missionary by the policy adopted of working from the lower strata of Society up to the higher. Unquestionably the Souls of the meanest have the same value as those of the highest, and the Gospel was specially meant for the poor. Paul, however, clearly addressed the better classes. Augustine went to the King; and the Church of England was not based upon the scavengers, and lowest herdsmen, of the Nation. The Pagáni were the last to become Christians. However, we must grapple with the phenomenon as it exists, viz., a Church, consisting mainly of non-Arians, members of the lowest ranks of Society, of inferior Castes, so low that the Sudra Caste, which in general estimation is the lowest rung of the ladder, becomes, by the discovery of lower outcaste depths, one of dignity. It must be remembered, that in India, as elsewhere, the lower the Caste, the more particular and precise are the rules to protect it. These converts have had no sacrifice of social status to make, when they accepted their new Faith. But the fact of their numbers, and the defilement of their old and present occupations, still sticking to their skirts, presents a frightful stumbling-block to the man of Education, of position, and of social estimation, who is moved by the Holy Spirit to become a Christian. Let any reader of these pages faithfully apply such circumstances to himself, and to his family circle, and judge.

The Church of Christ is, however, a new Society, one with the highest Morality, the grandest aspirations, and the most Precious Promises. Men, upon entering such a Society, and becoming inheritors of such Promises, must be prepared to make Sacrifices. The unclean must be no longer unclean; the Opium-smoker must no longer debase himself; the Cannibal must no longer indulge his abominable appetite; the bloody man must no longer take away life; the proud man must admit, *ex animo*, that all before God are equal; that the Worship of God is common to all without distinction of person; that Christ died for all; that the Ministers of God and Teachers of His Truth are to be listened to and respected without reference to their origin. These are essential conditions precedent, and may thus be formularized:

(1) Frank admission of the equality of all men before God.
(2) No separation of Churches, or of Seats in Churches, except for the sexes.
(3) Partaking of the same Bread and Wine from the same Cup and Platter, at the same time without distinction.

(4) Social intercourse with ordained Ministers and Office-holders of the Church, in the Homes, the School, and Church.
(5) Abandonment of Polygamy, Circumcision, Caste-marks, notions of ceremonial defilement, and belief in witch-craft, soothsaying, or Spirits.
(6) No separation of high and low Castes in burial-grounds.

It is unnecessary to allude to savage and inhuman Customs, as the Laws of British India have stamped them out. For office-holders of the Church, both Lay and Ordained, a fuller and more thorough compliance with the spirit of the above must be insisted upon, as the condition of office.

But outside such conditions are two important factors of Human Society, Commensality and Intermarriage. The founders of the Indian Church have no authority to lay upon that Church a greater burden than is imposed upon the British Church. Let us consider these subjects calmly, but firmly. The Laws of British India have guaranteed the customs, having the force of Law, with regard to Marriage and Inheritance. The convert, however, must at once surrender his legal right to Polygamy. No right of divorce can survive his change of Religion; these practices are absolutely forbidden by the words of our Lord: "Male and Female created He them." But the Missionary must pause, ere he ventures upon the gross tyranny of insisting upon his converts associating and eating together, except by spontaneous action, and avoid the still more violent infringement of natural Equity in enforced Intermarriages. Such conduct might involve the Missionary in a Criminal Prosecution, or an action for Civil damages.

There are notorious instances of excellent Christians of good social position and Caste, who, when they had occasion to be married, went long distances at considerable expense to find a Christian wife of their own Caste and station in life, instead of helping themselves, as many Missionaries would suggest, from the senior class of the Mission Girls' School, consisting of low-Caste, though excellent, and educated, young women.

Some of the Protestant Missionaries are as unreasonable in denouncing Caste in the Christian Church as the Roman Catholics are in denouncing Freemasonry. I cannot say that I think highly of either institution. But the roots of both lie deep in the soil, and both have a side of goodness. It is vain to run counter to the deep currents of Human opinion, and institutions such as these will last as long as the world lasts. It scarcely lies in the mouths of those Societies, who plead for the independence of the Native Churches, both at present and

in future, to interfere with their Social customs, and attempt to bind the Indian congregations with ropes of tow, which will be snapped at once. The Native Christians already show signs of desiring for themselves a Church modified to some extent in its forms and ceremonies so as to suit Oriental notions. And a modified form of Caste, limited to Rules of Intermarriage and Commensality, will, we may depend upon it, ever be found a feature in any such Native Indian Church.

The merits and the good points of the character of the Indian people are without number. They are very docile; though not entirely free from the curse of drink, yet not habitual drunkards, and quite amenable to reason in such matters; Polygamy, where it does exist (and it is exceptional), is very different from the Polygamy of Africa; and if intoxicating drugs are indulged in, the cases are rare; assassination, secret Societies, and blood-feuds are unknown. It is doubly unwise of the Missionary in these conditions to tilt against a brick wall, and to step aside from his obvious Duty of Preaching the Gospel. As to Missionary Boarding-Schools, or any other similar institutions of a benevolent character, such conditions can be imposed as seem proper to the benefactors, and it would be ludicrous to allow the least atom of Caste to be maintained in such institutions. The State does not tolerate it in the Ferries, the Railway-carriage, the School, or the Hospital.

Let us recollect, that the Kingdom of God is not meat, or drink, or Marriage; that things much worse than Caste exist in the British Church after centuries of Christianity; that the practical man considers what is possible and equitable, not what is abstractedly desirable, as if he had to deal with an Utopia; and, finally, that a word can be said in favour of Caste; for the feeling of Caste in Great Britain makes a gentleman polite, a tradesman honest, a soldier brave, and a woman circumspect in her conduct.

I now proceed to quote upon this important question some opinions of men whose judgments are worth recording. Sir H. Maine, in his "Village Communities," writes: "Caste is merely "a name for trade and occupation, and the sole tangible effect "of the Brahmanical theory is, that it creates a Religious "sanction for what is really a primitive and natural distribution "of classes."

Bishop Daniel Wilson, after recapitulating, very much as given in my six Rules, the matters of Church-Order, which he must insist upon, in supercession of Caste-prejudices, closes thus: "I do not interfere with your national customs, or with matters of dress and food; but old heathenish customs must be relinquished."

Bishop Gell, of Madras (1868), writes on the importance of "exchanging the distinctions of Caste for those of rank, "Education, and the like. This object must be attained, not "by coercive measures, but by persuasion, and the power of the "Truth of Christ, working upon the prejudiced heart; and by the "use of every opportunity for making advances without irritating."

In the Official organ of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (December, 1877), we find the following passage with regard to a high-Caste convert: "I took pains to advise him "*not to break his Caste*, but to eat, drink, dress as heretofore, "and live among his people, only abstaining from everything "idolatrous." Upon inquiry I received a reply from the late Mr. Bullock, the Secretary, that in his *private* opinion the Missionary had taken the right course, and that the Missionaries of the S.P.G. generally would do as he did.

A most striking testimony on the subject is that of the Rev. Dr. H. Bower, of Madras, in the Indian *Evangelical Review* for 1876. He had read a paper, in February of that year, before the Madras Diocesan Church Conference. It was a vigorous, downright exposure of the dark side of Caste; but suddenly the note is changed; like the Prophet, he began to curse and ended in blessing: "I wrote an essay on Caste twenty years ago; I "was young, inexperienced, and enthusiastic: since then, as "I grow old, and see more of men and of the world, I am "disposed to be more charitable, and lenient to all, who have "scruples on this intricate subject. In order to form a just "estimate of the trials of a high-Caste convert we must put "ourselves in his place, and view things from his standpoint. "All Castes, high and low, who embrace Christianity, have "peculiar difficulties to encounter. Caste, as class-prejudices, "seems to be inherent in fallen Human nature. They are felt "in Europe, in America, and all the world over, as well as in "India. Their power pervades all minds: it in some measure "influences the State, the Church, Benevolent Societies, "Religious Communities, and even pious individuals. It showed "itself in the prejudices of Peter. Providence has made a "difference between one man and another with regard to birth, "wealth, learning, and position. These distinctions cannot be "ignored, however much they may be regulated, or mitigated, "or improved. Are we justified in demanding of converts more "than Repentance and Faith, which was all that the Apostles "demanded? Capricious dictation and rigorous Law will do "no good. Charity and Liberty are more important than "Uniformity. We must allow converts to retain their simple "and innocent usages and customs, while we strike at the root "of immoral and idolatrous practices; we must be careful not "to disgust them with trivial matters."

A Native Clergyman at the same Conference remarked as follows in favour of the lenient treatment advocated by Dr. Bower: "A Caste-Christian may not answer the *beau ideal* of Christian "perfection, but, so long as he is a Christian, he comes under "Christian influences, and gradually accepting in its Christian "sense the brotherhood of Man, he may less and less attach any "importance to Caste. In dealing too rigorously with Caste, the "Missionary demands on the part of the convert the exhibition "of the highest virtue, and most self-denying Christian graces, "and makes no allowance for prejudices deeply rooted by "immemorial custom."

Another Missionary thought that "Caste should be recognized "as an evil, and all Moral means used to uproot it, while re-"fraining from severe measures."

Another remarked that: "If Native opinion were moulded, "Caste would die out like Slavery from the Early Church."

In the *Missions Catholiques* of 1880 I read: "Le seul point "essentiel des Castes c'est le mariage: les gens d'une Caste ne "contractent pas d'alliance avec ceux d'une autre. Les Castes "étant des distinctions purement sociales, le prêtre Catholique "ne gêne en rien la liberté naturelle de ses ouailles."

The Lutheran Church has openly declared for the maintenance of Caste, so there is always that refuge open to the neo-Christian.

The following practical testimony is given by a Madras Minister: "The longer I work among the people, the more am I convinced, "that, until we get a staff of workmen from the high-Castes, "our work in that direction will be unsuccessful. A high-Caste "Catechist may work with perfect impunity among the low-"Castes; but a low-Caste man can never cross the threshold "of a high-Caste man. I know the common cant, that the "Gospel can level all Caste-obstacles, social and Religious, and "that no Caste-distinctions should be countenanced. This "springs from mistaken zeal and downright Ignorance. Many "Missionaries are not so prudent as they ought to be, while "they themselves are, perhaps, as high-Caste socially as the "high-Caste Indian himself. I know of no Missionary, who "would be willing to sit down in a low-Caste house, and take "his meals with the inmates, or let them sit down with him at "his own table. This is a social distinction. There is no Moral "or Religious principle involved in it, nor does the low-Caste "consider such implied."

As a commentary to this, I may remark, that in the first report of the Native Panjáb Council in the North of India it is mentioned, that the Missionary Agents had to simulate to be high-Caste, though they were not so, with a view of getting an access and a hearing. How often in England is it stated, that it is important for an ordained Clergyman to be a gentleman?

Now this is Caste of the rankest kind, since in the eyes of the Lord nothing is common or unclean; and the word "gentleman" is not found in the Bible.

The Rev. Mr. Hickey, a retired Missionary, remarks with truth, that "Caste is more ethnological than superstitious; the "lowest day-labourer will not take the food cooked by one of "another Caste, much less would he marry with such. The "design is to keep the clanships distinct. Education will "have greater influence in this matter than rigorous Church-"discipline."

The Rev. Mr. Adamson remarks that "In dealing with our "weaker brethren in the Faith, some little respect should be "shown for national ideas. He considers that the scheme of "the annual dinner, or Love-feast, is next door to compelling "converts to adopt a European style of dress." And so indeed it is.

The whole question turns upon Christian liberty in doing, or abstaining from doing, what is not contrary to the Law of the Bible, and the Law of the land. The Missionary, who compels his Christians to partake of a Love-feast, or who forcibly arranges Marriages contrary to the wishes of their families, is doing an action contrary to the Law of Love, to natural equity, and which will affect him most, when these Communities grow strong enough to set aside both the letter and the spirit of whatever Laws may be framed for their government. Much is said in these days about the paramount importance of the independence of the Native Church. With the Native Council of that Church will eventually rest the decision of such matters as these. In past years Pastors and Church Office-holders may have been dismissed for not obeying orders about Caste: this can no longer be done except by the Native Council. For the first generation, at least, we may fully expect that a separation, analogous to that of Jew and Gentile, will exist. After this, and gradually, under the influence of example, advice, and above all God's Grace, such will, no doubt, in the end disappear. In the meantime, why should the Missionary put a stumbling-block in the way of the infant Church, and place upon his converts a burden with regard to Commensality and Inter-marriage, which he himself would not touch with his little finger? Would he give his daughter in marriage to a Native Pastor, or sit down to dinner with a Sweeper?

Let me give one particular instance. Now during the year 1895 we lost a remarkable Brahman-convert in India, Nilkanth Sastri Goreh, known as the Rev. Father Nehemiah Goreh. He was a man of the highest family, and his lineage could be traced back in the official lists for many generations through Brahmins on both sides. Among our Bishops have been men

of the highest excellence and repute (to quote instances), the sons of shopkeepers in Kensington or Brighton, or of domestic servants: not a whit the less good Bishops on that account: but if this dark-skinned descendant of a long line of noble ancestors had turned his attention to the young daughter of one of these white Bishops, and presumed to ask her hand, it would have been deemed an insult, and the very idea scouted, though the sister of one of the Bishops is wife of the village baker in a Lincolnshire village, which I know. Is not this Caste-prejudice on the part of the white immigrants into India?

The present policy of some Missions practically closes the door of the Church against the better classes, and opens it only to the very refuse of society. Colonel Sleeman, a skilled observer, remarked that what chiefly prevented the spread of Christianity was the dread of exclusion from Caste, and the convert's utter hopelessness of ever finding any respectable circle of society in his new sphere. Other observers have remarked, that the unhappy convert is not admitted to the English Caste, which is the strongest and most arrogant and exclusive Caste in India, and of which the Mahometans, in spite of themselves, share the feelings.

Bishop Sargent very pertinently observed in 1871: "So long "as all sit together in the Church, partake of the same cup "in the Lord's Supper, admit the administrations of men "considered originally of lower Caste, and abstain from all "heathen rites and ceremonies, what other overt acts are there, "that we can legitimately insist on? Now the above is the "extent, to which our rural congregations in the mass go. Have "we power to insist upon this promiscuous eating in a social "manner as a *sine quâ non*? It seems to me that the only "power left us in dealing with this matter is that of example and "persuasion. In my mind, to whatever means I have recourse, "I see that Love must be the spring, or the result will be "disappointment."

We may be thankful, that there has been a Christian Bishop, such as the man who wrote this, and who had lived years among the people. The Love, that is required to subdue this evil, would prevent the uttering of such exaggerations, and the penning of such abuse, as disfigure the Periodicals of Evangelical Societies on this subject, and which are a scandal to the Christian Church, and reflect upon the judgment of those who penned them.

In the Christian settlement of Kíshnagar in Bangál a great trouble broke out a few years ago, and three well-known and esteemed Native Christians were sent from Calcutta to visit the Christians, and report. They were Bangáli, and knew what they were about. They were of opinion, that the more the removal of the Caste-distinction was insisted upon at the present

moment, the less likelihood there was of success, and that the best solution of the difficulty was to let matters alone; to treat the people kindly, and so win their affections as gradually to dispel their prejudices by some Christian teaching. A European Missionary did not hesitate to express his opinion, that no one would like to be compelled to eat and associate with people given to filthy habits, and that the angry feeling of the people in this case was caused by the exhibition of an overbearing spirit on the part of the Missionary.

Of course scores of quotations could be given in the opposite sense to the preceding ones. It often happens, with regard to the writers, that they faithfully repeat the same cuckoo-note, and "*quod non intelligunt damnant*." The writers are either good men of the exalted type, who dream of a Christian Utopia "of faultless men, born again to a new life"; or they are ignorant men, knowing neither the people, nor their Language, and certainly imbued with no Love towards them. No doubt there is a difficulty in getting a suitable wife for a young neo-Christian of an isolated Caste, and it is not well for the Indian convert to remain unmarried. These are the difficulties of all nascent Communities. Again, the re-Marriage of young widows is a measure of the greatest importance. Paul felt it to be so in his time. There is little sentiment in such unions in India, though they may claim an average amount of happiness and fidelity. Protestant Missionaries in these matters are unconsciously following the example of all the Hindu Sectarian Reformers, who, century after century, have attacked Caste, but without success. Such movements were the result of the upheaving of the lower classes against the Priesthood, and against the oppression of the upper classes generally, and in all cases the vernacular Languages were made use of to influence the people. It may be added, that the educated atheistical classes of modern India are fighting against Caste, in the interest of unrestricted eating, and promiscuous marriage, and are not desirable allies for the Missionary.

There is too great a tendency on the part of Missionaries to treat the people as children. Babes they are, indeed, in Christ; but a robust and vital Church must be composed of hardy and independent members. The late General Dalton remarks, that Christianity is offered, even to non-Arian races, in the least alluring form. The Kole are fond of ornaments, and the women like to wear natural flowers in their hair. The Missionaries require, as a mortification of the flesh, that they shall wear no decoration. The General expresses his hope, that the necessity for such rigid austerity may cease, and that the girls may be allowed the harmless and pleasing custom of wearing flowers in their hair. The wish may also be expressed, that the Brahmin,

who is gentle in birth and by culture, may not, on becoming a Christian, be compelled to associate with, and pressed even to marry amongst, those who form, socially, the dregs of his Nation.

While, on the one hand, the State guarantees the rights of the people of India to their immemorial customs, on the other hand, when individuals or families have deliberately abandoned Caste, or tribal designations, and accepted the new denomination of "Christian," the conduct of the Courts of Justice, and the Recorders of the Census, in persisting in the use of the abandoned description, in spite of a protest, is open to serious objection, and would not be maintained for an instant, if proper remonstrance were made to Government. The Madras Government approved, that Native Christians should be recorded as such, irrespective of their former Castes.

There is, then, a portion of this Indian custom of Caste, which is protected by the Law of the land, and there is another portion, which has the sanction of what the natives are pleased to call "Dharma," or Religion. The question for the prudent Christian is to decide, whether the *social* portion, so deeply entwined with the feelings of the people, cannot be dissociated from the objectionable Religious portion, and be accepted, or at any rate tolerated, in a Christian Church. The Legislature of British India has by Statute declared, and declared justly, that no person shall forfeit any rights, which he would otherwise have enjoyed, by becoming a Christian. The Hindu and Mahometan population have acquiesced in this Law, imposed upon them by an alien Government, and which they would never have enacted themselves, though, in truth, it has been practically the Common Law of India for many centuries. The convert thus passes into the new Community with such property, as he is entitled to by inheritance, and the Law allows no disqualification or disability of any kind to operate against him. In what other country, except Great Britain and the United States, does such liberty prevail? Let the Christian Church, on her side, allow these converts to retain their *social* customs, until such shall, under the influence of Education and higher Civilization, lose their present rigid and exaggerated forms, and assume the elasticity, which is enjoyed in European countries. Upon a review of the entire subject, I am forced to the following conclusions:

(1) Whatever the Missionary Society in England, or the Missionary Agent in India, may wish to advise, the Native Church, which will, sooner or later, be independent, will do what it likes in the matter. The Civil Power in India will support it in the exercise of rights guaranteed to all subjects. Public Opinion is, and ever will be, strongly in its favour, and against the extreme section of the Missionaries. No Reformed Church will ever be supported in the enforcement of arbitrary

regulations, restricting the lawful liberty of citizens; nor will harsh Ecclesiastical discipline be tolerated, or be possible, in a country full of rival Churches.

(2) One of the greatest obstacles to Conversion is the entire destitution of all social respectability, which accompanies the acceptance of Christianity. Some remarkable men, like Ram Chandra of Dehli, Nehemiah Goreh of Banáras, Krishna Mohun Banerji of Calcutta, have been practically incorporated into English Society, and have found a new status, to which their great talents, their high culture, as well as their earnest Faith, entitled them. But the respectable member of the middle class, with small talents, and less Education, but whose Soul is as dear to God and the Church, as that of his exalted brethren above alluded to, loses his companions, his social ties, his credit, and all that makes up the charm of life, and finds no new Community with which he can associate. It is a fearful thing to contemplate the position of such a man. Great will be his reward hereafter, for he has given up all for his Master's sake, and taken his Saviour at His word. But the flesh is proverbially weak. In India the Martyr, in the old sense, is unknown, but comparatively few will have strength to be Confessors, unless their way is smoothed in all things lawful, and their entrance into the Church is barred by no unnecessary stumbling-blocks laid upon its threshold.

"The best way of putting down Caste is to preach a full "Gospel.

"The man, who is born of the Spirit, will not walk after the "flesh, but after the Spirit. He will not use his liberty for an "occasion to the flesh, but by love serve his brother, and bring "forth the fruits of the Spirit, Love, joy, peace, longsuffering, "gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.

"God made all of one blood. There is neither Jew nor "Gentile, bond nor free, male nor female.

"In the 14th chapter of Romans, Paul gives us specimens of the "difficulties, which arose between Jews and Gentiles, the former "naturally desiring to bind the Gentiles to their own customs, "such as days of fasting, circumcision, the distinction of meats, "etc.; and in this chapter I think we may find a principle to "guide. 'Him that is weak in the Faith receive ye, but not "to judge his doubtful thoughts.' Paul treated the scruples "of others with tenderness and indulgence. He circumcised "Timotheus because of the Jews. Again, he shaved his "head and purified himself with four others, to satisfy Jewish "prejudice. At Antioch he censured Peter for not eating with "the Gentiles."

The above remarks were made by a friend, and I gladly accept the views as my own.

I would not for one moment be supposed to suggest any concession of Christian doctrine and practice, or any amalgam of Hinduism and Christianity; but I would remind all, who are interested in the spread of Christ's Kingdom, that the Church in India may be as much built on Christ as our own, and yet have very different external developments. It may be free from many of the weaknesses, which disgrace our own, and may be exposed to others, from which we have never suffered. I am deliberately of opinion, from a long and intimate knowledge of the great races of Northern India, that to struggling converts trying to pass into the Christian fold through the mazes of an Oriental Civilization, an Oriental Morality, and Oriental weakness of character, it is desirable, that the boon should be conceded of being allowed to marry only within certain families, if they wish to be so restricted, and to eat and drink only with certain people, *except at the Lord's Table*. It is amazing to think, that Christian Ministers should place on such weak backs a burden which strong Christians, such as may be found in an old Christian country like this, would not allow their Ministers to suggest to them from the Pulpit. The whole mistake arises from our forgetting, that the people of India are men of like passions to ourselves, neither worse nor better. The Missionary will find it as much as he can do to wean them from Idolatry, keep them from Immorality, and protect them from Infidelity. And the permanency of his work will depend upon his remembering this. The British domination may pass away like a dream in the course of another generation, and only be remembered as a somewhat important incident in the long history of Indian Civilization. But Institutions, built up on the Great Truths of Scripture, upon the solid foundations of Natural Equity, will stand unshaken amidst the ruin of Empires, and wield no lessened power, when the mightiest thrones have fallen.

1881–1895.

H. Difficulties of Missions.

1. General.
2. African.

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1. General.

Missionary Warnings for the Twentieth Century.

Lecture delivered in the Chapter House of St. Paul's Cathedral, November 5, 1894, to the Association of Lay-Helpers of the Diocese of London.

Let me widen the expression of the subject, on which I have been invited to address you, and for the words "Missions to the Heathen" substitute "Missions to the non-Christian world," as neither Jew nor Mahometan can be classed as Heathen. The subject is many-sided, and it is desirable to fix the thoughts on certain aspects, and on this occasion omit reference to some of the aspects most familiar, such as:

(1) The Duty and privilege of Evangelization.
(2) The Geographical distribution of the Missions of the different Churches, or Associations.
(3) The reflex blessings on the Church, which sends out the Mission.
(4) The comparative excellence, or the contrary, of the different Methods.
(5) The necessary qualifications and training of the agents, male and female, lay and ordained.
(6) The importance of Translations of the Bible, and a good vernacular, Religious and secular, Missionary literature.

All such aspects are discussed annually from the Pulpit, the Platform, in special Periodicals, or in separate volumes, sometimes with great fulness, and freshness, sometimes totally inadequately and erroneously. The methods of Evangelization are rapidly becoming the greatest of Human Sciences, and the most difficult.

I am addressing a select body of Christian workers, and I present to you certain aspects of the subject, which are not always thought of, or are intentionally passed over. I place in the hands of each one of you a copy of the heads of my Lecture, that you may, after hearing my words, and the discussion, which

will follow, take them home and ponder over them. Some of these are not pleasant aspects. I am not one, who speaks smooth things: perhaps there may be some among you, who would rather, that some of my statements were not made in public. We are in the midst of the great battle of the Faith of Christ against the world: we admit, that there are errors in the tactics of the Church of Rome. Are there any in our own? Do we prefer darkness to light? We cannot go on in a kind of mist.

(1) The number of non-Christians in the round world (not the conventional world of a writer or speaker, who has never left Great Britain) is much greater at the end of the Nineteenth Century than it was at the beginning.

India may be taken as a fair test, as we have a decennial Census: the population has increased between 1881 and 1891 by thirty Millions, or three Millions per annum. The result of the labour of Christian Missionaries of every kind during the last three hundred years, the old Syrian Church, the Church of Rome, and Protestants, does not reach three Millions, and this includes all the British Soldiers, and the European population. The annual dead weight of non-Christians increases by the generation of children, and preservation of life; for the great Pax Britannica of nearly one century has put down, or restricted, the influence of War, Famine, and Pestilence: there is no Immigration into India, but annually the Pagan tribes of the Hills, without any attempt at conversion, gravitate into the great reservoirs of the Hindu and Mahometan systems, because they are indigenous: Christianity is presented as an Exotic from Europe, and in a non-Asiatic form. And yet enthusiasts talk and write of the conversion of the population of the great globe within a near Future!

(2) The European Civilization, which accompanies the Missionary, or precedes him, or follows him, is one of the most insidious, and deadly, enemies to *real*, as opposed to *nominal*, Christianity.

Can this be doubted? The Missionary in his address to the people talks about a "new life," a subjection of the body to the Soul by the overpowering Grace of the Holy Spirit: the Europeans present object-lessons of the contrary tendency: relaxation of Morals, undue indulgence in Liquor, which latter seems to accompany the Missionary even in Mahometan countries,

where its use had been previously forbidden: European Education levels those bulwarks of Morality, which ancient Religions have erected: these Religious conceptions are attacked, abused, and if possible driven out, and the last state of the man becomes worse than the first.

The European Civilization brings with it the import of liquor of every kind, lethal weapons, diseases previously unknown: the loathsome Venereal disease is called, and justly called, the "English wind" by the Natives of India. Nor are the English alone in this shame. I quote the following from a Newspaper: "At the close of the indaba the indunas begged, that a quantity "of medicine should be distributed among their people, for "they declared, and it is unfortunately true, that the whole "Ma-Tabéle Nation is eaten up with a foul disease in its most "virulent form. On being asked how this disease had reached "their country, they replied that it had been spread among "them by the Gazaland Portuguese."

Canon Scott-Holland, at a Meeting on the subject of Missions in Japan, thus expressed himself in 1895: "They would be "Oriental without being tropical. The Bishop did not disguise "the particular type he had got to deal with. He did not *want "to Anglicize it.* We must send to them the Gospel as it had "come to us English, stripping off, as far as we could, the "accidents of our position, and then we must leave them to "assimilate the *Message we gave them*, and we looked for some "special power *they could give to it.* We had to see that the "Message of Jesus Christ would bear the strain of grim, earnest "work. We had to show, that Christianity was not only a "Religion of consolation in sorrow, and a Religion, that could "promise deliverance from sin within, but also that it was more "than that, that it had the power to stand the strain of a great "Civilization upon it, and that it had the power to uphold a "great Nation in the hour of victory."

(3) The contact of great Truths of Christian Dogma, and Christian Morality, with the prevailing Religious conceptions of a non-Christian people has often the result of generating new forms of Religious conceptions, resembling both parents, more dangerous than the antiquated, and often decaying, forms.

It used to be to me a comfort to think, that anyhow, under the influence of Civilization, Education, Missionary Preaching, the contact of the outer world as regards Polytheism and Idolatry, at least a change was at hand. Great Pan was dying, or dead. But Mahometanism, the absolute belief in one only God, and the certainty of a Day of Judgment, remains, purged

of any dross contracted by contact with Polytheism. New Religious conceptions are coming into existence, based on more or less Morality, the Aria-Somaj, the Brahmo-Somáj, Theosophism, Mormonism, Unitarianism, and are being propagated by Preaching, Schools, and literature, and their principles enforced by men of ability, eloquence, and blameless lives. Even among the comparative barbarians of New Zealand, a new Religious conception, called Hau Hau-ism, has drawn away hundreds of neo-Christians among the Maori: one change of belief leads to another.

(4) High Education of the European type, and the transmission to a non-Christian people of European literature of sceptical, immoral, and atheistical, type, render the intellectual and spiritual position of that people worse than it was before, as all Religious Sanction for Morality disappears.

It might have been expected, that a preacher of the Gospel would have confined himself to teaching in his elementary Schools a sufficient knowledge for the status of life of his converts, or adherents. We hear nothing in Apostolic, or sub-Apostolic, times of Schools of learning, and Science and Mathematics, started by the early Christians. Christianity suits all grades of life, all degrees of culture, or non-culture, all gradations of Human Knowledge, or want of Knowledge. Its object is the next world, not the present. The European Missionary wishes to impart something more than the good tidings of Salvation through Faith. His sole commission was to preach Christ, and through Him Repentance, Pardon, Holiness. The carnal spirit of the Nineteenth Century provokes him to do something more: he forgets that the power of reading, and the supply of literature, are two-edged weapons. The long discipline of ignorant Christian centuries taught the European, when the time of enlightenment came, to use the weapons of culture with caution. The Missionary places in the hands of the poor, and lowly, babes in Christ lethal weapons, which they have not been taught to use.

High Education of a European type in India supplies the representatives of the non-Christian Religious conceptions with the weapons to carry on the war against the Missionary. Tract-Societies are started for distributing anti-Christian literature; Schools are opened to compete with Christian Schools: if the Missionary forgets himself so far as to publish Tracts placing the Religious character of the Hindu and Mahometan sages and prophets, and the objects of their Worship, in an unfavourable light, counter Tracts are published: both are painful to me to

read, as both are so contrary to Christian principles: aspersions against the birth and life of our Blessed Lord cause deep pain, but they are provoked by bitterly hostile biographies of Mahomet, caricatures of Krishna, or garbled extracts from the Korán or Veda. The filthy and atheistical literature of London finds a sale among partially educated Asiatics: it would be well for them, had they not known the English Language, or been taught to read. In very truth Christianity was intended for the requirements of every part of the Human race, without reference to the grade or nature of its Civilization, and should not be presented to Asiatics and Africans in a European dress.

(5) The contemptuous way, in which the Missionary talks, and writes, about the Religious conceptions of a great people of more than a hundred Millions, for twenty centuries, and attempts to Europeanize, as well as convert to Christianity, Asiatic, African, Oceanic, and American, races, leads to a National antipathy of the foreigner, which seems likely to bring forth sad consequences in the Twentieth century.

This is a very sad subject indeed: it is obvious, that had it been the Will of our Heavenly Father, all-powerful, all-merciful, all-wise, the Ruler of the hearts of Sovereigns and Nations, all the inhabitants of the round world might have been brought to Christianity five thousand years ago. The comparatively few that have been converted, owe their conversion to the Power of the Holy Spirit, acting through the imperfect teaching of zealous, though inadequately prepared, men.

This fact must be accepted, as Paul accepted it: his preaching was foolishness to his hearers. He never railed against the Hellenic Deities, but he tried to teach the Heathen better things, and to explain to them the Divine Plan, which the greatest and wisest of their race had failed to grasp. The people of India, China, and the extreme Orient, are not the savages, which our ancestors were in the time of Julius Cæsar, but an ancient, highly cultured people with a wonderful Religious literature, and a knowledge of Arts and Sciences equal to our own: and yet they are derided by a Missionary with his small knapsack of knowledge accumulated in a Missionary College, and an entire ignorance of the great Story of Man in all ages, climes, and degrees of culture, seeking after God, if haply he could find Him, and rendering thanks for benefits received, though in a wrong way, and to a wrong object of Worship; but as Paul says, "God overlooked their Ignorance in times past, and suffered all the Nations to walk in their own ways."

Cardinal Vaughan, on the other hand, in 1868 quoted Xavier: "Who can sit at home complacent and self-satisfied, while Hell is being filled with the Souls of the Heathen?"

The speeches of the Apostle Paul at Athens and Lystra teach us how the highly educated classes in a great University city in one case, and the residents of a Provincial town, probably low down in the scale of culture, are to be reasoned with: in Love, in sympathy, a style of argument free from contempt, or egoism, or national arrogance; and yet he also was by birth a Roman citizen, a man of Education, and devoted to his Mission. In his Epistles there are no tirades against the Worship of the Greek Divinities. He remembered a fact, which modern Missionaries do not care to remember, that the Religious conceptions of the Gentile Nations were just such as their Heavenly Father had permitted them to develop out of their own imagination. They were born, and allowed to live long lives, to attain great wealth and power, and Knowledge, and to write wonderful books like those of Plato and Aristotle, and erect buildings, the beauty of which we still admire. Paul was conciliatory to them, and told them, that he knew that what they did they did in Ignorance, that God winked at their errors in times past, but that now was come the time for better things. And it did come. If it were the Will of the Almighty, the whole world could still be converted to Christianity without Human agency: but God's counsels are past finding out. In abusing the non-Christians, and importing the name of Satan, we are unconsciously scoffing at the Power and Wisdom of the Ruler of the Universe.

(6) The refusal of the European, or American Missionary, to give independence to self-supporting Native Churches, of four or five generations of Christians, and the attempt to prolong their own Spiritual tutelage, seem likely to eventuate in the creation of phantom-Associations, consisting of Salaried Officials paid with foreign money, and a nominal indigenous Christianity, which will disappear, when the cessation of the Missionary gold, and the withdrawal of European Political Protection, leaves the White-Man-Religion like a house built upon the sand.

The Egoistic Albocracy of the Anglo-Saxon on both sides of the Atlantic is notorious. The Churches of Asia and Africa existed long before any European, or American, Church, and have survived the hard times of Mahometan oppression: not very Spiritual, but still national, self-supporting, and self-respecting. Can this be said of the alien establishments, paid

by foreign gold, with aged native clergy domineered over by young strangers in a constantly changing stream from the different Seminaries of the far West? A deadly injury is done to the Native Churches by withholding from them that constitutional independence, to which they are entitled. How were the Churches in the first centuries formed? There were no committees to collect funds and send out men: and yet—and yet—they developed into the Churches, which now occupy Europe, North America, parts of North Africa, and Western Asia. If these nascent Churches cannot with the help of the Holy Spirit manage their own affairs, their conversion is a mere name. The longer that they are kept in bondage, the less will they be worthy of the honour of being members of Christ's Body, the Church. If the English were driven out of India by a Mahometan, or Buddhist, or Hindu, Power, all the Christian Associations, except that of Travancór, would disappear.

Why are they deprived of that Spiritual independence, to which in the third and fourth generations of Christians they are entitled? This was the Apostolic practice: the converts were taught from the first to provide for their own Pastors, Teachers, Buildings, Widows, and Orphans. As it is now, a native salaried class, paid by the Associations in Europe and America, has come into existence; and in the hour of political peril the same fate will overwhelm this century's work by Protestants, as overwhelmed last century the Missions of the Church of Rome in South America and West Africa, when no more Priests, and no more gold, came to them from Europe. It is usual to say, that the Natives of India and Africa are not fit for independence, and yet British India has its form of Municipal Government, and Natives of India are notorious for their ability, taking places in the examinations for the Civil Service above Englishmen. In West Africa there is no want of educated Native Clergy and Laymen. There may be failures, as there have been in European Churches, but let the experiment be tried.

(7) The foundation of so-called Churches of different denominations in the same Cities and Provinces, always alienated from each other, in some instances violently hostile, must in the next generation produce consequences most unfavourable to the common Christianity.

This is a frightful difficulty: we have nothing parallel to it in early Church-History: there were then parties and sectaries, each calling one another "heretic," and themselves "orthodox," and appealing to the Arm of the Flesh to help them; but there are no facilities now for driving out, or burning, or proscribing, and

in each City and Province there will be different sets of so-called Christians, not loving each other at all; and half-hearted converts will migrate from one Church to the other, as it suits them.

We have only to imagine what the position of our early Christianity would have been in these islands, if it had been presented to the Anglo-Saxon and Briton, while still devoid of culture, and unlettered, in the multiform variety, in which it is presented to people of India, China, and Japan: if a man wants to marry his deceased wife's sister, and the Pastor of his flock refuses to read the service, he goes to the Pastor of another denomination, and gets it done: if a difference arises about salary, or Dogma, or practice with his Pastor, the Native Christian goes elsewhere. The Annual reports tell us how the Protestant and Papist Missionaries do not hesitate to proselyte in the rival camps: fortunately neither has power to use force, and the Civil Government, Gallio-like, takes no care of such things. A Ba-Suto Chief in South Africa remarked, "that he had "in his dominions four kinds of Christians, the Ma-Franze, the "Ma-Roma, the Ma-Wesley, and Ma-Churchee of England, and "that it was like a man having four cows: sometimes he can "milk them all, and when one failed, he can always reckon on "a supply of milk from the others."

(8) Too much leaning on the part of the weak-kneed Missionary on the Arm of the Flesh; the Treaty-Right wrung by European Powers from the Chinese and Turk; the Protectorate, forced upon an unwilling British Government by political importunity in Eastern Equatorial Africa; the dispatch of United States Ships of War to the Islands of Oceania; the connivance of the French Republic with Roman Catholic Propaganda, in all parts of the world: all these features are deadly obstacles to pure Evangelization.

No person can have studied the Mission-field everywhere with a judicial mind without being aware of this. Of course, each individual justifies the proceedings of his own Society, or Nation, or Agent, and denounces the conduct of others. I used to wonder, how the Missionaries of the Middle Ages could have found it consistent with their Spiritual Duties to act as they did with the help of superstitious, immoral, and cruel Monarchs; but after the story of U-Gánda in 1892–3–4, I have ceased to wonder. In past History no armed interference was ever so earnestly solicited, and even paid for by thousands of pounds, collected from friends of Missions for this specific purpose. Secular power was never so ruthlessly employed in destroying

the opposite party. Never was political organization so unscrupulously used to force a Protectorate on an unwilling Government. Nothing of this kind has ever happened before in the prosecution of British Missions in any part of the world.

It is well known, that Europe in the Middle Ages was converted by sheer force, and it took one thousand years to complete the work. The Missionary will not remember, that the power of sheer force is still used in Russia to prevent secession from the Russian Church. Conversion is from the Lord, and a faithful presentation of Gospel-Truth is all that is required of the Missionary. Had it pleased the Ruler of the Universe, the fourteen hundred Millions, which make up the population of the round world, might long ago have been converted. But no Prophet, or Apostle, during forty Centuries was ever sent to the large mass of Human creatures, so that in the Nineteenth century only one-third are Christians, and many of these only nominally. And yet the Missionary is always trying to secure the aid of the Civil Power, instead of resting on the Almighty Arm.

(9) The tendency on the part of misguided Missionaries to meddle with the mundane politics of the people, and their social habits, must make them unpopular, and injure them in their proper Spiritual Duty, as laid down in the New Testament, of preaching the Gospel. Take, for instance, the Anti-Opium, and Anti-Opium-Trade-craze; the crusade against the Drink-Traffic, the denunciation of Child-marriages, Caste, Respect paid to Ancestors, etc., etc.

This head speaks for itself. If the Chinese only had the power, they would cry out in the words of Prince Kung, "Take away your Opium and your Missionaries." Paul set such a different example: he had to put up with the coldness of the Philosophic Schools of Athens, the libidinous profligacy of Corinth, the fact that a large proportion of mankind were in bondage to the other part, the cruelty of the Roman Emperors, and the Roman system: he never railed against dignitaries, or denounced particular articles of traffic: the Kingdom, which he preached, was not the Kingdom of this world.

The Missionary Periodicals, and the stump-orator of the platform, and even the Preacher, who has crammed the subject of Missions for his Annual Sermon, know nothing of these features, and yet they exist: in the Future we shall hear more of them. We may lose the Empire of India, if the Faddists get the upper hand. "Fiat Fad, ruat India."

In the Annual reports of modern days we read of the numbers, who annually fall away; they are generally the

children of the first converts: it must be very difficult for a neo-Christian family to lead a consistent life in such an environment, as is presented by an Indian or Chinese town: they find themselves excluded from many means of livelihood: our hearts go out to them, for they have to take up the Cross. In other parts of the world neo-Christians relapse into immorality, and will hold their fellows in Slavery, or worse still, keep up hateful practices. Taking the lowest line of argument, if Slavery and Polygamy were ever tolerable, the conscience of the world has outgrown them now, and yet the Negro Christians of West Africa clamour for them.

The Missionary of the Nineteenth century is but carrying on the great work, which commenced, when Abraham was called. At sundry times and in divers manners God sent Messages to His poor children, created in His own Image, and scattered over the globe, in thousands of cities, and in tens of thousands of villages; and in the fulness of time sent His Son; but there is a marked difference in the present environment and the existing opportunities. The Hebrew Prophets repeatedly appeal to History, asking, whether God ever dealt with any other Nation, as He had dealt with the Hebrew tribes of a few Millions; but neither the Prophet, nor his hearers, had any knowledge whatever of the History of past times, or of contemporary Nations, and their Geographical Knowledge was confined to Ammon, Moab, Edom, Egypt, Phenicia, and Assyria: so isolated were they, that Plato had never heard of their Sacred Books, and no echoes of Homer's great song had from any one of his reputed birthplaces, none of which are far from the shores of Palestine, reached any Hebrew ear. The Missionary band in the first century knew something about the countries included in the Roman Empire, but little enough about Britain, India, and China, except by vague report. As to the literature of past ages, Apollos possibly may have read Plato in the Schools of Alexandria, and Paul quotes Greek Poets, but that is all: the Wisdom of the Heathen world was nothing to them; though, as Hebrews, they were socially inferior to the Greek and Roman in Arts and Arms, they were new creatures, preaching a new Gospel, propagating a new idea, not by Might or Wisdom, or the Arm of the Flesh, but by the Holy Spirit.

The Missionary of to-day belongs to a different Epoch, and environment. Every country is mapped out; the name of every city, and tribe, and Language, is known; all ancient literature is printed, translated, and revealed to astonished eyes: we come face to face with Inscriptions and documents, full of Faith in their national Deities, prepared by ancient men, who died long before Anno Domini: the majority are on Religious subjects:

some of these Religious conceptions are cherished by Millions to this day; some have been trodden out by younger, and yet still non-Christian, conceptions. Traces of profound Wisdom, and high Morality, are not wanting. These ancient men were neither fools, nor Atheists, nor barbarians, and haughty Time has been just in sparing for the encouragement and reproof of the men of this generation, the wonderful outcome of the brains, and consciences, and speculative heart-searchings, of past Epochs, and different races, as they felt after God.

Has the young Missionary even heard of the Sacred Books of the ancient Religious conceptions in Asia and North Africa, transcending the Hebrew Scriptures in secular literary beauty (which matters not), and in antiquity, and holding influence over ten times the number of God's creatures, and some of which have been permitted by the Almighty to retain their power (whether for good or for evil) to this day?

We are saved by Faith; we wish to save a dying world through Faith: what is Faith? "Now Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Hebrews, xi, 1); and Paul writes to the Ephesians (ii, 8), "By Grace are ye saved through Faith, and that not of yourselves: *it is the Gift of God.*" No philosophic argument, no historic analogy, no appeal to ancient Sacred Books, will convince even the Jew, much less the Hindu, and Confucianist, and Mahometan: Faith comes from the direct Gift of God by revelation to the Soul of the neo-Christian, or by early teaching to the children of Christian parents: one great, perhaps the greatest, English Philosopher of modern times tells us in his Memoirs, how he tried to have Faith, but his intellect was so hardened by seeking for material proof of all his theories, *that he could not*: the same story is told of a sincere Christian in Egypt in the time of the Arian controversy, that he could not grasp the belief, that Christ was God, which is so easy to the nominal Christian, who has never thought it out, but accepted the blessed Truth even as a little child. The son of a Mahometan came to me in India to describe the death of his father, one of my honoured friends: "He took the Korán into his hands, covered his head with a sheet, and died in full 'imán,'" the Arabic term for Faith, in one mightier than the believer. This word "imán" is used for Faith in the Old Testament: Deut., xxxii, 20; Habakkuk, ii, 4. Among the dying words of Socrates were these:

"*κάλον τό ἄθλον, μεγάλη ἡ ἔλπις.*"

This last word is rendered as Faith in Hebrews, x, 23. In conversation with a Brahmin Priest, he would at once put forward his Faith, "biswás" or "bhakti," in Vishnu both for this world

and the next. The Buddhist, and Confucianist, and Parsi, would fall back on the sayings of their great Sages, as the Hebrews did on Moses: "Gautama, and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Zoroaster, said so." I mention this not to cast any doubt on the Faith, which we hold in Jesus, but on the extreme difficulty, which meets the Missionary, ignorant of everything but his own Shibboleth.

Is the ordinary Missionary agent, male or female, lay or ordained, fit for the contest in intellect, acquired Knowledge, and sympathy? He is brought up in the narrow environment of a sect, rather than of a national Religion, where any attempt to question a received interpretation of Scripture, or a practice of the particular Church-party, or a question as to the fundamental relation of man to God, would be coughed down. Such an intellect suddenly, at the age of twenty-four, brought face to face, with a totally different environment, is helpless: "Ex quôvis ligno fit Mercurius, sed ex quôvis juveni non fit nuntius Dei." Has he ever given a passing thought to the dealings of the Creator with His poor creatures scattered over the world since the day of Creation? The Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters: the Divine Wisdom, that is to say, the Son, was with His Father, when He laid out the world, and created man in His own Image. Has the young Missionary thought out the problem of the Millions, who have passed to their account during the 4000 years of Archbishop Usher, the 6000 of Egyptian Scholars, and the 8200 of other Scholars, which intervened betwixt the day of Creation, and the Fulness of Time, when Christ came? What a small figure do the Nineteen Centuries since Anno Domini appear in comparison, and one-third only of the Human race brought into the fold!

We hear a hoarse voice from a platform in a crowded hall of "More men! more men!" But what kind of men? Is any of the applicants, like Paul, ready to be all things to all men, forgetting his own people and country, leading a life even to the grave of poverty, celibacy, and self-Sacrifice; like Paul, condescending to allude to Pagan conceptions, as at Athens and Lystra; gently pardoning gross moral sins, if repented of, as at Corinth; though a Roman Citizen, not domineering over the races, to whom he comes as God's Ambassador, not speaking evil of dignitaries, not contending against the lawful Governors, not denouncing the Worship of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, however degraded, or the Worship of the Temple of Athéné at Athens, however magnificent, or particular articles of Commerce, or particular social habits of a great Nation, which had the sanction of long usage.

Let us imagine the young Missionary fresh from the

University, or the Training Colleges, of Canterbury or Islington, or an older Missionary, who has been occupied ten years in a Mission-station teaching the rudiments in a School (those, who stay on to old age, are so few, that they are a negligable quantity), closeted with such a man as Claude Montefiore among the Hebrews, Sayid Ahmed Ali among the Mahometans, Dayananda of the Aria-Somáj, Keshab Chandra of the Brahmo-Somáj, a Parsi Dastúr, or a learned Pandit of the Vedanta, or the Sankya, School of the orthodox Hindu, to discuss, in a friendly manner, as men educated in English Colleges, the great fundamental questions of the world, which underlie all Religious conceptions: "Self, the World, God: the mysteries of life and death, pain and poverty, impurity and Holiness (what constitute them?), and the great Hereafter."

Ποῦ γένομαι; τίνος εἶμι; τίνος χάριν ἦλθον, ἀπῆλθον;

Such a discussion betwixt such men would be outside the conventional quotation of Scripture-Texts, would bear no reference to the practice of the Mediæval Church of Europe, and the small stock of theological Knowledge in the Missionary's knapsack: each disputant would have in his hand the authorized Translation of his own ancient Religious books of bygone years, well thumbed, read, and prayed over, but none of them would be accepted by both parties, except the Old Testament by the Jew and Christian. The real question on common ground would be the great secret of the relation of the Soul of man to God, the secret of a man's conscience of what is really good and positively evil; the influence of the Spirit of God on that conscience, and what is God's plan of Salvation for man? The Providence of God is not limited to the care of Christian Churches in these latter days, any more than it was to the care of the rebellious Hebrew before Anno Domini: "He hateth nothing that He hath made."

We may be thankful for the beautiful thoughts contained in verses 24, 25, 26, cap. xi, of the Wisdom of Solomon:

"For Thou lovest *all* things that are, and abhorreth nothing
" which Thou hast made, for never wouldest Thou have made
" anything, if Thou hatest it.

" And how could anything have existed, if it had not been
" Thy Will, or been preserved, if not called by Thee?

" But Thou sparest *all*, for they are Thine, O Lord, Thou lover
" of Souls."

It may be disheartening to listen to my words; but I am not addressing an ordinary Missionary Meeting, in the emotional way so common, nor with the object of making a collection. I am addressing earnest workers, whose desire is to understand

this great problem, the greatest of the Epoch: how can we Evangelize the non-Christian world? It will not be done by gush, or uncontrolled enthusiasm, by the sounding brass of Exeter Hall monster-gatherings, or the tinkling cymbal of the Missionary Periodical. Each one of the heads stated in the paper, which you carry away, are worth reflecting upon: they indicate the point, at which I have arrived after a study of the subject for fifty years. I wish you to carry away something of a definite character: perhaps some of the points may never have occurred to you.

The paid Officials of the Missionary Associations, who are exceedingly jealous of allowing the local Missionary committee any power of self-government, have as much business on their hands as they can get through, such as giving Missionaries leave to come home, or get married, or arranging for the Education of the children of Missionaries, and the most trivial details, to have time to take a large view of the prospects of the Future: there is such a mass of correspondence and accounts to be got through, and so much useless talking, that there is no leisure to look round, backwards, or ahead. The Annual reports and Periodicals are the work of one or two hands, who for a long period of years keep a tight hold on the Publishing Department. Everything unpleasant is hushed up: euphemism is the rule: "Bona verba quaeso": "Speak no scandal of Queen Elizabeth!" a great deal of twaddle is written. The Members of the committee set out the Agenda-Paper, or at least a small number of Members do so: if any Member is "troublesome" he is got rid of at the next annual Election. The Archbishop of Canterbury, at the Mission Conference in 1804 (page 15 of the Report), "It is not possible for Societies to deal with Geniuses: either the Society must repress the Genius, or the Genius must make the Society exceedingly uncomfortable." The majority of commonplace men, of the dummy kind, led by the paid Secretaries, stamp out all independence of thought, or prevision of coming events, all looking out on the horizon, watching the presages of human possibilities, preparing for changes, which must come in the second and third generation of neo-Christians, all sympathy with local and national aspirations. We know too well what this is in the Colonial Office, or Foreign Office, or the secret council of an autocrat Sovereign, such as the Emperor of Russia, and the present Sultan of Turkey. A Missionary committee is a miniature-copy of such organizations.

But do not the Missionaries, by their letters, or their oral counsels, correct this tendency to red-tape, and indifference to the Future? Certainly not. A Missionary is entirely ignorant of anything outside of, or different from, his *one particular field*: he is bound by the ties of Language to one environment the

whole time of his service. And in that field he is influenced by his contact with the Missionaries of other Associations: they must all act much in the same way: stand up for each other if friendly; oppose and abuse each other, if, as in the case of the Church of Rome, there is, down to the very root, hostility.

The more that I reflect on the future, the more difficult the problem threatens to become: "The Rev. Professor Oswald "Dykes remarked, that in the Future Missionary Societies would "have to be locked in a life and death struggle with the four "great Religions associated with Oriental Civilization, Confu-"cianism, Buddhism, Brahmanism, and Islam: the last would "be the worst enemy to the Christian Church, he feared." But his view is limited; for the new brood of Religious conceptions, Mormonism, Theosophism, Brahmoism, Arianism, Unitarianism, are infinitely more deadly, being creatures of the Nineteenth century, free from Idolatry, and old-world weaknesses, with a high standard of Morality.

Some writers think, that diffusion of the Gospel, so that every person under Heaven may have the chance of being saved, is the object of Missions, and the question of the hour: never mind, whether the hearer refuses the Message or accepts it, and then relapses; never mind, whether no permanent Association is formed to carry on the Message to future generations: the crying object of this generation is to try *to save the present generation of unsaved.* Thus, the whole Christian world is to abandon its home-duties, and, whether suited or not, to sally out on a Crusade.

To me all this seems high-flown nonsense: it is not everyone, who is fit to be a Missionary. God is not in a hurry, whatever man may be: Nineteen Centuries have passed away, and yet real Christianity is but a small company: much misdirected zeal has been exhibited, acts of cruel ferocity committed, and yet the world is revealed to us as a non-Christian world.

Is there any cause for despondency as to the result, or relaxation as to effort? Certainly not. If it were a Human affair, this might be the case, but this enterprize is from God. One of the great Indian sages, in one of the Immortal Poems of his race, remarks:

"Set your heart on the Work itself, not on the result."

Man gives the Labour: the Lord in His own time gives the increase.

The errors in the Missionary system at the end of the Nineteenth century are "Egoism, and committee-ism," the exaggeration of the Platform, the Euphemism of the Missionary Publications.

Is the Message conveyed to the non-Christian world the Message of the Master as given in Galilee? I quote the words of the *Lagos Times*, July, 1894:

"The Rev. A. F. F. Eastman, in a paper read before "the Parliament of Religions, used these striking words: "'Organized or European Christianity is not the imitation of "the life and teachings of Christ among His followers. "Christianity, as it has come to us, is the teaching of Jesus, "*plus* Judaism, *plus* the Roman spirit of Law and Justice and "German philosophy, *plus* the ideals of mediæval art, *plus* the "nature of the Germanic races, *plus* the scientific spirit of the "modern age.'"

In Livingstone's Article on Missionary Sacrifice occur the following words: "We ought to try and see a larger arc of "the great Providential Circle, and not only the poor segment, "which concerns ourselves and our generation. We should be "more willing to trust God's unerring Wisdom."

Another writer says: "People go about the world with their "own particular two-foot rulers. The later Greeks and Romans "no doubt thought the Arabs of their time savages of the "meanest capacity, yet somehow or other they broke up the "Roman Empire."

Is not this the way, in which our emissaries go on blundering in their benevolent labours, in their hearts despising the capacity of the people, whom they are striving to convert; their desire being to drill and train their native converts after the fashion of the middle classes of Europe, from which they themselves came forth; excellent people for their own environment, their own Epoch, and their own antecedents; but without the creative and adaptive power of Paul, who became all things to all men, and belonged to no one Epoch and environment.

The word "Conversion" flows easily from the pen: what is it? The making of a new creature, the crucifying of the old man; not the putting on of a cloak of the Western fashion over the old Oriental garment, but a deliberate tearing up, and burning, of the old materials; a realizing of what God is, and what Sin is, and what is the meaning of a Love to Mankind, because the Son of Man Loved us and died for us.

I quote the words of Handley Moule: "I ask no questions "about your Soul's past history in its details. I do not wait to "inquire, whether your discoveries of Jesus Christ in the Past "have been slow or swift, gradual or convulsive, a rising of the "day beyond the hills, or a great sudden light in the inner "Heaven above the brightness of all other suns. God works "both ways. Let not the man suddenly converted judge him, "who can name no day or year. Let not the man, on whom "Christ has slowly dawned deny, because he hath not felt it, the

" profound realities of a sudden and conscious transition into " life. But the main question, after all, is to-day, and the " present scene, and our sight now of the indwelling Lord. " And in view of this, how simple, how cheering, are the " promises of Grace! Christian minister, do you desire now, " at present, henceforth, in entire simplicity, with lips and also " with life, to 'preach Him' as one who sees Him? He waits, " He advances, to meet your need. He is already at your door, " with the knock, and with the beloved voice. And your part is " with the hand of however trembling a Faith, to open the door, " and the sweet abiding revelation shall be yours. 'If any man' " (and remember those words were spoken to a Christian Pastor " first) 'hear My voice and open the door, I will come in to him, " and will sup with him, and he with Me.' Amen."

Men become Christians from finding in the life and words, and death of Jesus Christ, something that touches them, something, that opens new revelations to their previously dormant hearts, something that makes them for the first time understand the wondrous feeling which men call Divine Love, the feeling that God loves us and cares for us; and the least thing that we can do in return is to love Him. It is like the magic of a new melody, the first hearing of a wondrous poem, the contemplation of a noble act of self-sacrifice, which makes the heart of the looker-on beat high. Can it be that we poor creatures are dear and precious to God? Can it be that we, *who think so well of ourselves*, are miserable sinners, and require this action of self-Sacrifice? Old things are cast away: we see things in a new light: Repentance, Faith, Pardon, Peace, and Holiness, not after the manner of the Jew and the Brahmin, in order to be saved, but because we are saved. Does the new convert look out on the old familiar world with a changed power of vision, or has he merely changed his place of Worship, his Census-denomination, the modicum of Dogma, which his brain is able to take in, and his Shibboleth? Even in a congregation of new converts, to quote the words of Archdeacon Wilson, " We have " made our Religion to consist far too much in meeting for " Worship and listening to hymns and prayers and sermons; we " have *forgotten that these are not the end, but the means*; the end " is the coming upon earth of *the Kingdom of God*. Many of " our Services are Spiritual luxuries; to attend them so regularly " is very like diligently stoking a fire so arranged as to give no " heat and drive no engine. Year after year passes and who is " the better for them? It is not marching forward, it is the " operation our Volunteers know as 'marking time,' regularly " lifting up our feet and regularly putting them down in the same " place. Where in the Gospels and Epistles do we read of such " a conception of Religion? We find it difficult to keep before

" us the ideal of mutual service, that friendship for the brethren
" which is distinctively the Christian virtue."
And the work of the Missionary is twofold:

(1) To convert the individual Soul, which comes under his personal influence, of a man, who will die.
(2) To lay the foundations of a new Christian Church, which, *if properly built up*, will last for ever.

1894, 1895.

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2. Difficulties of Missions in Africa.

Address delivered at Bury St. Edmunds, November, 1894, at the Diocesan Missionary Conference of the S.P.G.

Let me define the Geographical limits. Africa is divided by the necessity of space, and the essential difference of circumstances, into four Regions:

Northern, down to the Tropic of Cancer, which intersects the first Cataract of the Nile.

Southern, below the Tropic of Capricorn, which intersects the basin of the Zambési.

Eastern, } divided from each other by an imaginary line
Western, } bisecting Central Africa.

We may omit the Northern section from this discussion. There are Missions of the London Jews Society in Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco. There is a Church of England School in Cairo for Kopts, and Mahometans, and a Mission of the C.M.S. in Egypt: with this exception the Church of England is conspicuously absent: the Mahometan Religion is dominant. The Missions of the Church of Rome are strong.

In the other three sections excellent work is being done by the S.P.G., C.M.S., Universities Mission to East Equatorial Africa, the Rio Pongas Mission, and the different Diocesan Missions of South Africa, such as Missions to Zulu-land, Ma-Shonaland, etc., etc.

The work of a Missionary in Africa is distinctly different from that of a Missionary in Asia. In Africa the population is sparse compared to the enormous area; the people are barbarian, illiterate; in some localities given to savage and inhuman customs, such as Human Sacrifice, Cannibalism, Witchcraft,

Slaughter of Twin-children. With the exception of the Arabic literature, which has found its way in some Regions, there are no Books, nor even an Alphabet; but the Languages spoken are very numerous, very powerful, and not in the least likely to give way to European Languages. Mahometanism has extended in some directions, bringing with it a certain amount of culture, and Knowledge, and by its total abstinence from intoxicating liquors, contrasts favourably with Christianity, which is accompanied by English, German, and American, intoxicants. Slavery and the Slave-trade, though circumscribed, and no longer crossing the Ocean, have a wide influence. The population, male and female, are nearly entirely nude, except on the Coast, where European culture has established a footing.

It is obvious, that a very different kind of Missionary is required for such a field. In Asia we find ancient highly polished races with Book-Religions, a magnificent literature, a vast population dwelling in hundreds of great cities, and thousands of villages, well-clothed, industrious, with a Civilization older than our own: the attitude assumed by a Missionary, who knows his work, must be very different, and his training ought to be more profound.

In Africa the difficulties are fivefold:

(1) The climate, except in certain portions of South Africa.
(2) The difficulty of locomotion and living, with the above exception.
(3) The low state of culture of the common people.
(4) The necessity of elementary teaching, introducing the very idea of a book, and an Alphabet.
(5) The curse of Slavery, Polygamy in its grossest forms, ill-treatment of the female sex, contempt of Human life.

(1) The climate. We have only to consider the death-list, and the record of those compelled by health to abandon the field not suited for the constitution of Europeans: the absence of needful appliances and aids in case of sickness. This appears to be an obstacle, which as regards the white Missionary can never be got over, and points to the necessity of training indigenous Agents to work among their own countrymen, but they also must be of the same Region. It is not an easy problem, for difficult as it is to secure competent white Agents, it will be still more so to train and maintain in morality and purity a Native staff.

(2) The difficulty in locomotion and living. No doubt Paul and his companions, and the early Briton and Saxon Missionaries

sent by our island to the Continent, and the Missionaries sent from Rome to Canterbury, had a hard time of it both as regards travelling, houses, food, and raiment. We think lightly of these things in Europe now, but we can realize them when we deal with Africa. We know, that they wrote letters in those far-off days, as imperishable documents have, by God's Grace, survived to our edification. There were no regular posts: letters confided to a male or female friend to convey to the correspondent must in many cases have perished. From U-Gánda it takes three months to get a letter: if the runner, to whom the bags are entrusted, is cut down, all are lost. Still, European Agents require a certain supply of books, clothes, medicines, and tinned provisions, and unfortunately the Nineteenth century has insensibly created luxurious necessities of life, which were not thought of in the early centuries, and the absence of which imperils health and life. I do not at all see my way out of these difficulties for many a long year.

(3) The low state of the common people. An excellent Missionary puts this very blankly: "It takes some time to be able to preach to an assembly of men and women standing round you all entirely naked." This might be cured by distributing what are called "Kisikais," calico-shirts; but the long mental slumber, varied by suffering and oppression, has to be reckoned with: with regard to those advanced in life the case is desperate; to the adult it is doubtful: we have to thank God for the children, the young opening intellect, fresh from the Maker's hand, the tender young hearts, round which the hard rind of the struggle for daily existence, has not yet been formed, are ready for the new idea: the hope of the Missionary lies in the School for the children, and the Hospital and dispensary for the elder ones.

(4) But the School should be elementary only: reading, a little writing, and a small amount of arithmetic: printing-presses are brought from home, the Roman Alphabet is made use of with variations: the words are caught alive, as it were, from the lips of the speakers: they cannot understand what the Missionary is about, making unintelligible scratches with a stick upon a white substance called "paper." Here there is no silent growth of centuries, no process of experiments in ideographs, or syllabaries, on clay, on rocks, on wood, on papyrus, on skins; but *per saltum* the Native African leaps from entire Ignorance of the idea of conveying sounds by symbols into alphabetic writing by the aid of the goose-quill, and pulp pressed into paper. The Natives themselves are converted into printers, and strike off sheets to be pored over in the School, and, when the dignity of

the art is developed, to be read as Translations of the Bible in the Chapel. The desire of possessing a copy, as their very own, comes next, and the proud delight of reading aloud for the benefit of others. Time, tranquillity, health, are elements to be reckoned with in this operation, the teaching young ideas how to shoot, the breaking of the silence of centuries, the revelation of the Divine elements in the most ignorant and uncultured. It is obvious, that great difficulties surround the Missionary in Africa, of which the Missionary in India, or China, knows nothing.

(5) Another difficulty is the debasing effects of Slavery, and the curse of Slave-hunting and the Slave-trade. The very presence of a Missionary in their midst is a surprise to the Native, for he does not murder, or steal, or beat, though he seems to have the power to do so. We may hope, that gradually the Slave-trade will be put down by the force of arms, and Slavery allowed to die out; but in comparing the position of the Missionary in Africa with his brother in Asia, this is a fearful additional weight in Africa. With regard to Polygamy, it prevails in Asia and Africa, but in a realm of Law that custom is tolerable, though deplorable; in Africa it becomes a hideous blot. The Polygamist, whose heart is opened to the Gospel, is in a dilemma: he cannot put away his lawful wives (as distinguished from slaves and concubines), as that would drive poor women, with whom they had consorted faithfully, into adultery; he cannot be baptized, if living with a plurality of women, the mothers of his legitimate children. The degradation of the female sex into beasts of burden, or objects of lust, is a frightful feature, which has to be grappled with. Time is an element here also.

The slow progress of centuries, and the Grace of God working through Human agencies, here a little, there a little, have converted the Kelts and Teutons of Europe from what they were in the Epoch of the great Anno Domini to what they are now. We must not be foolishly sanguine, and expect results corresponding to our desires in one generation or one century: all the old and middle-aged must pass away, and new generations be born. At the end of the first century of serious Evangelization we have made but little progress. Nor need we despair of the Grace of God: the vivifying Power of an Epoch of Progress, and Enlightenment, and Time, are on our side.

We have the authority of Bishop Smythies to say, that there is no Idolatry in the strict meaning of that often misused word within the Region of East Equatorial Africa: there is plenty of it in India, but none in Africa. The Religious conceptions of the people are in the lowest possible stage, which is called by those, who study the Science of Religion, "Animism," or Spirit-

Worship: a supernatural Power of some kind is postulated, in Regions, where the elements have great power, and men have not been taught by experience to meet their violence, Fear generates a desire to appease a Deity, who has been in some way offended: the stages are passed through of Totemism, Fetichism, Therio-anthropism, Anthropomorphism, which last, when accompanied by images, is known as Idolatry.

Contact with the higher Civilization of Europe is not an unmixed blessing, nor does it conduce to Evangelization. On the West Coast of Africa the Liquor-Import-Trade is a hideous evil: the import of Gunpowder and lethal weapons both into the East and West Regions, between the tropics, is a positive misfortune. Last century we stole Africans from Africa: *now we are deliberately stealing Africa from the African.* The lust for gold, diamonds, the desire to open new fields for Commerce and Colonies, seem to have closed the ears of England against Justice and Mercy. Ma-Tabéle-land was last year appropriated by freebooters. This adds to the difficulties of Missionaries. The people of Africa paint the Devil in white. The Gospel can scarcely be preached in sight of object-lessons so contrary to the Gospel. Another difficulty to true Evangelization is presented by Missionaries leaning on the Arm of the Flesh, as in U-Gánda, and taking part in attacks on Missions of another form of Christianity. These two last features are startling, and there can be no blessing on the work of Gospel-preaching in such an environment.

Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods must take the place of the old-fashioned comfortable development of the Missionary and his wife, and half-a dozen children. In India this desire for early marriage on the part of the Missionary is to be deplored, as the people of India have for centuries connected their notion of a man of God, a Prophet, with self-Sacrifice, asceticism, and a withdrawal from the ordinary comforts of social life. In Africa the climate is the obstacle, and the dangers of an unsettled political environment in the interior. Within a radius of one hundred miles from the coast the residence of women may be possible, but they should be unmarried sisters of the age of thirty. I have seen wife after wife in extreme youth pass from the committee-room to Equatorial Africa to die under the perils of married life, aggravated by the climate, and absence of decent comforts. It seems like insanity to suggest the idea of their advancing into the interior of Africa; and yet it is being done. The Church of Rome prudently holds back.

Another feature of African Missions is, that it is absolutely necessary, that the European Agent return for a short season to Europe in the fourth year at the very outside. In Asia ten years or more can safely be the term entitling to furlough.

The average of deaths and broken-down constitutions in Africa is much greater.

On the West Coast is one Mission of special interest, the Rio-Pongas Mission: it has a separate committee, but it is under the wing of the S.P.G., and meets in Delahay Street: the Missionaries are Negroes from the West India islands, who desire to convey the blessing of the Gospel to their Native land: unfortunately the Region has passed into the hands of the French Colonists, and France allows no other European Language to be used save French. This is a serious obstacle.

A few remarks are required with regard to the Region south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Here the S.P.G. has done a great work through the agency of the different Dioceses, into which a great portion of this Region is distributed. The country is elevated, and is out of the Tropics, and therefore suitable for the residence of Europeans for pastoral, agricultural, or mining purposes. As a fact there are large numbers of English, Dutch, German, and French, settlers. This gradually leads to the killing down, or the reducing to serfdom, of the indigenous races, the Bántu tribes, Zulu, Chuána, Xosa *alias* Káfir, Hérero, and others, as well as the Hottentot and Bushmen. There are many other Missions in this Region sent from the United States, the Continent of Europe, and the Nonconformist Associations of Great Britain. In course of time it is possible, that it may become a Christian country, occupied by European immigrants, and half-bloods. The Native Churches and Congregations, the result of the labour of this and the next century, will probably disappear, and the unhappy survivors of the indigenous population be reduced to hewers of wood and drawers of water. This a sad end to a Christian Mission of the Nineteenth century, but it is difficult to arrest the course of events. In countries like India, China, or Japan, the indigenous population will survive for ever. On the West Coast of Equatorial Africa, and the East Coast, the Tropical climate is the safeguard. For the Southern Region there is no hope. There was a time, when large portions of the United States were occupied by the Red Indians down to last century: where are they now? Such will, in all probability, be the fate of South Africa.

1894, 1895.

I. The Religions of the Ancient World.

Missionary Warnings for the Twentieth Century.

Prefatory Remarks on the Religious conceptions of the Human race, Past and Present.

The subject should be treated with the greatest reverence and restraint. We are, as it were, in the presence of God, when we are considering the sundry times and manners, in which His poor creatures have felt for Him. It must be treated dispassionately also.

The followers of each of the Book-Religions would rightly, or wrongly, maintain that their system was the *best*, the *only* form of belief, revealed by God, hallowed by Tradition, fortified by Morality, supported by Miracles, Fulfilment of Prophecy, and Theophanies. Mankind has got beyond that stage of stupid Conservatism, at least all who think have done so: a great majority of the Human race do not think, and are so foolish, that Religion is the great engine of deception practised by Priesthoods, and other persons, who make their livelihood out of the folly of their fellows. Those, who are thoughtful, study, and think out, this momentous subject.

I freely admit, that the Gospel preached in Galilee at the time of Anno Domini was, and is, the completest expression of what is good for Mankind, morally and spiritually. I try to divest myself of hereditary prejudices, and weigh the rival systems, past or present; but I can find nothing so good, so universal, so individual, so sufficient for this world and, as far as our limited Knowledge enables us to judge, for the next, if we can but free it from the Paganism and Judaism, which more or less envelop both the Greek, Roman, and Protestant developments, accretions, disfigurements, of the Gospel preached in Galilee. My readers can therefore read on without fear of meeting any remarks contrary to the Faith, which is held in Jesus.

I know the common form of abuse passed by Missionaries on the Brahmanical and Mahometan systems: their only resemblance is their antagonism to Christianity; in everything else they differ from each other absolutely, entirely, irreconcilably:

A. The Brahmanical system (1) is older than Moses.
(2) is Polytheistic.
(3) is non-propagandist and quiescent.
(4) is the peculiar heritage of one Nation.
(5) is a mere Ritual, all Spiritual power being gone.
(6) is unconscious of the existence of any Semitic Religious conception.

B. The Mahometan system (1) is subsequent to the conversion of England by Augustine.
(2) is Monotheistic in the most extreme form.
(3) is propagandist, and as intolerant as Christianity.
(4) absorbs the whole of the conceptions of the Jew and Christian.
(5) is extremely Spiritual in its main dogma, whatever it may be in practice.

In a few words the former is a dead trunk, the latter a living Power, susceptible of Reform, and if reformed, may still rule the world; unless its elder Sister, Christianity, reforms itself, gets rid of its Paganism, and national idiosyncrasies, and makes itself in reality, as in name, a World-Religion, neither European nor Indian, neither American nor Chinese, neither African nor middle-class British, without nationality, careless of linguistic variations, suitable to every form of Human culture, adaptable to every requirement of God's creatures, to be their guide in life, and hope in death.

Heads of Lecture.

I. The ancient Religious conceptions of the world before Anno Domini should not be the object of ridicule, or abuse, by Christian people, and Missionaries.

II. A full and impartial study of them, and an appreciation of the good in them, is quite compatible with a full, and entire, belief in the Christian Dispensation, and in fact fortifies that belief by justifying the ways of God to man.

III. The subject is divided into two portions:
(1) Animism, or Nature-Worship.
(2) Ethical conceptions, or Book-Religions.

IV. As far as regards our present subject, Animism belongs to a remote Past, and in the present Epoch is only found in the tribes standing on the lowest round of Human culture.

V. The following Ethical conceptions existed before Anno Domini, and exist to this day:

(1) Zoroastrianism	India.
(2) Brahmanism .	do.
(3) Jainism . . .	do.
(4) Buddhism . .	Ceylon, Indo-China, China.
(5) Confucianism .	China.
(6) Taouism . .	do.
(7) Shintoism . .	Japan.
(8) Judaism . . .	The Hebrew Race, now scattered in many parts of the world, with a population of nine Millions, or one hundred and fiftieth of the population of the world.

In a lecture on this subject you must not expect to hear from me a word, or the suggestion of a thought, derogatory to the Doctrines of Christianity: you would not have come to me, if you had anticipated any such thing, nor should I have accepted your invitation with such a view: we stand on an entire and unfeigned belief, that in the Fulness of Time God so loved the world, that He gave us His only Son, that through Him all the world might be saved, not the Hebrew race only.

My subject relates solely to what happened before the great Anno Domini, so no allusions to Mahometanism, or any Religious conception, whose origin is of a later date, will be found in my remarks. The position of Mankind before, and subsequent to, that Epoch is totally different: up to that Epoch, God's plan of Salvation had not been made known to Mankind; after that date this cannot by us at least be said. We are not here to pass judgment on the Spiritual position of those, who know not the Lord, but we must note the fact, that only one-third of the population of the world are nominally Christians at the close of the Nineteenth century, and that the annual increase, by excess of births over deaths, of the non-Christian world, far exceeds the number of converts to Christianity in non-Christian Regions.

I. My first point is, that it is wrong, thoroughly wrong, to scoff and laugh at the Ancient Religious conceptions of the Human race: they were men like ourselves, of like passions as

our contemporaries. Many of the great Nations of antiquity have left behind them splendid architectural monuments, and a vast and noble literature. There were Philosophers in their midst, such as Socrates and Plato, Zoroaster, the Hindu Sages, Gaútama, Buddha, and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and others, who have left behind words and thoughts, which the world will not willingly let die. On the Monuments they are depicted, in Painting and Sculpture, as worshipping their national and Personal God, flying to Him in adversity, seeking His counsel, returning thanks for His bounty: that the form, which that Worship assumed, differs from ours and this Epoch, is not to be wondered at. Each generation of men is the creature of its own Epoch: the chances are, that they in their Ignorance would smile at our Churches, and Worship: let us be more noble, and show that we are wiser: we know that God is no respecter of persons; that he is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in Spirit and Truth; that He searches the heart, and that outward show goes for nothing.

II. We have then to meet another objection, that to show any interest in such subjects, to give any credit for piety, or purity, to the ancient races of Mankind, indicates a laxity of belief in the Christian Verity: there are some, who composedly consign all the non-Christian races before Anno Domini to Hell-fire, reserving a modified way of escape to the petty tribe of the Hebrews. How is it then that in Acts, xvii, 26 we read, that God made of one blood all the Nations of men; and that another writer tells us, that He hateth nothing that He hath made? All such unchristian ideas must be brushed away. An inquiry into the Religious conceptions of the ancient races is one of the most profitable and interesting of studies: it fortifies the belief of Christians, because it justifies the ways of God to man.

III. On reaching my third point I must lay down as a fact, that man has been, and is, and always will be, a Religious Animal. Historians record no race, which has not some indiçation of a recognition by man of a Power greater than himself, and a Worship: it is the same now among the most barbarous races, to which Europeans have access. And there is found to be a progress in the Religious conception, as people rise in Civilization, and Knowledge.

IV. The first stage is Animism, or the Worship of Spirits, bad or good, friendly to man, or hostile: the manner in which this has been developed is multiform. The Tree, the Serpent, the Lingam, seem to have been the primeval objects of Worship;

rising higher came the Worship of Animals, Totemism, Fetichism, Anthropomorphism. We can form a judgment as to what they were by considering the account sent home of what some now are: in East Equatorial Africa, in many tribes, no such things as Idolatry or Fetich are to be found. There are, however, the greatest superstitions, and ramifications of Witchcraft, and trial by the ordeal is paramount. The natives have some belief in a Creation, and a shadowy belief in the personality of a great Being, who, they thought, had created them. Practically, however, they have no belief in God, as an Ethical Being, and they are really ignorant of sin, although they know something of Moral evil. They recognize murder and adultery as Moral evils, and their rulers (and the tribes are well-ruled, even in absolute heathenism, by a patriarchal Government) punish these evils, without recognizing them as sins. They believe nothing about a Future life, and although they have a great fear of death, that arises, not from fear of what was coming after death, but because of their intense liking for, and great enjoyment of, life. They do not believe in natural death, but feel certain, that death is caused by some living person. *The great enemy, which has to be fought, is the profound indifference of the tribes to all Religious Teaching.* In the "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition, vol. xx, page 358, word 'Religions,' all these phases are set out in detail by a most competent Scholar, and we may pass this portion of the subject by, and turn to the others: Ethical conceptions, or Book-Religions.

V. The detail of names shows, that they are Geographically confined to Asia, and that they all exist to this day. This gives the study of them an importance, which is wanting to those Religious conceptions, which passed out in existence in the early centuries of the Christian era, leaving no trace of themselves behind. I mention (1) the Egyptian, (2) the Babylonian, (3) the Assyrian, and (4) the Græco-Latin, which have left a vast literature illustrative of their Religious conceptions, and monuments of different kinds of material, but not one single hereditary worshipper.

The first three in my list are now confined to British India: (1) Zoroastrianism is perhaps the most ancient in time: Zoroaster's date is uncertain, but it is placed at 1500 B.C. Its Region was Central Asia, and Cyrus, the great King of Persia, and his successors, represent it in its most illustrious period. There was no Idolatry there: it came into contact with the Hebrews at Babylon, and it is asserted, that it lent to them the conception of Angels, or personified qualities of the great Creator, the idea of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments, and of the Spirit

of Evil or Satan, whose name occurs but in three of the pre-Exilic Books of the Old Testament, while the name of Beelzebub never occurs at all in the Old Testament. Subsequently it was uprooted from Persia by the Mahometan Religion, and is now represented by a few thousand of worthy and respectable Parsi settlers in India: the literature of this Religious conception is very ample and interesting, and has been translated and published in Europe.

(2) Brahmanism is represented by at least two hundred Millions of Her Majesty's subjects spread over an enormous area: with a powerful Priesthood, splendid Temples, a magnificent literature, and an antiquity, to which it is difficult to fix any date: it has sects and subdivisions, each containing Millions: it never was either intolerant of other Religions outside of itself, or of divergence of conceptions, which in Europe are called Heresies, within. It never was intentionally Propagandist, and yet year by year under the slow progress of Civilization, tribes who were previously Animistic, pass into the lower Castes of Hinduism: it is distinctly idolatrous in practice, though highly Spiritual in dogma. In the last quarter of a century it is giving out of its bosom new forms of Religious conceptions, highly Spiritual and Moral, based on its own sacred Books, but borrowing much from the Religious conceptions, which came into existence after the great Anno Domini.

(3) Jainism. Sometimes Jainism is mixed up with Buddhism, and sometimes blended with Brahmanism, from which it issued. Contemporary with the other wise and great men, who left a mark on the Religious History of the world, 600 B.C. lived Parasnath, the founder of the Jaina ascetics, which word means "conqueror of lusts and desires": two centuries later lived Mahavíra, who gave the ultimate form to the conception and the brotherhood. Both Jainism and Buddhism, in their very essence, represented a rebellion against Priestcraft and the Brahmins; they differ from each other in dogma: Jainism never left India: both lay stress on Morality, Charity, Purity, Patience, Contemplation, Knowledge: both get rid of Caste, and are atheistic: ineffable bliss is the object of Jainism, as Nirvána is of Buddhism; they number one and a half Million; they enjoin mercy to all living creatures, and place a cloth over their mouths to protect insects from absorption into their throats; they have a considerable literature, a Priesthood, and forms of Worship, and an antiquity of 2500 years.

(4) With Buddhism we leave the shores of India, and pass into the great round world both in theory and practice: up

to this Epoch, 600 B.C., a Religious conception had been a national affair: it was possible to extend the area by Colonies or Conquest, but Buddhism marks an Epoch in the History of man: it was the first attempt by argument and by example to spread a universal belief, not by the force of arms, but by the force of words of advice. It is remarked by Beal ("Buddhism in China," p. 82), that the secret of the Power of the Buddhist lies in this: it was utterly unselfish: its Teachers, following the example of Buddha, lay down, that the greatest good and happiness, that a man can enjoy, is to do good to others: *the thought of self is evil*: the greater Love of others than of ourselves is the end of Religion. Can we wonder that such a doctrine, illustrated by the outward living of the Teacher, conquered the Far East, and in spite of frightful corruption, and contamination by previously existing forms of Animism, still retains its hold on Millions, far beyond the sum-total of the followers of any other Religious conception. Six centuries later the same Doctrines of pure Altruism, and Christian Socialism, were heard from the lips of One greater than Buddha; but it may be received as a certainty, that there is not the slightest evidence, or reasonable probability, of any historical connection between them: if there be a resemblance (and there is), it is not due to the quoting by our Master of the utterances of His great predecessor in the Far East, but solely to the similarity of the condition, under which the two movements grew in an Asiatic People, and the teaching of the same Holy Spirit to Buddha, the humblest and holiest of the Human race, pointing out the Noble Way of loving one's neighbour better than one's self. Let us, therefore, guard ourselves against two errors: the first of thinking for a moment, that the teaching of our Master was only a reproduction of the teaching of Human Teachers in days gone by; and the second, almost greater than the first, of withholding from seekers after God, like Socrates, Buddha, Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Zoroaster, the honour due to them of being in their particular age and country, and up to the degree of development of their countrymen, and the extent of the Message entrusted to them by the Holy Spirit, charged by the Ruler of the World with a Message to their fellow-creatures, the influence of which has lasted so many centuries, and can never die. When the Fulness of Time came, and the Son of God became Incarnate, their work was completed, and, though in a degraded form they linger on, they are out of touch with the Religious conceptions of the present Epoch, and if left alone, and without persecution, will die out gradually, as the wonderful conception of the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Græco-Roman died before them.

(5, 6) The great Religious conceptions of China, Confucianism and Taouism, may be passed over with a few words: accomplished writers have made all classes familiar with them. Like Buddhism they both imply Atheism: Confucianism partakes more of the character of a Social Moral Code, than of a Theology: the Emperor is the pinnacle of the edifice, the structure of which is for this world only: Kong-Fu-Tsee, who lived about 600 B.C., did not pretend to be a Legislator, but a careful collector and codifier of existing precepts, oral or written, which date back to a remote Past: we seemed to see an analogue of the literary position of Ezra on the return of the Hebrews from Exile, about the same date, when the Books of the Hebrews were edited and got into order. Ancestral Worship is a great feature, but there is no word about a Future State, Purgatory, or Hell, The great codifier never claimed the power of Miracles, or the gift of Inspiration, but he clearly felt, that he had a superhuman Mission: Goodness and happiness in this world was the object of his teaching: he died uttering no prayer, and evincing no apprehension: he was one of the greatest of men. His contemporary, Laou-Tsee, founded the system, called Taouism, which may be described as the Philosophy of Nature.

(7) Shintoism is the old political Religion of Japan: it is scarcely worth notice, and a much longer existence cannot be expected: it is a survival of past ages.

(8) The last on my list is Judaism, the holders of which Religious conception number now about nine Millions, and are scattered over many parts of the world. Their Religion is nominally a national one, but for eighteen centuries they have had no Nation or country: it belongs with some exceptions to the Hebrew race, in whatever Gentile country they have introduced themselves: the fact is crushing to all thoughtful minds, that so many of the seed of Abraham, after centuries of cruel discipline, expatriation, and disappointment of their own fond hopes of a Messiah, should still deny Him, who came of their own race, and fulfilled their own Prophecies; it seems strange that a Zoroastrian, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucianist, should in so many cases accept the Precious Promises, which the Jew refuses, though based on his own Scriptures, and developed on his own lines, and prefers a vain, hopeless alternative of a system of degraded legalism, or an uncovenanted Theism, which stultifies the records of his Race; for what were the Promises made to Abraham, and repeated by the Prophets, if after the lapse of so many centuries nothing has fallen to the Hebrew, but to be placed spiritually in the category of the ancient Zoroastrian, or the modern Agnostic?

Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, writes thus in his "Gospel of Life" (p. 109): "Our knowledge of God depends on the "Revelation, which He is pleased to make of Himself: the "natural voice of Humanity proclaims with no uncertain sound, "that He has in fact made Himself known in various ways, "and at various times"; and again (p. 123): "The Gospel is "the answer to every Religious aspiration, and need of man: "we must then, if we are to comprehend its scope, try to hear, "and understand, every voice of those, who have sought God, "even if they be only the voice of children crying in the dark." I quote these words, that my hearers may perceive, that I do not stand alone. The Christian Missionary forgets his high Duty, when he stoops to ridicule or abuse the Religious conceptions of ancient races, which he does not himself understand, and which have been permitted by the Ruler of the Universe to possess the hearts of man for so many generations and centuries. I seek to justify the ways of God to man: Millions of Millions, from the dawn of the Creation to the great Anno Domini, were not permitted to pass through their allotted term of life without some penumbra of the great Truth, some influence of the Holy Spirit, some knowledge of Good and Evil, some desire to find God, to worship Him, and, as the Sanskrit Poet describes it, *fly to Him for Refuge*.

Dr. Maclear writes as follows (Ely Sermon, p. 18): "English "writers, such as Cardinal Newman, have no knowledge what- "ever of the great Religions of the East: they talk of them "just as the Buddhist, or Mahometan, talks of Christianity, or "as a Papist talks of Protestantism. This is a most unsatis- "factory and unjudicial way of treating a solemn fact."

A careful consideration of the mysteries of Human life, and the pages of History, must lead a thoughtful student of the relations betwixt God and man, as far as we can understand them, to some such answer, as the Christian dispensation supplies; for, in truth, Christianity is so reasonable, so simple, and so sufficient for all Human requirements. But before Christ came in the Flesh, the elder world had to work out the great problem in its own way, feeling and groping through darkness for more light, and find such an answer as it could to the great riddle of birth, life, and death. History supplies us with solemn narratives of the attempts to feel after God by pious and spiritual men, if haply they could find Him. In our fuller light we must not despise them. Their temples were not destroyed by lightning; their Priests were not consumed at the altar by fire from Heaven: God was not in a hurry, as some modern enthusiasts are. He has allowed nineteen centuries to pass by since the Word became Flesh, and countless centuries preceding that great event: we must wait His pleasure for the

conversion of mankind: a cold Philosophy, such as that of the Athenian schools, will not effect it, as the mass can never understand it; a stern Morality, such as that of Kong-Fu-Tsee, will not attain to it, as a Spiritual Power is required to enforce that Morality, and the mass are by their passions opposed to it. At any rate, we can reverently study His dealings with mankind since the day of their Creation.

Consider the situation of the Heathen man in the time of his Ignorance, his segregation from contact with other races, his intellectual isolation. He had a bewildered sense of the unfathomable mysteries of Human life, which were palpable to him: it was out of his power to comprehend the drift of Human luck and ill-luck, mortal happiness and sorrow: we have not, indeed, got much beyond this state in our Christian dispensation, but we have learned to trust in One that is mightier. The Heathen man saw, or seemed to see, a bright and beautiful Universe; he felt himself in possession of animal health and power; his conscience told him, that some things were "mala per se," and some inexpedient; he could not hide from his sight the existence of Pain, Sickness, Death, Sorrow, Want, Cruelty, Weakness; the power of the Elements, and the fickleness of the Seasons, puzzled him hopelessly. All these things were to him secrets incomprehensible: we can believe, nothing doubting, that there is a God, who arranges all things in the best possible way; but the poor Heathen could see nothing, and had nothing to believe, nor the faculty of believing.

In his Past there was a dead silence, an absence of all experience piled up by History and Geography, and intercourse with other races. No Revelation came to him: he sought for some evidence of the Divine Will in incantations, and omens; he tried to conciliate the unknown Power, which seemed to be able to influence everything; but the strife of the Elements, and the cruel sufferings, which he occasionally underwent from the ferocious attacks of more powerful races, convinced him, and all the non-Christian world, that there must be two sets of supernatural Powers, a good one, and an evil one: he tried to propitiate and buy off the hostility of the latter, and to praise and magnify, and evince gratitude to, the former.

After all, the study of Religious conceptions of the Human race is the most important branch of Human Knowledge: the problem of "Self, the World, and God" is eternal and omnipresent, the beginning and the end of all Philosophy: I do not allude to "my Doxy," or "your Doxy," which each of us calls Orthodoxy, but the True Religion, which the believer understands, the origin, the condition, the result, by which he tries to live, and hopes to die. In the discussions, which arise on this great subject, no hard words should be used: it is the great problem of the world.

Can we not humbly believe that a non-Christian—not by his own fault, but by his environment of place and Epoch, who has humbly thought out the problem, and led a holy life, will be saved through Christ?

The full meaning of the great Parable (Matthew, xxv, 31) of the Sheep and the Goats is sometimes not fully understood. In verse 32 we read that all Nations, *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*, shall be gathered together before the Throne. In the previous Parable of the Talents, the Jew and the Christian had been disposed of. To them had been vouchsafed Talents, opportunities, Revelation of Divine Truth; and those, who had not made use of those Talents, lent to them for the purpose of being used, were punished as unprofitable servants, who had not made use of their means of Grace.

The Parable of the Sheep and Goats applies to *τὰ ἔθνη*, the poor Heathen, to whom no such high favours had been conceded: they will be judged, as Paul states (Romans, ii, 14), according to their own lights.

The Hebrew people in their early centuries were not Monotheists, but Monolatrists: they indeed worshipped one God, the God of their own Nation, but they seem to have admitted the existence of other gods among other tribes and Nations. As the eyes of the Prophets became clearer, they realized, that there could be but one God only in the whole world, who made all mankind, and loved all His poor creatures. By the same process of enlightenment they had arrived at the conviction of the infinite Purity, Mercy, and Love of the one great Creator, and a feeling for other races began to develop itself, unknown to Moses, and the early Hebrews, who killed men, women, and children without mercy, like wild beasts (Deut. vii, 16).

Paul had advanced with the advancing ages and the development of Divine Truth, when in Romans, x, 11, he writes:

"For the Scripture [Isaiah, xlix, 23] says, whosoever believeth on Him shall not be ashamed.

"For there is no difference betwixt the Jew and the Greek, for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon Him.

"For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." (Joel ii, 32.)

A few words in conclusion: all these Religious conceptions were, and still are, tolerant: if left alone themselves, they will leave others alone: the curse of Intolerance came into existence with the Religious conceptions after the great Anno Domini, and the followers of the great Teacher of Love and Peace have been the great persecutors. Islam but followed the example of Christianity, and Islam offered the alternative of conversion or double taxation; Christianity offered the alternative of Baptism or death, until the date of the Reformation.

This is not the place to go into the particular tenets of each Religious conception: there are excellent treatises on the subject, readily accessible, at the depôts of the S.P.C.K. None of these great ancient Religious conceptions, with the exception of Judaism, stooped to the low-water mark of Religious degradation, so as to mutilate or disfigure the body made in the Image of God. And with reference to the survival of these ancient conceptions, if any Missionary thinks, that he would much prefer a *tabula rasa*, and to deal with Nations of Agnostics, let him learn, that the latter presents the most dangerous form of Spiritual error, to which man can reach.

Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, wrote to Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, some advice: "Do not make violent and useless "declamation against Native Superstition; rather argue with "them, whether their gods had a beginning, and whether the "world had a beginning: if it had, who created it? If they "argue, that the world had no beginning, try and show them "the folly of this idea.

"Ask whence and how their first god and goddess were born: "whether there was not a danger of failing to discover, who "was the most powerful, and thus offending him? What was "the object in worshipping them? What was the object of "Sacrifices? The gods cannot have need of them, so Sacrifice "is superfluous. Do not irritate or taunt them; compare their "system with the Church kindly and gently."—Maclear, "Missions of Middle Ages," p. 187.

Hear what Archbishop Benson of Canterbury says: "It has "been borne in upon us, that a Religious tone of mind, though "Heathen, is a better field for Christian effort than a non-"Religious tone of mind. In those Regions, where Europeans "are destroying belief in the old Religions, if they have not "the Religion of Christ at hand immediately to substitute, "they have done more harm to Religion than good: it is not "true, that the mind, from which every possible Superstition "has been banished, is in a better taste of receptivity for the "Truths which we have in hand, than the mind, which still "retains its Religious tone, though corrupt: if one single "generation intervenes, which has no Religious habits, no "thought beyond the grave, no tone, which makes it perpetually "look up to that which is beyond it, we shall find it harder to "convert the children of that generation than to convert the "followers of the decaying Religions of ancient days, however "firmly they hold their own ideas." These great lawgivers were each in their Epoch Schoolmasters to lead man to something higher, that in future days was to come: their teachings were separate Messages to Mankind, an earnest, that our Heavenly Father cared for all His poor children, and did not restrict His

parental Love to the few Millions of the disobedient, and egotistical, sons of Abraham.

The French Theologian, the late Dr. Pressensé, in his Book on "The Ancient World and Christianity" (1888), makes remarks to the following purport: "The Spirit of God has been at work "in the Pagan world: Divine lessons are to be found, not in "the literature of the Jews alone, but also in the manifold "Religious conceptions of all times: to recognize the munificent "equipment of Humanity is to take a higher view of man as "man. This is a more excellent lever than the proclamation "of the doctrine of depravity. Nothing is gained for the "Gospel by depreciating and vilifying Human Nature."

Ponder over in your hearts, my friends, the way, in which the Creator of the Universe has dealt with His poor children: think of His inexhaustible patience and longsuffering: His presence throughout all the ages was made manifest by acts of mercy and pity. He chose the Hebrew race; and the utterances of Jeremiah and Ezekiel before the Exile, and of our Lord at the Epoch of the great Anno Domini, show how miserably the chosen race failed, not only in Duty to Jehovah, but in the ordinary requirements of Morality to each other. But it is the same God in 1900 A.D. as it was in the time of Abraham, 1900 B.C., merciful, slow to anger, and of exceeding great kindness to the children of men; and man is the same man, desirous of finding out God, and yet slow to obey Him, knowing the right way, and yet prone to error. The story, which I have told you, reads like a great parable, but the actors were real men, of the same passions as those of the present day.

We can only see dimly into the past, and wonder what the Divine plan was in creating man in His own Image. But His Revealed Word convinces us, that He could not have created man merely for everlasting Perdition, for He "so loved the "world, that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever "believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting "life"; and again: "He hateth nothing that He hath made." Through those silent centuries He in His Wisdom sent no Prophets or Evangelists to teach His poor children the Truth: as Paul said at Lystra, "He suffered all Nations to walk in their own ways." "A thousand years in His sight is but as one day," and the value of the Soul of one of His poor creatures cannot be estimated.

We cannot wonder, that the barbarous tribes feared the capricious Elements of Nature, and worshipped the glorious unchanging procession of the Heavenly Host, bringing the seasons, and day and night, in unfailing order: we seem to gather from Deut. iv, 19, that Moses was of the same opinion: "The Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, even all the Host

" of Heaven . . . . which the Lord thy God hath divided [or " apportioned: *ἀπενείμεν*, Septuagint; *chalaq*, Hebrew] unto all " Nations under the whole Heaven."

In the time of Justin Martyr, it was believed, that God had allowed the Heathen to worship the Heavenly Host. In our own time Bishop Westcott remarks ("Gospel of Life," p. 114): "In two passages of Deuteronomy even false Religions are presented as part of the Divine ordering of Humanity; even their Idolatries had a work to do in the discipline of men."

Professor Driver, in his "Commentary on Deuteronomy," 1895, writes: "God assigns to every Nation its objects of Worship, and the veneration of the Heavenly bodies by the Nations forms part of His providential order of the world."

Clement suggests a reason:

> *" ἵνα μὴ τέλεον ἄθεοι γενόμενοι τελέως καὶ διαφθαρῶσιν.*
> *ὁδὸς γὸρ αὕτη ἐοθεῖσα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀνακῦψαι πρὸς θεόν."*

This is evidenced in the origin of the Indian, Chaldæan, and Egyptian, Religious conceptions. We may be thankful, that Christ has opened a new way, but we must not heedlessly condemn those, who were not blessed with our privileges, lest haply in doing so we cast scorn on the Holy Wisdom, *Ἡ ἁγία Σοφία*, of the Most High.

I happened to quote some lines of a great Sanskrit writer, embodying a great Truth, which can never die, in the presence of a Missionary, whom I greatly esteemed. He exclaimed: "Surely you place no value on the rubbish contained in Hindu literature." I asked him, whether he had ever studied any of these books, or read the dialogues of Plato, or the essays of Cicero, or the lately disentombed records in Egypt and Babylonia: he admitted, that the whole subject was blank to him, that he was convinced of his own belief, *and that for him was enough*: for himself certainly, but *he had to convince others*. As it was, he was storming a fortress without the necessary intellectual armour, and without a Knowledge of the plan of the fortress attacked. Moreover, he treated with contempt the stored-up Wisdom, which had held captive Millions for many centuries, and which the Great Ruler of the Universe had permitted to survive, though Empires, and Dynasties, and Cities, and Languages had passed away. Was not this the same arrogance, as is evidenced by the modern Jew, who refuses even to read the New Testament?

1895.

CAP. IV. RESULTS.

A. Native Episcopate.
B. Native Place of Worship, School, Village.
C. The Trials, to which converts are exposed.
D. The Home-organization of Missions.
E. Prospects of the Future.

A. Native Episcopate.

1. The Adolescence of a Native Church in non-Christian Lands.
2. Speech at the Missionary Conference of the Church of England, 1894.
3. Letter to the Secretary of the African Sub-committee.

Missionary Warnings for the Twentieth Century.

1. *The Adolescence of a Native Church in non-Christian Lands.*

When a youth by the lapse of years passes from childhood into manhood, he is said to be adolescent; the same Law applies unconsciously to Groups of men, as they pass from Political, or Spiritual, subordination into independence.

The great work of the Nineteenth century has been to bring the Gospel to the ears and hearts of the ignorant, and untutored, non-Christian world: the problems, which lie before the Twentieth century, are different:

(1) The degraded Pagan types of non-Christian belief are disappearing, and their place is being taken by reformed, and reburnished, forms of Theology, and Worship, based on a varying standard of Morality, and Education, both however advancing year by year.

(2) New forms of belief, and practice, are coming into existence, equally opposed to Christian belief, but neither degraded, nor immoral, nor entirely unspiritual.

(3) The loosely connected Groups of converts to Christianity are forming into Churches, which will have to fight their own battles with their neighbours and countrymen, and manage as best they can their own affairs: to these last my remarks apply.

Episcopacy is the only form of Christian Government, which it is worth while to discuss, as Episcopacy is the only form, which weathered the struggle of the early and middle Ages in Europe; and I feel convinced, that the Nations of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, are not likely in things secular or Spiritual to dispense with a Ruler, whether in the form of a Sovereign, or a Spiritual overseer.

So long as the original Missionaries, the Fathers in the Lord, the first Christians, who converted, and baptized, and ordained, survive, the difficulty does not exist: but the time comes, when men, like Bishop Caldwell and Bishop Sargent, die: in the meantime the Native Pastors are getting older and older, while the English Missionaries come out in a continual flow of young untrained men, young enough to be the sons or grandsons of their Native Brethren, and yet asserting authority over them, because their colour is white, and they come from London: those, who were converted in middle life, have passed away; a new race of men has been born as Christians: the problem is confessedly difficult, but it is one, which the Mother-Church must decide: it is no longer a purely Missionary committee-question; the work of the Missionary is assumed to have been done, and done well, as regards a particular Group of neo-Christians, though the Duty of evangelizing the Regions beyond remains, and the nascent Native Church must take its part in this Duty. This brings me face to face with the Board of Missions of the Mother-Church: I am totally opposed to any attempt on the part of this Board to interfere with the economy of Missionary Societies: it would be the interference of men, who were uninstructed in details, with men, who are well instructed; but the great principle, which is discussed in this paper, "The Adolescence of a Native Church," awaits the decision of the Church itself, and, if not attended to now, will produce greater trouble in the next generation: the Board of Missions should regard such phenomena as their peculiar Duty.

The problem, put nakedly, relates to the personality of the Bishop: should he be an alien white stranger from the Mother-Church, or a Native of the same colour, speaking the same Language?

Let me brush away the idea once for all, that the Natives of South India, or West Africa, can ever coalesce with the ephemeral European sojourners from Europe in one organized Church: Language, Customs, Dress, Social Habits, Prejudices, present an insuperable bar, which Time will accentuate rather than diminish.

We may also anticipate, that the Territorial Bishops, appointed and paid by the State from the Public Revenue in India, and Sierra Leone, will very shortly disappear: the Bishop will be

paid by his own endowment-fund: it is not just to spend funds, collected by taxes from the non-Christian Natives, on Christian Spiritual Officials. Christians would not like to have to contribute to the salary of the Hindu Priest.

More than this: there is no reason, why in the course of time the power of Great Britain may not pass away like that of Rome and Spain, and her Commerce fade like the Palaces of Venice: but in dealing with things Spiritual, connected with the adolescence of Native Churches, we build too low, if we do not build for Eternity. The Church of England during this its day should strive so to order the affairs of the Churches, that have sprung up under its shadow, that they may have a chance of lasting by the Grace of God after the hand of the Mother-Church has been shortened by misfortune, or by misconception of its Duty, or by supineness in discharge of its high office: this is what Paul calls, the care of all the Churches. Do Churchmen realize the position, which the Church of England occupies, in alliance with the Episcopal Church of the United States, as regards the Christian Διασπορὰ among the Gentiles? The Fathers of the Church in England are so fully occupied with pressing home-affairs, and the magnitude of the work has grown so suddenly and so mightily, that something analogous to the College of the Propaganda of Rome is required to keep information up to date: in fact a Foreign Office to the Church of England.

No greater delusion has ever been suggested, than that the Church of England in its corporate capacity, through the agency of its Bishops, should control the details of the Evangelization of the world: those, who suggest this, ought to know, that History, neither past nor present, gives any example of such a policy being successfully carried out. The gigantic and ubiquitous Church of Rome is too astute for such a policy: it leaves the Evangelization, or Papalization, of the World, to the great Congregations, such as the Benedictine, Capuchin, Franciscan, and Jesuit, who belong to all Nations, or to the special Missionary Associations of each Nation, while it maintains in the College of the Propaganda of Rome under specially appointed Officials full, ready, and accurate, information, the power of appointing Bishops, and Vicars Apostolic, and the absolute control of Doctrine. Even the tiny Protestant Church of Sweden has not been able to prevent the establishment of independent Episcopal Missions, and the Nonconformist Churches of Great Britain work through Associations, or practically independent departments of their particular Church-organization.

But the problems, which are discussed in this paper, are just those, which come properly and solely under a Board of Missions, or a College of the Propaganda, and lie beyond the capacity

and competence of the committee of a Missionary Society: I allude to the phenomena, which present themselves in a new Christianity in Asia or Africa, or elsewhere. I wish to write with due respect of the Secretaries and committees, with which I am familiar, but their constitution is not perfect: all the work in the first instance comes before a territorial Sub-committee of about a dozen, half laymen, half clergymen, chosen for each particular part of the field, at which Vice-Presidents and Secretaries freely attend. Free from any rules of public debate, each question is there thoroughly discussed, and an order recorded: this comes up for revision before the Correspondence-committee, consisting of all the different territorial Sub-committees, the numerous Secretaries and Assistant-Secretaries, and a great many other members of the Society selected each year, but less qualified to pass judgment on any case than the specially selected Sub-committee; here the matter is discussed fully according to the ordinary laws of debate, and a vote taken by show of hands. But a week or so afterwards the matter again comes before a body of men still less fitted to take cognizance of it than the Committee of correspondence, viz., the General committee; of this anomalous body, Honorary Life-Governors, £5 lay Life-Governors, ten-and-sixpenny clergymen of every age, and degree of experience, or rather want of experience, have a vote equal to that of the most experienced member of the Sub-committee: the majority know little, and some absolutely nothing, of the principle underlying the case, or even of the merits of the case itself, and yet they can by dead weight of parson-power cancel or modify previous orders: they are no more fit to decide, whether a black or white Bishop should be sent to the Niger or South India, than they are to decide, whether a black or white Viceroy should be sent to India; it is a fair hypothesis, that the younger clergy vote very much as they think, that the Honorary Clerical Secretary wishes them to do. It appears, therefore, that the Committee of a Missionary Society, at least of one so constituted, has not the capacity to decide a question affecting the Future of the Church at large, and that nothing short of representatives of the whole Church of England have the competence to decide, whether a Native Church should be ruled by a young, alien, white Bishop, an absolute stranger to the people, who in his old age will go back to the country of his birth, or by an experienced and middle-aged member of the Native Pastorate, of good repute, and proved capacity, who is prepared to die amidst his flock.

The decision of this issue does not turn on the fact, that the stipend is supplied by the Missionary Society. In the case of Japan, and Palestine, the Primate reserved to himself the right of nomination, although the stipend was supplied in whole or

part by two Missionary Societies. When a purely Missionary Bishop is appointed by a Society, such as the Bishop of Melanesia, or Equatorial Africa, the selection may with safety be left to the Missionary Society, because the Native Church is only in its infancy; but, when a more advanced stage has been reached, and a Native Bishop has held the office with success for a series of years, it is a retrograde step, and one calculated to alienate the affection of the Native Church, and wound the legitimate aspirations of the Pastorate, to declare, that no Native is fit to be a Bishop, and that a young Curate, who would probably die within two years unless he left his diocese for England, must be looked for by the Honorary Secretary with a sufficiency of physical, intellectual, Spiritual, and self-Sacrificing gifts, very much as Diogenes looked for an honest man with a lantern in broad daylight.

Now what do the Annals of the historical Churches tell us? The fallen Churches in Asia, viz., the Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Syrian, Assyrian, Travancór, and in Africa the Abyssinian, and Koptic, cannot boast of much Spirituality, but somehow or other, through the dull dreary centuries of Christian Ignorance and Mahometan oppression, unvisited by Prophet, or Apostle, or Evangelist, of the more fortunate Churches, they have kept their candlestick lighted, and conserved copies of the Word of God in their own particular Ecclesiastical form of speech: this is a great fact: to what feature of their internal organization under the Grace of God can this survival be traced, when all around them perished? To the fact of Episcopacy, and *indigenous* Episcopacy: it is so far true, that to this day the Abyssinian Church receives willingly, and by request, an Abúna from its Mother-Church, the Koptic, but the two Nations are closely allied in their level of culture, their geographical neighbourhood, and their Religious tenets. Can it be said of the Native Churches of South India, and West Africa, that they in the least degree are akin to the Church of England, except in the fact, that they received from it the great Truths of Christianity, contained in the Hebrew and Greek Texts of the Bible? The ancient Civilization of the people of India is of a totally different type from that of the Anglo-Saxon: the barbarism of the African is of different type from the ancient barbarism of the European, for the African still hankers after Polygamy even in a Christian Church, a desire which never entered into the conception of the Greek and Latin Pagan races, and those who drew from them Civilization during the last three thousand years.

If we are not careful, Churches composed of the so-called inferior races will discover, that Episcopalianism is a barrier against independence; that a Church, based upon Presbyterianism or Congregationalism, offers an easier channel for

the just aspirations of the neo-Christian Community to manage its own affairs, Spiritual and secular. Hear what the representatives of the most elastic form of Church Government, the Congregationalist, say: "It has been the peculiar glory of the "Society in the Past, and the feature in its constitution, which "has attracted to its ranks many of its noblest workers, that "the ecclesiastical organization of the Mission-Churches has "been shaped, not in rigid conformity to any particular model, "but in accordance with the necessities of different fields of "labour, and the special characteristics of different peoples. "It will be its strength and the pledge of its success in days "to come to endeavour to cultivate among those, who are "brought to the Knowledge of Christ by means of its Missions, "an intelligent and independent study of the Truths of the "Divine Revelation in the freedom of a life, which is not com-"pelled to form itself on Western models."—*L.M.S. Annual Report*, 1880.

We cannot, indeed, control the future development of Native Churches, which by the Grace of God we have been permitted to call into existence, but we can at least so act, that they do not part from us in anger, with wounded self-respect, and bad passions, roused by undeserved and contemptuous ill-treatment. If we reflect on what was the object of the godly men, who at the commencement of this century, brought into existence the great agencies of the Church of England for Evangelizing the non-Christian world, the like of which no other national Church can show, we cannot but believe, that this object was to found at as an early date as possible independent Churches, supporting their own Pastors, ruled by their own Native Bishops; and this is precisely what is the desire of many among us. We are now at the close of the Nineteenth century, which gave birth to the new Missionary idea, and the taunt may be justified, that our enterprize has been a failure, if there are no Native Churches. In that period to many Colonies and subject Kingdoms entire or partial independence in things secular has been conceded by the Imperial Parliament, which has outlived the Epoch of Egotistic jealousy of their offspring. Within a century after the preaching of Paul there were independent Churches in existence under their own Bishops. Had there been a Missionary committee at Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, or Rome, of the same manner of thinking as those in London, the independence of these young Churches, and their energy, would have been crushed by Hebrew Chief Shepherds forced upon them, ignorant of their Languages, customs, and social life. At the end of the Nineteenth century the Synod at Lambeth will not be honoured by the presence of a single coloured independent Bishop: the fact, that one, whose loss we mourn, was for many years a Bishop,

and that no successor in the next generation was selected out of several fit for the office, renders the position more deplorable. The Church of Rome openly denies the Episcopate to any member of an inferior race. In some particulars the Church of Rome never grows wiser in consequence of failure: it was driven out of South America, West Africa, China, and Japan, because the Native Church of Priests and Bishops had never been built up of indigenous material; and yet it goes on in the same insensate way. The Church of Rome would rather see the Natives of a country heathen than run the risk of their being Christian out of obedience to Rome. Is the Church of England prepared to affirm, that the Episcopal is not an office adapted for any but members of a dominant race? It is true, that this is a new problem: the work of the Church, for 300 years, lay amidst the Græco-Latin and Semitic races, admittedly the races foremost in the ranks of that Epoch: later on the Kelts, Teutons, and Slavs, supplied themselves with Bishops in Europe of their own race, and in Asia the Armenians, Syrians, Assyrians, and Georgians; while in Africa the Hamitic and Semitic races were represented by the Koptic and Abyssinian Bishops, and the Church in Travancór, South India, had its Dravidian Bishops. It is only in this Nineteenth century, that the world has been thrown open to the Gospel, and unfortunately the Anglo-Saxon race has accustomed itself to lord it over other races, to think contemptuously of them, and to refuse to trust them. I feel convinced, as the result of long reflection, that this distrust arises in the breasts of good men from the innate albocracy of the white man, and the contempt, which accompanies it, of men of colour, but it may be presumed with certainty, that our Lord Himself was a man of colour. Among the lower classes this prejudice against so-called "niggers" is excessive, but those, who have lived a quarter of a century in India in close contact with the people, and who have studied the anthropology of the world in all its varieties, know that this sentiment is ridiculous. The Periodicals and reports of Missionary Societies have accentuated these prejudices, and in their pages we find to our surprise the great Empires of India and China described as the Kingdom of Satan, because the primeval custom of Caste prevails in the one, and the poppy is cultivated there, and because the primeval practice of reverencing dead ancestors prevails in the other, and opium is consumed to a disgusting excess. The writer of such Periodicals forgets, or has not cared to learn, that man is a Religious animal, and that the Human heart turns to God, as a sunflower turns to the sun, and seeks for Him, if haply it can find Him, and rejoices, when the Message comes; but by the dispensation of an all-wise Providence no Prophet or Evangelist has ever come with the Message to these

magnificent races, compared to whom the petty Hebrew, and Greek, and Egyptian, races are numerically but as a drop in the Ocean: races who have left behind them imperishable Monuments of literature and Art, and yet they are weighed in the balance and found wanting by men, springing from the manufactories of Lancashire, on the farms in Devonshire, or the business-house in London; and it goes forth from India, and the echo is caught up in the Missionary committee in London, that no one is fit in the second or third generation of Christians to be a chief shepherd of the sheep of his own flock. Another excuse for this failure of Duty is, that the Native Pastors are jealous of each other, and would not willingly accept the rule of a former colleague: we have not yet had an opportunity of testing this feeling in India, and it was not felt at all with regard to Bishop Crowther in Africa; but the existence of the feeling is not unknown in England. I have heard old clergymen in England speaking with a certain amount of disparagement of a younger new Bishop: this is one of the objections, which must be brushed aside.

The difficulty in its present form has only just appeared, but as years go on, the phenomena will become more marked. In the case of Sierra Leone and Lagos, the Missionary Society withdrew from all control, leaving it to the Native African Pastorate under a territorial Bishop appointed by the Colonial Office. In the case of New Zealand, where the white population so far exceeded in numbers the Native Maori, the Missionary Society handed over the work to the Episcopal Synod. Such, no doubt, will ultimately be the case with the Missions in the Dominion of Canada: the Canadian Church will take them over, when the time comes. In the West Indies the Missionary Societies have gradually withdrawn, leaving the local Church in possession. In Asia and Africa, where the Natives so far exceed in numbers the European immigrants, and there are no settlers as in healthy climates, the problem is more acute, and, as each combination of circumstances presents itself, it will have to be considered. In two regions, South India and West Africa, the matter is very pressing, as Sees once occupied are vacant, and it is not a question of creating, but filling a vacancy, that is before us.

Let us consider the circumstances of the Mission in South India, as collected from statements of a faithful, sympathetic, and experienced ex-Missionary in 1890–1:

(1) Christianity in possession more than 50 years: 65 clergymen, some ordained 40 years: the Missions above 15.
(2) Congregations, some of 60 years standing, most not less than 30.

(3) Large sums spent by the Native Christians in Lawsuits and Marriage of daughters.
(4) Great improvement of the material circumstances of the people during the last quarter of a century.
(5) Majority of the Native Pastors indifferent, feeding themselves rather than their flocks, unable to win the love or respect of their people.
(6) English Missionaries to withdraw from Pastoral duties, but a certain amount of supervision to remain of Pastoral duties, and entire control of Evangelizing duties.
(7) Ambition of the people to build brick or stone Churches.
(8) Voluntary contribution of the people far below the scale fairly to be expected of them, considering their circumstances.
(9) Want of Spirituality, and of true piety, in the Pastors and other Native Agents.
(10) Dissatisfaction of the people with their Pastors on the ground of partiality and neglect of Duty, and *absolute confidence reposed by the people in the English Missionary*: this complacent opinion is recorded by an Englishman, who confessedly could not speak the Language of the people, and only formed it through an interpreter.

Thus there is no suggestion to grant self-government, or independence, in favour of a Church, which has existed for two generations of men: and this is an understatement, as some Christians of this Church are in the third and fourth generation: it does not seem to pass through the minds of those connected with this Mission, that the British Government may be compelled to withdraw in a few years from South India, that the country may be too disturbed for the residence of an English Missionary, and that the Native Church must be left to itself. Would it not be wiser, and more in consonance with the practice of the early centuries of Christianity, to give this promising Church of 46,000 souls a constitution, and let it run alone? Is there not a want of Spirituality on the part of the Home-committee in London in concluding, that the existence and well-being of such a Community depends upon their feeble advice, protection, and assistance, and not on the presence of the Holy Spirit promised, and manifestly granted, to this Association of neo-Christians, who have come out of Brahmanism and Animism, into Christianity?

The problem in South India is still further complicated by the existence of another body of neo-Christians within the same Region, equally belonging to the same Church of England,

equally mourning the loss of its father in God, and Spiritual Pastor. The members of this flock are in precisely the same stratum of social culture, speak the same Language, follow the same ancestral customs, are liable to the same natural weaknesses, and heirs of the same ancient Civilization, and yet up to this time they have been under different Bishops, because, it is really difficult to say why: a deadly injury is being done to the Church of South India by the stereotyping of differences, which ought never to have existed in the Church at home. Missionary Associations become a curse, if they introduce schism in churches yet to be born.

Did I hear some one doubting the capacity of the people of India to supply individuals fit to be a Bishop? While the Anglo-Saxon race was still savage, the Hindu Nation was great in Arms, Arts, and Sciences, and has left a literature unrivalled in the world. In the present generation the highest offices of State are filled by Natives of India, and filled well: if some posts are reserved to Englishmen, it is from Political reasons, and the fact, that India is a subject-country always liable to a Mutiny, or a Rebellion. There is no post, to which they are not equal, in their own country. How does the Christian Church of Travancór supply itself with Bishops? As the Church-Members, so are the Church-officers and the Bishop: I have no doubt, that the Bishops of the renowned Keltic Church of Ireland, Scotland, and Northumbria, were not such as would have satisfied the requirements of a Missionary committee in London of the Nineteenth century, but none the less they kept their candlestick lighted, and handed down something worth inheriting to future generations. Are we doing our Duty to the Church of South India in thus, for the sake of an imaginary perfection, which will never be attained, restraining the natural development of a young Church? The Tinnevelly Church is a sickly plant now, because it has not been allowed to grow spontaneously to its proper stature of indigenous development: it may be, that, while committees at home are practising the art of doing nothing, and putting off the manifest discharge of their Duty to the next generation, these Churches may secede, like the Pastorates on the Niger, and pass into Congregationalism or Presbyterianism: if we only keep to Scripture-precedents, the Lord will provide a Timothy, a Titus, or a Clement. The people of South India are infinitely superior to the Cretans at the time of Paul.

We are standing in Asia on the edge of a precipice: the old order of things is dissolving very much as happened in the time of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius in the Roman world. The Secretaries of Missionary Societies, and the Missionary himself, are necessarily narrow in their views: the subject must be looked

at with the eye of a Christian Statesman, not the less a faithful Christian, because he looks back for guidance to the lesson taught by History, and forward to the slowly unfolding picture of Christ's Universal Church, where there will be Unity, but not Uniformity, and it will not be pretended, that the white man is of necessity, *per se*, more Spiritual, more capable of managing his own affairs, and more Christlike, than the man of colour: we should be ready for Divine Possibilities, and hang upon Divine Promises: the same Grace, and Strength, and Wisdom, which accompanied the spread of the Gospel in the comparatively insignificant Roman Empire, spread round the tiny Mediterranean Sea, will accompany it, now that the whole world is thrown open, and the sound has actually gone out to Regions of the Earth, beyond the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The position of affairs in West Africa is still more critical. The African race is not likely to be stamped out like the poor weak races of North America, or of the South Sea islands: centuries of oppression have failed to make any impression on the African: transported across the Atlantic to another Continent, they have achieved freedom, acquired culture, and cannot be denied citizenship: the African takes the varnish of European culture much more readily than the Native of British India: I know them both. If I found myself in the company of some of the Pastors of West Africa in the dark, I should not be aware, that I was not conversing with a well-instructed English Clergyman; if I laid their letters on the table by the side of those of an English correspondent, no one could suppose that between the writers of the two there was a vast abyss of race, colour, and even physical structure. The Africans of the West Coast, from contact with their countrymen from North America, and Liberia, have acquired ideas of independence, and personal dignity, and do not love the white man.

Thirty years ago the experiment was made of an African Bishop on the Niger, and it has not proved a failure. Many lost an honoured friend, when Dr. Samuel Crowther died on the last day of 1891. The American Episcopal Church is represented by a most worthy African Bishop, Dr. Fergusson, at Cape Palmas; in the West Indies there is an African Bishop, Dr. Holly, at Haiti; and yet a Missionary committee decided, that there was no African fit to be a Bishop, that he might possibly be an assistant-Bishop, and expressed "a desire, that an African Bishop, or Bishops, whether assistant or independent, should be appointed in West Africa, as soon *as in the interests of the Church there such appointment seems desirable*." As if to give point to this decision a letter was published in the same Periodical of the Missionary Society, which announced this decision, that the Native Churches must wait as long for a

Native Bishop as the Israelites waited for Christ, and that the English Bishop was the pedagogue to bring the African to Christ. It would appear, therefore, that as far as the committee is concerned, the recommendation of a coloured Bishop is deferred to the next generation. Now this is not a matter affecting Africa only, or one particular Missionary Society only, but it affects the Church of England in its entirety, and the Church of Christ all over the world. Moreover, it is a message of War to the Church in West Africa.

In a certain committee-room the following advice was given publicly to an outgoing Missionary by a retired veteran: "Race-"peculiarities it is equally easy to invest with too much or too "little importance. They ought never to be forgotten, but "many of these differences between race and race are differences "without being on the whole necessarily either superiorities or "inferiorities They rather indicate, that to different Nations "God has allotted different tasks. . . . Do not attribute to "*race* any seeming inferiority without thoroughly good ground "for doing so, not even in your mind; to do so in words to "any member of such a race would, of course, be, in most cases "at least, an act of the grossest discourtesy. That there is any "absolutely and permanently invincible inferiority of race, seems "scarcely consonant with Scriptural teaching. The power of "heredity cannot be altogether denied, but it may certainly "be overrated. Education and surrounding influences from "earliest years not infrequently, especially when made use of "by Divine Grace, cause race inferiority to disappear entirely."

In consequence of the injudicious and unsympathetic conduct of young English agents on the Niger (both of whom are dead, and therefore the less said about them the better), certain Pastorates of the Niger have under their Archdeacon seceded from the protection of the Missionary Society, to whom they are indebted for their Knowledge of Christ, and thrown themselves upon their own resources, and the alms of the African Churches of Sierra Leone and Lagos. This measure was announced before the aged Bishop died, and actually took place on April 29, 1892, and it was known, that it would take place before the committee of the Missionary Society determined to replace the African with an English Bishop: there was no attempt to give time to the seceding Pastorates for reflection by delay; in a few months they might have returned to their allegiance, and under an African Bishop they may do so still: it is devoutly to be hoped, that they will make no approaches for union to the Nonconformist British Churches, or the American non-Episcopal Churches, represented on that Coast, or to the Church of Rome: these are all contingencies, which have to be reckoned upon: at any rate the appointment of a white Bishop, as proposed by the

committee, at this conjuncture, was fatal to all possibility of compromise.

It goes without saying, that if a Native Church, whether in Asia or Africa, determined to have a Native Bishop, contrary to the express wishes of the Parent-Society, they must cease to look for financial assistance from that Society, and must be independent all round, and provide the stipend of their Bishop and Pastors, which need not exceed £200 per annum; but this is no more than is done by all Christian Churches, and more than that, all non-Christian Tribes and Nations do so also: they that minister to the Altar, must live by the Altar: this is the avowed ultimate object of all Missionary Societies, but they hesitate as to the time and mode of attaining it. Of course a Missionary Bishop, the leader of an evangelizing enterprize, is totally distinct from the Bishop of an organized Native Church, and must be a white man; and a Native Church, when fully organized, must not forget its Missionary Duties to Regions Beyond. Some cases may occur, where there are Church of England European settlers intermixed with the Asiatic and African, but as regards the Diocese of South India, and of the Niger-Delta, there are absolutely none: it is a purely Native Church, the requirements of which have to be considered.

It would be amusing, were the matter not so awfully serious, to read the remarks of a young Missionary on the utter baseness, immorality, and dishonesty, of the Mahometan, Hindu, Buddhist, and Pagan, and the complacent way, in which the Christian as a general term is described: the writer treats both sides in the abstract: I have lived twenty-five years, many years quite alone, amidst Hindu and Mahometan, and not found them morally and socially so very bad: I have lived many more years amidst Christians, especially in London, and found them not of the highest type of Morality. This same feeling influences Missionary committees: the Anglo-Indian Members of such committees try to interfere in favour of the poor Indian, or African, but the majority of Clergy on the committees has no mercy on the nascent Christianity in the midst of Heathens, and yet it is presumed, that they have read Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, and what the Spirit said to the Churches in the Revelation. And it is the more unjustifiable, since British Missionary agents, ordained and lay, have been disconnected for gross immorality in Africa during late years. The moral lapses of the British Missionary, brought up in Christian environment, are hushed up, and the unhappy offender is most properly provided for in America or elsewhere in secular employment: the scandal to the Mission, and the Cause, is not forgotten in the Mission-field. The least lapse, however, of poor Africans, whose early years were spent amidst the worst forms of Heathendom,

but who have by God's marvellous Grace emerged from the slough entirely, like good Bishop Crowther, or partially in other cases, according to the measure of the Grace and the Temptation, are magnified, and without evidence pass into a Proverb, accepted as a Verity, and alluded to in speech and writing by good men, who would resent as a personal offence a similar insinuation against an English Clergyman: and on such grounds the whole race is condemned. The Mahometan gentry were informed through the public crier by the newly arrived young white Missionary, that since his arrival, and the departure of the African Archdeacon, they need not fear for the virtue of their households. Is not this a libel by innuendo? If the superseded Church dignitary were a white man, he would fill the Religious journals with his indignant outcry: he is a black man, and he must submit; he is not supplied with a copy of the charges, though they are the subject of notoriety on the Niger. To a lover of fair-play such incidents seem lamentable, and supply another reason for the independence of a Native Church under its own Bishop.

Sometimes we read extravagant praises of the piety of a Native congregation, and the proportion of communicants to the congregation is held up as an example to the Home-Church; we read of daily family-prayer in humble huts, and reading of the Scriptures. In the early stage of the Missions the converts were adults, and conversions were real, and *there was a new creature*: to these succeeded a generation of Natives born as Christians, and, as time went on, some fell away from the high standard, and lived immoral lives; and then the depreciation becomes extravagant and unjust. A young Missionary goes out to the field, wound up to the highest pitch by Keswick, or Mildmay, or a Holiness-Retreat, and to him the state of the poor neo-Christians seems abominable, and sweeping censure, and clean sweeps of Agents, take place; in this way the opinion of the home-staying committee as to the character of a people is formed. Some experienced Missionaries in Africa write more cautiously, mercifully, and in a higher Christian spirit: here is one:

"The arrangement made, when the Bishop was here, which "brought me into closer connection with the congregation, has "made me much more alive to the weaknesses and failings of "our people than I was previously. There are some humble, "earnest Souls in that congregation, such as would give strength "to, and illustrate true Christian life in, any congregation, in "this country or elsewhere. But there is much worldliness and "indifference to Spiritual Religion; there is a good deal of "weakness, which comes from half-heartedness, and from "adherence to some superstitious ideas; and there is a good

" deal, that would not accord with social and Moral Laws. " Christianity has yet a great work to do in the congregation " before it can be regarded as a people given wholly to God's " Service, and as enjoying the blessings of those, who conform " to Divine Laws. There is less to encourage than I thought " there was before my relation to this congregation was as close " as it has been for the greater part of the past year. It seems " to me, that for years past there has been a considerable leakage " from the congregation. In the minds of many Religion has " had but a decreasing power; many have drifted away from " the Church, and in not a few instances have been lost sight of.

" One cannot feel satisfied with things as they are. One " experiences a longing, that all our people should be more " truly and decidedly on the Lord's side, that they should be " the Master's epistles, known and read by those around them, " and be more evidently pressing forward towards those things, " which are before them. I have sometimes dwelt fondly on " the different state of things, which existed here in the early " days of the Mission, when the progress of the Gospel roused " its opponents to active and bitter persecution of its adherents. " But there comes in the thought, that it would have been well " for the reputations of some of those, who were persecuted, " and bore the ordeal with Christian patience and fortitude, if " they had been taken away earlier. They had the martyr spirit, " apparently, but some of them failed sadly in Christian living. " It is in this respect that our people fail now. Here temptations " are many and strong. They are ever present. There is so " much, that a professing Christian can do that is inconsistent " with the principles of his holy Religion, without being lowered " in public esteem, that the temptation is hardly realized as such. " There are those who have committed the keeping of their " Souls to the Master, and their lives show, that He is able to " keep them. May God greatly multiply the number of such!"

I extract some few lines from a sober and thoughtful Report of the S.P.G., 1890, where no Sensationalism finds a place, and the error, if any, is on the side of coldness:

" The old Missions in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, for " which the Society has cared since 1829, have long been the " subject of anxiety and disappointment. The number of ad- " herents is still believed to be about 3,000, but there has been " too much reason to fear, that of many the Christianity has been " little more than a nominal profession, *and of high Spiritual life* " *there have been few signs.* No doubt there have been many " mistakes in the past, on the part of some Missionaries, who " have laboured with all fidelity. There has been too eager " a desire to swell the number of converts. It was discovered " many years ago, that the teachers were selected rather for their

" social influence among their fellows than for intellectual or " Spiritual qualities."

While preparing this paper I received a letter from the late Sir Charles Aitchison, one of my old assistants in India in 1858, who had since risen to be a Governor successively of two Provinces with a population of many Millions of Hindu, Mahometan, and Buddhist, himself a pious man, and a Vice-President of a Missionary Society, from which I quote the following as bearing on the adherence of a Native Church:

" I hope, that you will succeed in convincing those, who guide " our Missions, of the necessity of allowing the Native Church " more freedom of self-development. By refusing it we greatly " hamper the spread of Christian Truth in India. Why should " Missionary Societies impose on Native Churches conditions, " which are no essential part of the New Testament-System, but " the outcome of a political life in past centuries in Europe, " which the people of India never have lived, never can live, " and of which they cannot understand the purport?" There is much obvious truth in this, and one of the sad experiences of Home-Churches and Home-committees will be in the middle of the next century to witness their babes in Christ, after arriving at maturity, shaking themselves free from European mediæval fetters, and possibly re-minting the Divine ore of Christ's Truth, mixed up with the alloy of their ancient Faith, just as the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries acted as regards neo-Platonism and the old Roman Theogony.

And after all, if it be clearly proved, as I think it is, that much of Christian Ritual is derived from Pagan ceremonials, and the form of the Christian Creeds is clothed in the terminology of the Greek Schools of Philosophy, if the heart of the worshipper goes out to God, if the simple doctrines of the Gospel stand out like jewels from the highly ornamented setting, if real Holiness, not ceremonial cleanness, is sought after, if the so-called Christian is in reality *a follower of Christ*, what does it matter? There is a vast abyss of thought betwixt the Sermon on the Mount, and the Nicene Creed: one might believe *ex animo* the latter, and still be a very indifferent Christian; one might be unable to believe it *in toto*, and yet be qualified by Faith, Hope, and Charity, by Love to God and one's neighbour, by taking Christ at His word, and by welcoming the Holy Spirit, to find a humble corner in Paradise. If the neo-convert in India and China in the course of the next century assimilates something of Manu, something of Buddha, something of Kong-Fu-Tsee, we must not be surprised. The European Christians chose to transfer the Asiatic-Semitic-Syrian germ into an Arian-European setting, and to present it to the non-Christian world, as the very Religion taught by Christ in Galilee and Judea:

what wonder if the neo-Christian of Eastern Asia, becoming a careful student of the Old Testament and New Testament, and free from all prejudices in favour of Greek Philosophy or Roman Law, having his own Philosophy and his own Law cast in a totally different mould, strips the artificial leaves from the artichoke, and substitutes for the use of his own Millions the same essence presented in a totally different environment?

The Archbishop of York (Dr. Maclagan) used these remarkable words at Sheffield in 1894: "Our aim is not to build up "the Church of England in every corner of the earth, but to "build up the Native Churches, each with its own characteristics, "and its own special needs. . . . . Although it may be, that at "first there is nothing for it but to plant among them those "formularies of Religion, which we have adopted ourselves, yet "we must be ever ready to watch for the time, when they will "be in a fit condition to govern their own Churches, to regulate "their own affairs, and to develop, under the teaching of the "Holy Spirit, *their own aspects of Divine Truth*. One longs for "the time, when there will be Native Bishops ruling over Native "Churches. Our Mission-work can never attain its own end "in any Mission-field until that desirable result is brought about. "No country ought to trust for its ruling Ministers to a foreign "country. The Bishops of the Native Churches must not be "exotics. They must belong to the country itself."

Dr. Maclean ("Gradual Conversion of Europe," p. 14) quotes from a Sermon of Dr. Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Missionary Effort, the following words: "Is it too much to "believe that, as there has been a Greek, a Latin, and a Teutonic "Church, so there shall gradually arise an Oriental Christianity, "and an Oriental Theology?"

Dr. Hatch raises his warning voice ("Bampton Lecture," p. 218): "Any attempt to enforce, or try to enforce, a fixity "of Ecclesiastical *Form* of a European mould will fail: Forms "must be elastic, and vary from age to age, and clime to clime."

The particular Form may be good in itself for the English Church, but it does not follow, that it will be good for Japanese, Chinese, and Indian, Churches. I heard the Bishop of Japan at the S.P.G. boldly state, that the Japanese Church would not accept the Book of Common Prayer. The power to readjust existing Institutions so as to meet novel requirements indicates Divine strength: the environment being changed, the machinery must be changed also: Christianity will shape itself in new forms to meet new conditions, and satisfy new aspirations: in India we have already had an instance of expectation of an immediate appearance of Christ entertained by thousands: we may have instances of that sublime enthusiasm, which drives men and women into asceticism: the Early Church in Europe

presented such phenomena: we may expect the same in the Asiatic Churches.

An old Missionary of thirty-five years in India, Robert Clarke, and known to me all that time, called on me, and I discussed the subject: the anxiety, which he felt, was different from mine: his desire was to prolong the control of the Missionary Society, which belonged to one shade of thought of the national Church of England, so as to prevent the territorial Bishop, who belonged to another shade of thought, introducing into the nascent Christianity ritualistic practices, which, though tolerated by the Church, were abominable in the eyes of the Missionary Society, and of the Agents, which they send out: this, no doubt, is a real difficulty, and a deplorable one, but it has had to be faced in the Colonial Churches, and is one of the results of the unhappy divisions of the Church of England. I have already alluded to the possibility of a young Native Church, created by the Church of England, passing into Nonconformity, or the Church of Rome: it is impossible to control the Future: the real policy is to prepare the Native Church for self-support, self-respect, self-Sacrifice, and independence, and then leave the issue to God. His Holy Spirit will not fail.

Those, who are hard upon the poor Negro of the Niger, and the neo-Christians of South India, conveniently forget all about the moral character of the City of London, and its streets reeking with drunkenness, and sexual profligacy. After a life of more than one thousand years, it is only this year, that the English Church has passed a Canon to get free from the stain of profligate Clergy. And all this in spite of the long discipline of centuries, Pulpits, and Sermons, Sorrow following Sin, Bibles laid open, consciences roused by public denunciations and private advice; and yet it is expected by the narrow vision of a Missionary committee, that the poor Negro, still suffering from the consequences of Christian Sin during the last century, should rise *per saltum* into the glorious light of Christian Morality, a light which sometimes he has not the strength to bear. Still, God has not left Himself without a witness in this generation, and even the most bitter hater, and most contemptuous despiser, of the African can point to no blemish in the moral life of good Samuel Crowther, which lies like an open book before us, from the age of 14 to 84.

Dr. Stoughton sympathetically remarks: "Think of the heathen-surroundings, heathen-trainings, heathen-relations:"

Alas! alas! "Servabit odorem testa diu."

Hear what Bishop Lightfoot, my own special guide, says: "Our mode of dealing with the Indian has been too con-

" ventional, *too English*. Indian Christianity can never be cast " into the same mould as English Christianity. The stamp of " teaching, the mode of life, which experience has justified " as the best possible for an English parish, may be very unfit, " when transported to an Indian soil: we must become as " Indians to the Indian, if we would win India to Christ." —" Comparative Progress of Ancient and Modern Missions," 1873, page 14.

The following suggestion, made by the Rev. J. Barton, is one deserving of all consideration, as coming from one, who has great practical knowledge of the subject, and is kindly disposed to the Natives: " Let the Dioceses be small, and several " Native Bishops be appointed to them, on most moderate " stipends, without any pretence of secular title or dignity, or " undue elevation above the Pastors, beyond what is required " for the maintenance of the authority of the office." So far I am with him, but to place these Bishops with the titles of Assistant or Suffragan, men advanced in life, with personal and local experience, under the control of a young, perfectly uninformed, Bishop from England would produce the very evils, which it is the object of this paper to avoid; it is mere racial pride, that suggests this: if the African had his way, he would exclude every white man from the country: it is very much the same in every country; it is a low form of Chauvinism, and not fit to be entertained in the building up of a Christian Church. Somehow or other that Church has been built up among many races of what appeared very inferior material, but it has proved sufficient to carry on the Gospel from generation to generation: we have the example on one side of the uprooted Roman Catholic Churches, when Political troubles in Europe stopped the supply of European Priests to Africa, and South America: we have the example of the Oriental Churches in West Asia, and North Africa, which have managed by a continuous supply of indigenous Priests and Bishops, though cut off from fellowship with any other Christian Church, and cruelly oppressed by the Mahometan, to maintain their vitality: I assert, that the maintenance of vitality in a Church is one of the chief objects of Missions.

It may be argued, that the appointment of a Native Bishop will prove a failure, and that a failure is a stumbling-block in the way of further advance. Have no white Bishops ever proved a failure? Do we not see in our midst Episcopal personages, who have turned their backs on the plough, and forgotten their high Duty, to which they were consecrated, merely for private or domestic convenience? They have not been willing, like Bishops Caldwell and Sargent, to die amidst their flock. Are not some Bishops a veritable impediment

to Missionary-work, the vacation of whose offices would be a blessing to Evangelization? The longer that the Missionary Society goes on playing with this subject, as a cat plays with a mouse, the less it will like it. There comes up a murmur from every part of the Mission-field against the over-centralization in the committee-room of the many-sided work of the Mission: poor weak human nature thus shows itself. The busybodies on the committee, and the self-satisfied Secretary, are little men, who love power, and flatter themselves, that they know better than the man on the spot. The Missionary committee is an admirable machine for getting in funds; a fairly good machine for training Missionaries, fitting them out, giving them leave to marry, providing for Missionary children, and for devising new fields for Missionary enterprize. But it is a totally inadequate machine for controlling, or rather guiding, the wonderful spontaneous growth of young Native Churches, which present totally different phenomena, and idiosyncrasies, in different parts of the world.

The Missionary committee, in order to get in the funds, is compelled to pander to the weakest side of its fanciful, and sensational, supporters, by the breath of whose favour it exists from year to year. In an Evangelical Society, the Opium-Trade, Caste, Ritualism, and Roman Catholicism, must be annually abused: a particular kind of vague transcendental phraseology, with the use of the Divine name repeated in nearly every page, must be had recourse to. The imagination and fond dreams of the least capable of its many thousand supporters must be consulted. In my presence the Secretary informed a committee, that the omission of the annual meaningless formal curse uttered against the Opium-Trade from the Annual report read in Exeter Hall, would give pain to worthy souls, who require this kind of pabulum to their Missionary palates: however, wiser counsels prevailed, and it was omitted.

Some kind of Statesmanlike view must be taken of the situation. We are creating a great Spiritual Power, which will outlive the British Nation, and its Political Domination. Some sense of historic continuity in the great story of the Life, the never-ending Life, of Christ's Church must be felt. *No Christian Church can last without independence.* A great Church, like that of the Church of England, in the hour of its greatness, and the noontide of its glorious work of worldwide Evangelization, should evince some sympathy with the just aspirations of younger, weaker, and less fortunate, Churches. Let us not forget the sad lesson taught by the Eighteenth century. A little more sympathy with Wesley might have prevented a lamentable secession. Let us take heed, lest by want of sympathy with the nascent Christianities all over the world, we drive them out of

the pale of the Episcopal Church, or at least out of our Communion.

I have done what seemed a Duty in making this protest. I learned my first Missionary lesson in India fifty years ago from the lips of Bishop Daniel Wilson, of Calcutta, and it has been the joy of my life. Hear the words of Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, to whose teaching in my old age I am more indebted than I can express in words: "The work of Missions, I say "again, is our own work. We need, we sadly need, the Grace "of unity. Those, who work upon the Mission-field, tell us that "they have already been allowed to see the beginning of the "great issue; and I venture myself to look forward to the time, "when the Native Churches of India and the Far East shall "realize that ideal, which rises before our eyes, of a great Church, "pure in its Scriptural simplicity and Apostolic in its consti-"tution." I learned how to treat subject, and so-called inferior, races with sympathy from my friends and Masters in the art of Rule, John Lord Lawrence, and Sir Bartle Frere. We may not find, that every Native Pastor develops into the proportions of Bishops Caldwell, or Sargent, or Samuel Crowther; still less shall we find the chance Curate, upon whom the eyes of the Honorary Secretary fall, evince the like capacity. Men, thus chosen by haphazard, may be fit to be Missionary Bishops, to lead the forlorn hope, to suffer hardship and be strong, like a modern Paul. Self-Sacrifice of this kind will always be wanted. But for the peaceful, unsensational, Duties of the overseer, or ἐπίσκοπος, of a young Native Church, a man like unto themselves is required, a coloured Chief-Pastor among coloured Pastors, and a dusky father of dusky Spiritual children.

> Ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι, ὅτι
> οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ θεός.—*Acts*, x, 34.

June, 1892–1895.

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2. Speech at the Missionary Conference of the Church of England, 1894, in London.

It seems presumptuous in me, as a layman, to follow so many of my right reverend Fathers, and reverend Brothers, who have delivered their opinions before me, but this is one of the most important questions of the Church, looking into the Future. My remarks are confined to Native Indian, and African self-supporting Churches, and to Native Bishops. One hundred

years have elapsed since the Church of England commenced Mission-work in earnest, for it began at the close of the last century, and during half that period I have had the privilege and honour of watching the moves on the Missionary chess-board, not only in India and Africa, but in every part of the globe; and sometimes those, who watch the game, see more than the players. It seems to me that, if we allow the present policy to continue in force, there is extreme danger, that at the end of the Nineteenth century there will not be one single independent, self-supporting, Native Church, governed by its own Native Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Let us look back to History, and mark the warnings, which it gives us. We are blindly following in the steps of the Church of Rome. In South America and West Africa it had Missions remarkable for power and greatness. But that Church never allowed anything to be done without the agency of Europeans, and so, when political troubles arose, there was no innate Power in the Native Church to continue its existence by ordaining Native Priests and consecrating Native Bishops as occasion arose after the withdrawal of the Europeans. Consequently the Churches were swept away. The contrary example is exhibited by the Syrian, Nestorian, Assyrian, Armenian, and Georgian, Churches in Asia, and the Koptic and Ethiopian in Africa. They were not very Spiritual, not very great, not very strong; yet from the time of the Great Councils they have kept their candlestick lighted, have had an uninterrupted succession of Bishops and Priests and Deacons, and we are doing our best to help them to continue their existence, and to educate them. During the whole period of Mahometan rule they had never been destroyed. An independent, self supporting Church is the desired object, the reward, and should be the result, of our labours. Some years ago an African Christian of independent position called on the late Mr. Venn, Secretary of the C.M.S., and remarked how much money he was spending on secular objects, good objects, to improve his country. Mr. Venn asked him why he did not spend some of his superfluous money in Missionary-work. His reply was: "Trust us; give us an independent Church, and we will try to be worthy of it." This remark touched Mr. Venn closely, and led to the partial independence of the Sierra Leone Church; the pastorates are independent, but the Bishop is salaried and appointed by the British Colonial Office. It led also to the appointment of a Negro Bishop in the Niger Diocese; and with reference to the remarks of the Bishop of Bloemfontein, I am glad to say, that there never was the least doubt as to the purity, morality, and goodness, of the late Bishop Crowther. If nothing more had been done by Missionaries in Africa, we should still have had cause to rejoice, that they had

taught a freed slave to live a stainless life of seventy years in the midst of his countrymen; and, when the old Negro Bishop died at the age of eighty-four years, he was deeply lamented.

Well, there was the Hon. and Rev. James Johnson, Native Pastor of the Bread Fruit Church in Lagos, and member of the Council of the British Governor of Lagos; there was Archdeacon Dandeson Crowther, of the Niger Delta, son of the Bishop. If an Englishman happened to converse with these Native Clergymen in the dark, or read their letters, he would suppose, that they were English Clergymen, so much had they assimilated the best features of the English character; yet to fill the vacant Bishopric some Clergyman from an English parish must be looked for, not knowing a word of the Language of the people. I took the liberty of remonstrating with his Grace the Archbishop, who condescendingly allowed me to correspond with him on this subject, and I was bold enough to write: "Do not allow Canterbury to follow the example of Rome, and crush the independence of the Native African Church." His Grace deemed it right to appoint an otherwise excellent man, Dr. Hill, who died on landing at Lagos: the climate is deadly to a white man; sooner or later they all die. One point was gained, that two excellent young Negroes were appointed Assistant Bishops; but, if the circumstances had been reversed, would any English Clergyman have liked to have been offered to be an Assistant Bishop? Why treat the Negro in his own country as an inferior person in Christ's Church to a white man? A remark fell from a previous speaker, the son of my honoured friend, the Bishop of Durham. He seemed to say (as I understood him), that the people of India could not produce men fit for Bishops. I have spent twenty-five years in that country, and in every branch of the service of the State there are Judges, Administrators, Councillors, and military Commanders: the people of India are quite fit for the highest secular office: is it possible that there is not a man fit to be a Bishop in the fifth generation of Native Christians? This does seem an anomaly, for in England the same family and classes of society, that produce Statesmen and soldiers, also produce Bishops. I maintain, that the people of India can produce Bishops, if we have the Grace to look in the right way for them.

Albocracy, or the "white-man-prejudice against the coloured race," must be got over. It has been the bane of the Church, where it has prevailed. Not a penny should go from the Missionary Associations or Churches in England to support the Pastors and Chief Pastor of settled Christian congregations. Set the Church free, and tell them, "Now you are independent: support yourselves, and the European Pioneer-Mission will pass on to Regions beyond." Here at the end of the Nineteenth

century all the Native Churches are still in bondage, and we may go into the Twentieth century in the same way, for the difficulties will increase so long as Native Churches remain strangers to intellectual and Spiritual independence. I sit down enforcing my opinion in favour of Native independent self-supporting Churches and a Native Episcopate. The material power of Great Britain may disappear like the power of Rome and Spain; but the same Holy Spirit, which supported the infant Churches in Asia, Africa, and Europe in the first centuries after Christ, will not be wanting to sustain and guide the Spirituality and Orthodoxy of Native Churches planted by Europeans, and no longer crushed and insulted by an alien stepmother after they had attained to their adolescence.

1891–1895.

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3. Letter from Dr. R. N. Cust, Chairman of the African sub-Committee of the Church Missionary Society, to the Secretary attached to the sub-Committee, March 23, 1892.

Dear Friend,

I listened with pleasure to the weighty words, with which you closed our discussion yesterday, on the subject of the Niger-Bishopric. The discussion had lasted two hours and a half, and had elicited many wise and kindly words from at least twelve speakers, all competent to give an opinion, some, like our two brethren just returned from Africa, most peculiarly fitted to do so. I expressed no opinion: my reason was that, as Chairman of the sub-Committee, my turn came last, and after so long a debate, closing with your most impressive address, I felt it unwise to prolong the discussion, which was accordingly adjourned till some day next week.

To all students of Church History, and careful surveyors of the position of Christ's Church in the world at this moment, the question at issue is most grave, and a wrong decision would be pregnant with lamentable consequences. I am an European and an Englishman; but my cosmopolitan Knowledge compels me, to lay down as an axiom, that in the Church of Christ, there is no difference between Jew or Greek, between black man or white man, and that it is a mistake to argue on the foregone conclusion, that every Englishman, selected by chance out of an English curacy, is fit to be a Bishop, while the

black man on the spot, ordained, and pointed out by circumstances for the Duty, is unfit. Such is the weakness of man, that, if the Negro were in power, he would exclude every white man from office: let us try to be taller than the majority of our fellows, and rise superior to such prejudices, throw our thoughts forward to the closing years of the next century, and consider what would conduce most to the well-being and continuity of the Church of Christ on the Niger.

My studies of the Church of Christ in past centuries, and contemplation of its development in this century in every part of the world, have led me to the firm conviction, that Episcopacy, as distinguished from State-imposed Prelacy, in some form or other, is, sooner or later, the certain form of Church organization in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania: we know, that the only Churches, which have survived from the past, are Episcopal. Nations in a low state of culture, and with no settled Constitution, or fitness for self-government, must be ruled both in things Secular and Spiritual, and an Ἐπίσκοπος or chief shepherd, or Spiritual overseer, is a thing indispensable. Time will show whether non-Episcopal Churches will survive the strain. The Wesleyans are already passing into elective Episcopacy.

But Episcopacy to be enduring must be indigenous: to send a succession of strangers in colour, blood, culture, and Language to rule over a Native Church is a thing indefensible in theory, and intolerable in practice: what does History tell us? All the fallen Churches of Asia and Africa, viz., the Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Syrian, Nestorian, the Church in South India, the Abyssinian and Koptic in Egypt, are Episcopal; they are not, indeed, very Spiritual, because they have been oppressed by their Mahometan Rulers, but they have survived the struggle of centuries: their candlestick is still lighted; they have in them still the germs of life. England received the Gospel from Rome; but how long did it tolerate Italian Bishops? The very existence of a real Church depends on the Clergy, from the highest to the lowest, being indigenous.

The Church of Rome has ever, to the best of its power, restricted the Episcopacy to Europeans, or Europeanized Asiatics; but it is so far wiser than the Protestant Churches, that it selects tried Missionaries, trained to the work, celibates, men who have no intention of coming home every two years on furlough, to visit their families or consult a committee, or on pension, but intend to die amidst their people: it is true, that in India that ideal has been realized in the case of the late Bishops Sargent and Caldwell; but in Equatorial Africa it is not possible: the European Bishop of the Protestant Churches has to come home every second or third year, and often puts off his return too late and dies. He is selected at haphazard from

the younger Clergy, with no knowledge of the work, the Language, or the people: he cannot even communicate with his Native Clergy, unless they have learnt his Language: he is not in sympathy with the aspirations and feelings of the African. The Negro is as proud of his race as the Englishman is of his: what we call African prejudice and weakness, they call African nationality, and they are in the right.

What has happened to the Church of Rome with their European Episcopacy? In South America, West Africa, India, China, we read the same story: as soon as the supply of Episcopal personages for political reasons failed, the Church collapsed, and the nominal Christians returned to Heathendom. The Romish crosses and rosaries of the African Mission are now the Fetiches of the Heathen. The English Nation must anticipate a time, when their hand will be shortened, and their power pass away; but, if the Churches planted by the Church of England are provided with Native Pastors and Bishops, they will, by the Grace of God, last for ever: if it depends on a chance English Curate to be Bishop, who will stay a few years and then die, or disappear, the Church will soon fall to the ground.

My opinion is, therefore, given without hesitation in favour of a Native Episcopacy on the Niger, *and at once*. We have made the trial in dear Bishop Crowther, and that trial has not been a failure.

The suggestion of a Native Suffragan under an European Bishop, who dwells in another Province, will not meet the requirements, which I have laid down. As the life and health of a white Bishop in West Africa only lasts a few years, the new Bishop may not continue in sympathy with the Suffragan of his predecessor. If the Bishop be for long periods absent, the Suffragan will practically be master of the position; he will have the power without the status or responsibility: if the Bishop interferes by letter in all details, there will be friction: but what I lay stress on is, that the continuity of a Church depends upon the Bishop being elected by his countrymen, by the Church itself, if it be free from Prelacy and Secular bondage, or at least by its national Sovereign. The suggestion of a black Suffragan under a white alien Bishop will not satisfy the aspirations of the Negro race in West Africa, imbued, as they are, with ideas of liberty, brought over the Atlantic from the free Negro in the United States.

Can it be said that there are no Negro ordained Pastors available? There are three Native Pastors fit for the office from age, character, capacity, and Spirituality:

(1) Hon. and Rev. James Johnson of Lagos.
(2) Very Rev. Archdeacon Dandeson Crowther of the Niger.
(3) Very Rev. Archdeacon Henry Johnson, late of the Niger.

It would be ridiculous to say, that one of these men was perfect: we cannot say so much of the English Bishops: they are all above fifty years of age: I am the friend and correspondent of all: if their letters fell into the hands of anyone who did not know them, he would not find in their writing, or style, or expression, anything that differed from an ordinary English Clergyman: the character of all is above suspicion. Of the three I place James Johnson first: he is a Member of the Council of the Governor of Lagos, a man of power, and eloquence, and can hold his own: it is said, that he is too much a friend of Dr. Blyden, the American Champion of the Negro race; but I have yet to learn, that he has imbibed anything contrary to Christian Morals from his friend, or even that his friend, whose published works I have read with admiration, entertains such views himself. At any rate, that might be inquired into. We have the fact stated that Archdeacon Crowther would cooperate willingly with James Johnson as Bishop, and this is very important. The appointment would be popular, and it must be understood, that the salary must be provided in part, or gradually entirely, by the Christian Community: it is an absurdity for a Community to claim independence, and at the same time refrain from supporting its own Ministers: if the Church Missionary Society supplies any portion of the stipend of the Bishop, it should be on the ground, that he is a Missionary Bishop as well, superintending the work of Evangelists to the non-Christian population.

A purely Missionary Bishop, such as the Bishop in Eastern Equatorial Africa, should of course be an Englishman, until the time comes that a Christianity is formed, and Native Pastors are appointed, supported by their flocks. We are doing an irremediable injury to the Christian Churches of the Future, if we do not place upon the neo-Christian congregations the Duty of supporting their Pastors, and if we, following the example of the Church of Rome, seek to exert a control over distant Native Churches: it is obvious, that the Romish Priest cares much more for the interests of his Church than the Salvation of the Souls of his flock. We should take care, that we do not fall into the same error; and the time has now come for us to show to the Native Church on the Niger, that we place their Spiritual interests, and national prejudices, above all other considerations.

1895.

B. Native Place of Worship, School, Village.

1. The Native Place of Worship.
2. The Native Christian Village and School.
3. The Mission-School.
4. The Native non-Christian Village.
5. The National Festival.

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1. The Native Place of Worship.

Chance led my steps one Sunday evening to the door of a Native Christian Church, belonging to one of our Missions in one of the largest towns in India. The bells were chiming from the tower, that sweetest of sounds: the hands of the clock pointed to the hour of five, and the congregation was flocking in at the door, men, women, and children. There was something soothing in the sight: a dream of the past came over me, of the absent and of home, associated with feelings of Religion and purity, and, joining the simple crowd with uncovered head and reverential feelings, I entered.

It has been my lot to sit in the Churches, and join in the Worship, of many branches of the great family of Christians, in far and distant countries, in divers and sundry Languages, in the cold and formal Worship of Northern, in the ardent and demonstrative adoration of Southern Europe, in the evangelical devotions of the Reformed Church of England, in the dark and unsightly oratories of poor degraded Syria; but, though some years a resident in India, this was the first time, that I had joined in the prayers of the chosen few of those Millions, whose destinies we govern.

The building was handsome and appropriate. Art had lent its assistance to the decoration of the House of God, but with simplicity: there was that, which was sufficiently distinctive from the ornaments of ordinary houses, to recall wandering thoughts to a recollection of the place; but there was nothing calculated to transform the House into a Temple, or to lead weak minds to suppose, that the *dead walls* constituted Christ's Church, and not the living persons of the congregation. Here, at least, no pride or pomp of circumstance disfigured the equality of the Worshippers; no shining emblems of ephemeral station dishonoured the assembly; the floor sounded to no clank of

martial tread; the sun, as it streamed through the windows, lighted on no dazzling insignia or scarlet trappings: in this assemblage, he, that was the least, was even as the greatest.

I looked down the nave with interest and heartfelt pleasure. According to the custom of Oriental Churches, the sexes were divided: on the one side the men and boys of the congregation; on the other the matrons, young women, and children. Nearly all were clothed in white. The men were bareheaded as well as barefooted, the reason for which I did not understand, such not being the practice of Oriental Churches elsewhere, and manifestly inconvenient, and as such to be avoided. The women had their heads decently covered in the folds of their scarves. I saw many sweet expressive countenances, not fearing, in the simple confidence of female virtue, to look in the faces of their husbands, their parents, and their acquaintances, proud of the conceded privilege of equality with their helpmates, with hopes for the Future dependent on their own exertions; shrinking from no recollections of a Past, stained by corruption and degradation. Christianity, if thou hast done this alone, restoring the modest blush of innocence to conscious and fearless virtue, thou art the Benefactor of our race!

But the Service has commenced: a kind hand supplies me with the Book of Life, and the Book of Prayer; and that Language, which had hitherto been familiar to me only as an expression of the evil passions of the governed, and the hard Laws of the Ruler, was now for the first time the vehicle to my ears of praise and prayer. Dissociated from their familiar words, which are merely the outward environments of the inward Spirit, the moving Admonition of the Minister, the humble Confession of the People, the Absolution, complete, but conditional, came back to my senses, as an old strain of familiar music, long heard, and often from the loved and revered lips of my Father; now first fully felt, when ringing from the chords of a new, and hitherto untried, instrument. Many are the Languages of men, one the Language of God. How is it, that the voices of the children, responding in their deep and ringing chorus (though the words are in a strange tongue), bring back so truly, so vividly, forgotten Sabbaths and distant Churches? Is it, that there is but one sound for prayer and praise, that human penitence can be expressed but in one tone? Is it thus, that the loud Hosannahs of the denizens of the earth will be collected in one joyful chorus at the day of the Second Coming? Is this the cry of the Cherubim and Seraphim? I was struck and delighted by the devout and attentive behaviour of the congregation: when two or three are thus joined together, He will surely be in the midst of them.

The Psalms and First Lesson were omitted, that the Service

might not be too long, and at the close of the Second Lesson followed the Sacrament of Infant-Baptism; and now I became aware of another feature of order in this well-arranged congregation, which from the position of my seat had hitherto escaped my observation. In front of the Font, but with their backs turned towards it, and concealed from the rest of the Church, sat with solemn, thoughtful, and reverent, faces those, in whom the Spirit of God was working for their Salvation: they were *in*, but not *of*, our body; they were candidates, awaiting Baptism, when they had passed their ordeal, and by their consistent conduct in the *Past* had given earnest for the *Future*: seated they were in front of the Font, the waters of which were to them for a season denied, while they beheld the newborn babe, unconscious of all taint, even that of hereditary sin, admitted before their eyes into the Covenant, which they were commencing to appreciate. Never till then had I fully recognized, or been sufficiently thankful for, the blessing of being born of a Christian stock, with no fiery ordeal to go through; no parents, friends, and all, to desert for His sake; no sad, mournful, but beloved and regretted, associations of the Past to look lingeringly back upon; no doubtful, scorned, and opprobrious, Future to anticipate. I felt, that they had something to wish for, which I had already in possession: something, for which they paid a great price, but which to me was a birthright, not the right of being a Briton, but the privilege of being born a Christian. But great will be their reward. Christian children of Christian parents! feel for them, and do not in your pride despise the weak and failing brother!

Two infants were presented to be baptized; their swarthy little faces peeping out of their white garments, and contrasting strangely with the fair hand and face of the Minister. Here the white man appeared in his true and proper dignity! not the exterminator, the stranger, the Ruler by a strong arm, the enforcer of arbitrary Laws, the one that is bowed down to, and yet shunned in the streets; that is openly courted, yet secretly scoffed at, and despised as unclean: here I saw the race of the Anglo-Saxon bestowing on its subject-people a greater skill, than the Science of arms, a greater Miracle, than the triumph of manufactures. We are a mighty, strong, and wise people: we have conquered countries unknown to the Romans; we have measured the paths of the Heavens with a far-distending radius denied to the Greeks; the achievements of our Present surpass the wonders of their Past: but here we spontaneously convey to our subjects that treasure, of which they knew not, but which in the midst of our wealth we value the most; that strength, to which they never arrived, but which in the midst of our pride is our greatest glory, the shame of the Cross, and the Precious Promises of Salvation. Who is the

lowest in the eyes of the world amidst the congregation? Upon whom have the doubtful gifts of fortune fallen with abundance? The Minister takes the child of either in his arms, and signs him with that sign, of which he ought never to be ashamed.

The sponsors knelt reverently round, and made their answers with feeling. I looked into the features of these men, to see, if any hidden sign would betray a difference between them, and their Heathen brother, any flash of intelligence sparkle from the eye of the mind which had comprehended such Truths. There was none. He, that readeth the heart, will judge what it is forbidden for man to know.

Then followed the three Collects, the Prayer for the Queen, the Royal Family, the Clergy, Parliament, and all conditions of Men; and I wondered, as I saw the lips of the women and girls articulating the words Victoria and Albert, what idea they connected with the same, what strange pictures they had drawn in their simple minds of the Royal Couple, and the Royal Children. I could almost have wished, that the prayers of Native congregations were reserved simply for those in authority over them.

After the Prayers followed a Hymn, sung by the congregation to the accompaniment of a Harmonium: the chant from the Hindustáni Hymnbook possessed apparently but slight poetical merit, but was well suited to the place, and well sung, showing that the Natives of the country have a full appreciation of the system of European music. But, while the Hosannah was swelling up to the roof-beams from these untutored lips, I beheld through the windows, which opened to the ground, the cortége of a wealthy Rája sweeping by under the walls of the Church. I heard the rattle of his equipage, as every screw and bolt gave a music of its own. I could see from my place in the Church this ignorant profligate, this bloated abomination of a man, contemptuously smiling, as the voices of the congregation reached him. I saw the low truckling flatterer leaning over from the back-seat, and with finger pointing to the building, and chuckling laugh, telling what I knew to be some false scandal, *his* version of what was going on in the interior. I saw the whole at a glance, and comprehended it; but busy memory, roused by the incident, bore me back many a century to the upper chamber of Troas, and to the school of Tyrannus. I thought of the early Christians at Athens, at Corinth, at Ephesus, and at Rome: thus and thus, as this debased Rája now, did the noble Roman, the philosophic Greek, great in the power of Science and Arms, once ride by, lolling in their chariot, perhaps talking flippantly of, perhaps discussing seriously, the manners and customs of this new sect, these worshippers in the Catacombs. With them was the flatterer, and busy mocker, the sarcastic stoic, the lively atheist, the sycophantic eunuch, ready

to tell ridiculous stories for these good easy men to believe. I thought of these things, and God forgive me, if *I* triumphed, when I dwelt on the triumphs of God's Revelations, and *anticipated new victories*. I have seen standing erect the sign of the Cross in the place, where the early Christians fought after the manner of men in the Roman Amphitheatre. I have stood on the Areopagus to contemplate the ruins of the Parthenon, wondering how it looked, when Paul spoke of Christ and the Resurrection: my voice has rung along the shores of Ionia: "Demetrius, surely thy craft is in danger: where is thy Great Diana of the Ephesians?" No sound is heard in reply but the splashing of the waves of the Ocean. Returning from the past, in the full confidence of Faith, I pondered on what would be the fate of the great non-Christian city around me. Will not a day arrive, when the gilded pinnacle of that Hindu Temple shining in the sun will be torn down, when the tapering minarets of that Mahometan Mosque will be laid low? Will it not be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrha in the Day of Judgment, than for this city, in which the Word of God is daily preached in the streets, in whose ears the bells of this Church are ringing weekly warnings for repentance? Will not the men of Nineveh rise up in judgment against them?

But the Hymn has been finished, and the Sermon commenced: no new-fangled theories, no polemical discussions, no metaphysical distinctions, no suggestion of Ritual observances, fell from the lips of the Reverend Pastor, who himself was one of the Natives of India predestined to Salvation. I heard a father addressing his own children, expounding simple Scripture narrative with simpler applications. I turned back, and noticed the mouth opened in interest, the neck outstretched to catch each word. I saw children hanging on the familiar notes of the father. "We are told how Noah in obedience to divine "authority built the Ark, how he and his family entered into "it, and closed the door; how the wicked scoffed and jeered "at him: how at length the rain *did* descend, the fountains of "the deep *were* opened, the wicked utterly destroyed, but those "few in the Ark were saved. This Church, my brethren, is the "Ark; over this city of unbelievers is impending the Deluge: "hasten ye in." The page of Scripture further on supplies new motives and fresh consolations: "We hear how Abraham, "trusting in God, nothing doubting, left his country and "kindred, things the nearest and dearest, to go he knew not "whither: yet his Faith was rewarded. And ye, my brethren, "who have sacrificed the ties of home for His sake, if ye endure "to the end, will ye not have your reward also?" No wide gulf separates the Preacher from his hearers: if he propounds a subject interrogatively, the answer appears to burst from the

lips of an eager listener, and receives no check. I feel, that one and all have derived instruction from such expositions, and comfort from such counsels. Sincerely I pray, that the words may rest grafted in our hearts, the peace of God on the congregation, as they meekly and reverently disperse to their homes.

And who are the good, the great, men, who have wrought this wondrous work? Whose hands have offered this incense of sweet savour to the Most High? Who are those, who have taken this new Jerusalem from the Jebusites, and planted this new Canaan in the land of the Heathen? Who have kept together these ten righteous, if peradventure for their sake the sinful city may be spared? There sit they, the shepherds among their flock, the Christian warriors reposing with their armour off after the combat. By their sides are their good yokefellows, their wives, their fellow-labourers, who have shared in the toil and the victory. On their breasts are no proud insignia of battles, that they have fought, of victories, that they have won: but with a good fight they have carried the entrenchments of Sin and Satan, and have the *one* Cross engraved on their hearts. They have not sat on earthly judgment-seats, they have not collected the tribute of Nations, but they will hereafter sit upon thrones judging the Heathen, they will hereafter offer, as the fruit of their life-labour, a full harvest of redeemed souls. They have no precedence given them in mortal assemblies, but they will be reckoned among the Angels of Heaven. They have not controlled in the Courts of Human Justice the stormy struggles of man's bad heart; but with the Gospel as their rule, they have guided the economy of the Soul.

I never see a Missionary, but I blame my fate, that I am not of them. Are they not to be envied, whose duties in this world harmonize with those of the next; zeal in their earthly vocations promoting, not, as with us, retarding, the work of their own Salvation? They stand among the Heathen, as an ensign of what each of us values most: the General represents our victorious arms, the Governor our triumphs of administration, but the Missionary displays our virtues, our patience, our Christian charity, and shall we not be proud of him? I asked myself how is it that so few of Great Britain's learned and pious sons select this profession. The vision of one man from Macedonia took Paul across the Hellespont, and will no one cross the Indian Ocean for the millions, not in vision, but in reality? Will no young Augustine spring up to repay the debt of the Occident to the Orient, to bring back the Sun to the East? Had I life to begin again, this would be my choice: the glories and profits of other professions are but as vanity. We have fought battles: they are scarcely known beyond the narrow limit of the echo of the cannon. We have ruled over Provinces:

our fame is as soon forgotten, as we are gone. But should we have saved Souls, a long line of Christians will carry back the legends of their family to our era, and entwine our names with the golden thread of grateful thanksgiving! Who remembers the Generals, the Proconsuls, of the time of the Cæsars? Who remembers not the Apostles?

Thence glanced my thoughts to the early converts, those, who had borne the heat of the day, on whose foreheads I could trace the lines of sorrow and early affliction (for the chain of the world is still dear to us), softened, yet not effaced, by the sweet smile of Faith and resignation. Perhaps in the records of this Church will be handed down, as household-words, the names of these early saints, who, when Christianity was young, forsook all things for His sake. When far and wide over this beautiful, and to me beloved, Indian land, in village and in town floats the ensign of the Cross amidst a Christian people, then on many a Sabbath-evening, when young and old are gathered together for reading and meditation, will their tale be told: old men will point to the ruined temples, and tell to wondering ears, how once Idolatry existed in this land; soft, tender, womanly cheeks will be stained with tears at the sufferings of the Indian Stephens; young, manly hearts will glow in sympathy with the intrepid bravery of the Indian Pauls.

We are standing on the threshold of mighty events: perhaps there may be some amongst us, who will tarry till He comes. In the early Christian Church we can trace three stages: the first, when a few obscure men professed an unknown and unappreciated Faith, persecuted by fanaticism, and crushed by Ignorance. Miracles had long since ceased, the gift of the Holy Ghost no longer visibly descended; but the second stage was soon arrived at: thriving congregations began to erect their heads amidst their neighbours, and maintain their rights, with the tacit allowance, if not the sanction, of the Government. Within three hundred years the Temple fell into ruins, and the Cross was erected in the Market-place.

A few months ago (1852) it was my fortunate lot to join in the Protestant Worship of a few sincere and sturdy Christians in an upper room at Nazareth: no preaching was allowed in the streets, no edifices were then dedicated to Worship; all was fear, trembling, and the possibility of oppression and outrage, but for the protection afforded by the British Consul; here we have the first stage before our eyes. In the Church, in which I now stood, I recognize the features of the second stage: the well-ordered congregation, the voice of the Preacher in the highways calling loudly to repentance, the modest tower rising up in the outskirts of the city, the bell calling cheerily to prayers, and this under the sceptre of Great Britain in her Colonies. Thrice happy

Britain! the extent of your conquests will be forgotten, for those of Gengis and Timúr have perished; but your Missions will never be forgotten, for they will have given Religion to thousands, and the time will surely come, when the great Idol of Banáras will cease to be an object of Worship.

Who would not then be a Missionary, the Great King's Messenger, whose treasure is laid up in Heaven? Those, who cannot attain this high office, must give of their wealth, must give of their pittance, must pray for them, as I did, as I followed the last of the congregation out of the door, thinking, how sad would be the day, when, like Alexander, we shall have no more countries to conquer and convert: how happy for us to see so rich a harvest gladdening the heart of the Labourer in the Vineyard!

Banáras Magazine, August, 1852.

Forty-three years have passed, and the work has prospered beyond Human expectations. How grateful I am, that I wrote this in my youth and my strength!

1895.

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2. The Native Christian Village and School.

Perhaps a short description of one of our Native Christian villages may be new, and not uninteresting to some readers. The village, to which I now allude, is situated in the old part of Allahabád, not far from the Church, in which building a goodly congregation of Native Christians assemble every Sunday at nine and four o'clock, the services being performed by the Missionary and Native Pastor in Hindustáni. I had been urgently requested by this Native Pastor to pay a visit to his village and inspect his School, so one cool morning at six o'clock I walked, according to promise, to see the School. On entering the village, I saw the Pastor sitting at the door of the School-house, teaching a class of neatly-dressed tall girls. On my approaching, he came forward to welcome us, and the girls hastened back into the School-room, so as to appear in order in their class. I entered the room and proceeded to inspect the classes, and, at the particular request of the Pastor, to examine the elder girls. I had but lately arrived from England, and the low mud buildings, bare walls, and especially the dusky faces half shrouded in white muslin scarves, the day dresses (pink being the favourite colour), was a striking contrast to our

English, lofty, map-covered walls, and rows of pale or white or rosy-cheeked pinafored children; but the bright eyes, intelligent looks, eager answers, and merry smiles, were just the same as in an English School, and it was surprising to hear how well they read and pronounced English, translating the sentence into Hindustáni with great fluency. I found from their answers, that they quite understood what they read, but they could not converse easily in English, nor understand it well when spoken by us. Their knowledge of Bible-history was very fair, and their writing in English character very good. They are taught by an intelligent-looking woman, who spoke English well, and a Monitor, an elder girl from the first class, who, for a wonder, had not married, a case very rare to find after the age of fourteen or fifteen. Sometimes they will come to School after they are married, but not often.

Passing from the girls' room we entered the boys' school: here I found several classes, and elder boys acting as Monitors under the superintendence of the Head Master, a very young but clever-looking man, who spoke English very correctly. All the classes are kept well up to their work by the daily visits and examinations of the Pastor. The boys read English fluently, but with a decided Indian accent; they answered questions in Bible-history, Arithmetic, and on the subjects they had just read, correctly, and appeared interested in their lessons. On entering and leaving the schools I wished them "Good Morning," which they responded to heartily with many broad grins: it was evidently a well-mastered phrase. From this house I went to another a short distance off, used for an Infant-School: here I found seventy-five children, not abundantly clad, but very neat and clean, arranged on tiers of benches reaching almost to the roof of the building; they all looked very bright and merry, seeming to enjoy the lessons given to them by a grave elderly man, whose appearance certainly belied his mode of instruction. Singing was the especial accomplishment of these little ones, not a very musical performance certainly, but that deficiency was made up by energy and a most hearty appreciation of their own efforts. They sang the well-known Hymns "There is a Happy Land," and "Oh! that will be joyful," first in English, and then in Hindi; also "God save the Queen," with great zeal; they then went through all the approved Infant-School-exercises, folding hands, raising them, clapping, etc., singing an illustrated song at the same time capitally. They were told to represent a rising storm, and certainly I never saw or rather heard a better illustration: it is worth a visit to the School to witness this alone: they rubbed their hands together, making at the same time a hissing noise like the distant rising wind; this grew louder and louder, all keeping in excellent unison, till a loud

clap of thunder was heard, caused by the beating and stamping of the many little naked feet on the hollow wooden platform, on which their benches were raised; this thunder increased, died away, and again increased, as the teacher silently raised or lowered his arm. Then the rain began to pour: this was cleverly imitated by the drumming and rapid playing of their fingers on the boards supporting their seat; the children remained seated so, still with earnest, almost grave faces, intent on their representation, all their arms being kept straight down on each side just reaching the boards, that I might as well have supposed them unemployed. I greatly amused them by looking up at the roof and from the door, and exclaiming "Pani!" "Pani!" "Rain!" Leaving these merry, nicely-taught little ones, I proceeded to make a tour of the village, accompanied by the Pastor.

Women were standing about in groups, all neatly dressed, and most with babies in their arms. Some employ nurses to take care of children, and help in the household! All the men of this village are employed in the Government-Press, and earn good wages, differing according to their abilities for the work. For compositors really intelligent men are required, and they are accordingly paid highly. I spoke to several of the women, and delighted them much by inquiring after the number of their children, the employment and wages of their husbands, etc.; many a merry laugh was called forth. The round of the village being made, I said "Good Morning" to the Pastor and left him; feeling much pleased with all I had seen, and my interest much increased and aroused in the progress and well-being of the Missionaries.

Should any of our readers feel inclined to bend their steps towards this group of huts, they will be sure to find an object of much interest for their morning walk.

Allahabád, 1866–1895.

3. The Mission-School.

To all residents in Allahabád the chief scenes on the banks of the Jamna and Ganges are well known. There is the Fort, from the ramparts of which there is a splendid view of the meeting of the two rivers, a spot held in great reverence as a holy place by the Native population. Some little way further up the Jamna is the new Railway-Bridge, a magnificent structure, one of the marvellous achievements of modern Science; especially picturesque it looked when I first saw it on a summer evening, when its deep red iron railings were lighted up by rays caught from the setting sun, whilst on the calm, deep stream far below the shades of evening had already fallen. Passing on a short distance further, a large house may be seen built close on the river's bank, its balcony almost overhanging the water. The house is now occupied by American Missionaries. The grounds are very extensive, and in them are several buildings, Schools and dwellings for the Native Christians. At one end is a long row of low mud huts, occupied by those Natives, who are employed by the Missionaries in different useful and lucrative employments. In the middle of the grounds there is a large building used on Sundays and Thursday evenings for Divine Service, and used during the week for the Girls' School.

The Missionaries are always ready to show their schools to visitors, so, accepting a kind invitation to come and see the progress of their work, I one morning accordingly went. The Girls' School was my first point of interest. As I entered the building, my attention was attracted by a row of small children seated on the ground: rough, unkempt, and most scantily clad little urchins they certainly were, very still and quiet, seeming to pay great attention to the Native woman, who was trying to teach them the Alphabet; but school-discipline was evidently a novelty to them, and, to most of them, probably an irksome restraint, there being no space for the usual rousing and amusing infant-school-exercises. I was told, that the Missionaries actually paid many of the mothers small sums to induce them to send their children to School: of course these were not Christian families. The School is open to all the town, but so few comparatively as yet value the advantages thus to be gained for their children, that, until they can see the benefit in its true light, they must be persuaded by rewards and encouragements to allow their children to be instructed.

Passing from this group, I came to what formed the more important part of the School. At the upper end of the building about twenty girls were arranged in classes; their ages might have been from twelve to twenty: these were all Christians, daughters of Government clerks, or other respectable Christian Natives; they spoke English easily. Their summing and writing were particularly neat and good, and the answers to my questions on various subjects correctly given. I told them, that they wrote as well as English girls did, and, if we did not see their faces, we could quite fancy we were hearing an English class read. This delighted them extremely. I was told that they liked anything English, and are often heard to wish, that their faces were not quite so black. I thought, however, that some of these black faces were quite as pretty as many white ones, certainly as bright and intelligent-looking; their large dark eyes sparkled so brilliantly, and their bright muslin-dresses, with clean white muslin-scarfs, forming a kind of head-dress, and falling gracefully over their shoulders, gave them a very picturesque appearance.

Two or three of these girls were married, but having no children to keep them employed at home, they were allowed by their husbands to continue to attend School; they all had an easy, yet very respectful, manner, owing doubtless to their being chiefly taught by a lady, the daughter of one of the Missionaries. These girls are especially fond of worsted and bead work, and many of their brothers are smartly shod with slippers worked at the School; I saw some that were in progress, groups of flowers and many pretty designs, very evenly and nicely worked. The girls seemed delighted to show me all they could do in their studies and work, and it was with difficulty I could part from them to pay a visit to the Boys' School, which was held in another building also in the grounds. I was first shown into one of the class-rooms, where the elder boys were assembled: some of them lads of eighteen or nineteen, preparing, we were told, for College. None of these boys were as yet professed Christians, but they read and studied the Bible daily, and it may earnestly be hoped, that this constant reading may in time lead them to believe in the wondrous Truths it contains. I listened to an examination of these boys in European History, and found their knowledge to be very good; they also were evidently well instructed in the History of their Native country, both geographically and historically: naming readily the principal rivers, towns, mountains, present English Governors, famous Generals who had, from time to time, fought and conquered in the land, and Native heroes of ancient fame.

Leaving the class-room, I was taken into the large School-room, where all the boys assembled for the roll-call, a very long

narrow room with a small raised platform at one end for the teacher. The whole School soon came trooping in, and arranged themselves in rows for our inspection: about 170 boys of all ages, races, castes, and Religions (for the School is open and free to all), a curious motley assemblage, some bright and intelligent, others hopelessly dull and ignorant, dressed in every conceivable style of costume and variation of colour; some in flowing white muslin robes, others in coloured trousers, with a species of loose jacket of a strikingly different colour; others, again, with little besides a cloth bound round their loins. The diversity of head-dresses was also amusing: smart caps of coloured or white worked muslin, pink or blue handkerchiefs bound round their heads, turban fashion; some had their hair closely cropped, forming a kind of thick mat on the head, a sufficient protection from the sun, without the addition of a cap; others, again, were completely shaven, with the exception of one lock, which was allowed to grow long, and was twisted like a bit of rope, or plaited as a Chinese pigtail; these latter were indeed queer, odd-looking little creatures: but whatever was their appearance, their rank, or Religion, the fact, that so many could be brought together, to be under the instruction of earnest, working, Christian Teachers, must inspire the hope, that some at least, if not all, may be brought to a Knowledge of the Truth as it is in Jesus, and be made a crown of rejoicing to those devoted servants of the Lord, who have gone forth into a distant land to proclaim His glory, and tell of His appearing.

All cannot be Missionaries, all cannot personally labour, to teach the Heathen the glorious Truths of the Gospel; but all, if they had the desire, can sympathize with and encourage this noble work. A friendly visit to these Mission-Schools would show sympathy, and a few words of true praise would be an encouragement.

Let us not say, "These works are no concern of ours." They do concern every believer in Christ, and show Love to that Saviour, who died and rose again, that all, who believed in Him, should not perish, but have everlasting life: let us try to do something, if only the sympathy of friendly visits and encouraging words, to help those, who are striving to spread the knowledge of His Name amongst those who as yet know Him not.

Allahabád, 1866, 1895.

4. The Native non-Christian Village.

Have you ever spent a day in a Native village, a long day among the people, not shut up in the curtains of your tent, not hemmed in by your attendants, but under the hospitable roof of the Landholder, or in the porch of the guest-house, while the simple crowd gather round you unfearing and unrestrained? I have many, having early learned to sympathize with the people, whose destinies I govern, to make allowance for their shortcomings, to enter into their woes, and listen to their wrongs, to feel an interest in their simple annals, and pity their degraded Ignorance. Some Power may thus have been acquired of arousing their sluggish faculties, and touching the chord of sympathy; in some such moment (but then only) will the ice of reservation be broken through, and an electric chain of intelligence be established between the subject and the Ruler.

Walk through the dirty and ill-kept streets; look not for the traces of simple, yet genuine, comfort, which marks the cottages of Great Britain, nor for the garnered stores of the British Yeoman. Banish from your thoughts the fond vision of Oriental life, which find currency in Europe; contemplate the village and the people, as they are; yet amidst their squalidness and poverty deem not rashly, that happiness is not to be found beneath those mud-walls, and that contentment is unknown in that simple homestead. Feel for them, and with them fancy for a while, that you have been bred up from a child within these narrow limits; that your ideas of the world had been formed from the view here presented; that your notion of wealth had been circumscribed to some such simple habitation; and that by you *that* state only was considered poverty, where the daily meal was denied, and how many a care for superabundances or fancied wants might you thus have escaped, thanking Providence for the small but sufficient store, that the last harvest had left you, careless and dependent on Destiny for the Future.

Look around you. Flags flying from the trees to commemorate the sanctity of some spot, which none can properly describe; or mark the tomb of some Saint, the era of whose existence is unknown. Shops filled with sweetmeats, and swarming with flies, and little boys gaping as wistfully as if were there spread the most exquisite luxuries of the West. The grains and fruits of the country ranged in tempting rows, and doled out to the purchaser with a deceitful balance. Hard by bales of rough home-spun cloth heaped up promiscuously

with the many tinted products of European looms. High blank-walled houses, in which fancy might picture the imprisoned beauties of the East, but, if I look in at the entrance, I see them like their Western sisters employed in the endless round of domestic duties: some seated in pairs, and grinding at the mill; some cleaning cotton; some, Lucretia-like, singing to the whirring wheel; some fondling their newborn infant with the universal tenderness of mothers: some—but not all, for in that distant corner sits Rachel weeping for her bereavement; and I am told, that the little sick child, which was held up to look at me, as I entered in this morning, has just breathed out its tiny atom of life, and the young mother is in the newness of her affliction; perhaps happier for it, thus early to have shaken off the earthly coil, to have escaped from the thankless office of sucking another generation of serfs; to have gone prematurely to that bourn, where at least there are no daily pitchers to be filled at the well, no mill to be unceasingly grinding. As we pass on, communities of dogs, whose habitations and profession are the streets, bay at us, but we mind them not, for they are not more savage than the men, amongst whom they inhabit, not more ignorant than the masters, whose crumbs they pick up.

But my steps are arrested, where, under the vast spreading immemorial tree, stands unblushingly forth the place of Idolatrous Worship, and the Priest from the threshold salutes me. What true Christian does not feel at such moments very jealous for his Lord? I wonder when the term of this gross Ignorance will cease; when the patience and longsuffering of the Most High will be exhausted: but still a thousand years in His sight are but as one day, and this is but the evening of the second morn of Christianity.

Come away from such soul-depressing, such degraded sights; come beyond the village-walls; come away and sit with me on this rising ground, and look out on the sweet charms of Nature undefiled: my village-friends range themselves silently around, while the eager eye wanders over the varied landscape, now tracing the course of the stream dotted with islands as it meanders through the rich fields, fields partly browned with the exhausted harvest of the Autumn, green, richly green, with the promises of the Spring, and now dwelling in fancy in some distant hamlet nestled in the declivity of yonder hills. The sun is sinking down in the fulness of Oriental majesty: what are the splendours of earthly Courts compared to this daily Durbar? A glorious flood of gold is illuminating every object, and tinting every feature of inanimate nature, gladdening every human heart, while the moon rises slowly from behind the verdure of the grove. What a bright contrast of colours? What an unrivalled harmony of tints from the brush of the

Creator? What earthly painter would daringly blend on one canvas the blue of the heavens, the fleecy grey of the clouds, the yellow ambrosial tint of the atmosphere, the dark shades of the mountains, to which distance has lent a strange enchantment of beautiful outline, the silvery shield of the moon, and the blood-red of the exhausted sun, as it sinks into the bed of the Ocean in that direction, towards which my heart unceasingly turns, the land of the West, whither are wafted my morning sighs and my evening prayers.

But see the cattle wending homewards, some drawing with languid neck the inverted ploughshare, some bearing spontaneously home their full udders for the support and pleasure of ungrateful, unthankful man. They reach the stream: the shadow of the leader tinges the glassy surface, as she stoops to drink, and now the whole herd stands in mid-water in beautiful disorder. Oh for the rare pencil of a Cuyp to paint that bright scene! Those trees standing out with every leaf so clear against the horizon; those figures of cattle and men standing in the stream, which winds itself on, till it is lost in the distance!

Turn the eye to yonder sequestered nook, where smoke is rising up, and a melancholy group is gathered around the flames, which consume the remains of some revered relative, some beloved companion. Ancient time-honoured custom, how much does thy prudence shame the vanity of those, who foolishly-wise have stored up their dead in cerements to be unfolded many centuries afterwards, as a wonder and a show to a curious posterity! No vengeance can now be wreaked on that poor senseless frame, no indignities offered by beast or man! Sleep on quietly, for the meaner worm is deprived of its banquet on thy carcase; the jackal cannot fish thy body out of its narrow tomb; the more cruel-hearted Sexton cannot ruthlessly dig out and expose your poor bones in after-ages, nor will a more cold-hearted savant edify an enlightened audience with his notions as to your garments and physical structure.

Scarce had the flames subsided, the mourners are still purifying themselves in the lustral waters, when the sound of wild music announces the arrival of a bride at the village of the bridegroom. So strangely blended are joy and grief; the tide of life will stop for none, and the anniversary of grief and bereavement to one is hailed by a neighbour as the era of the commencement of his domestic joy.

Gaily moves on the bridal procession, the boy-bridegroom on horseback careering on this his day of Jubilee: behind, the covered car that encloses the concealed charms of the childish bride, whose black eyes peep out from under the drapery to stare at the European stranger. The singers and cymbal-beaters go

before; behind them follow the relatives of the bride: and see from the village precincts issue forth a goodly band to welcome the arrivers. Money is scattered to the crowd, and in gladness and pomp the procession moves in, while behind totters an old grey-beard, leaning on his staff, and calling up in his confused recollections former rejoicings, and forgotten nuptials, of those long since departed.

See the long string of camels toiling in, bearing rich burdens; but no longer from the looms of Kathay and Bokhára: no more the muslins of Dacca, or the wools of Kashmír, for the stranger has shown the way to new wants, and has introduced new manufactures: guided by the ruthless policy of selfish Commerce, he has crushed the productive powers of the country, and in the nursery of manufactures and the garden of cotton, clothes the Indian girls with stuffs grown in New Orleans, and woven at Manchester. Forgive the offence of thy blind Rulers, timely-wise subject! Thank Providence, that you have been spared the ills of over-productiveness, and the curse of a too-facile manual dexterity! Your cup of bitterness has not been steeped with the falsely-sweet sugar; you are not hungry and naked, because your fields teem with rice and with cotton: for you the lash is busy on the plains of New Orleans, and slaves are groaning to keep you warm; for you children are condemned to premature and crippled old age, girls to do the work of men, and lose the gentleness of their sex, in the villages of Lancashire: fast flies the shuttle for you, for you iron is poured out like water, for you vessels puff o'er the ocean. Wind your turban, Indian youth, gaily round a brow, which has not sweated for its burden; tighten your girdle proudly, for that back has not bled with the lash. Shroud your sable beauties, gentle damsels, in your mantle, for the lives of your country-women have not been embittered to weave that tissue, the morals of your daughters have not been contaminated to wind that warp: so you by a bountiful dispensation taste the honey, which others have fabricated; you wear the fleece, which other flocks have borne.

Ever and anon the scene is changed, and the road is now covered with an array of carts bringing in the abundant harvest: the large rich ears are concealed from the sight by the broad leaf of the Indian corn, in which they are bound: follows after the glad husbandman, rejoicing in the success of his labours and vaunting of his field, but forgetting that Hand, which watched over the seed, while it rotted in the soil, which shed the evening dew, which vouchsafed in due season the early and second rains, while the tender herb sprang up, and brought forth fruit a hundredfold. The labour of the field is over, but by the morning he will be gathered with his fellows under those trees,

where even now we can distinguish the busy husbandman, where he stands with the fan in his hand on the threshing-floor: upward flies the chaff, but the grain is gathered into the garner, while the bullocks are unmuzzled working their eternal round, treading out with unconscious feet the abundant grain. Hard by, the sheep and goats are winding up the declivity on their return from the pasture: mark how they answer to the watchful bark of the dog, and the cry of the shepherd, as he divides them to his right and left, while he tenderly carries the new-born lamb in his arms: hark to the musical cry of the gardener, accompanied at intervals by the splash of water; and bestow some sympathy on those poor oxen, who, like Sisyphus, have from morn till dewy eve been drawing up that weight, which after discharging its contents rolls back, causing them, poor beasts, endless labour, but blessing the soil with abundance and increase.

Watch the bright stream purling down the channel, then gushing forth, and overspreading the soil, which, exhausted by meridional heat, licks up greedily the refreshing saturation. How all these little details carry us back to our boyish days, to Arcadian eclogues, to Virgilian strains, as well known and remembered as in Eton's happy days. How we appreciate now what in England's moist climate we little understood; why, the channels of the fields were to be closed, when the meadows had drank enough; what meant the warning to the boys to escape from the venomous snake; why, the injunction to lay aside your garments, while you urge the sluggish oxen with the plough along the furrow, or scatter the seed broadcast over the fallow. Do not the soft cadences of Horatian odes come back to us, while our busy thoughts fly hence to the undulating Sabine hill, and the blue Mediterranean?

But touched by the incident, do not those thoughts fleet back to even more distant days? Do we not insensibly glide from our classical lore, from the arena of our boyish triumphs, to an earlier home, where, at the feet of our mothers we formed our first rude ideas on Oriental subjects; where from those loved lips we first drank in the sweet incidents of Scripture story? Do not the inmost chords of our hearts vibrate, as if struck by a well-known hand? Does it not come back to us sweetly, even as the melody which in former days we have heard? Do we not bless those lips, which now have no language, but are cold in death, whence we first heard the story of the oxen of Gideon, of the threshing-floor of Araunah? Who first told us of Him, who planted the vineyard and came to gather the fruits in due season? From whom did our opening intellects learn the parable of the bridegroom, of the sower, of the sheep and the goats, of the wheat which will be gathered into the garner,

of the chaff, which will be burnt by a just and terrible Judge in unquenchable fire?

But the shadows of the evening have now closed round us: the last travellers of the day are hurrying in: oxen with jingling sound coming in with loads of sugar from the South to give in exchange for Salt from the North. So strangely, yet wisely, has Nature distributed her vegetable and mineral treasures: the oxen of the village have long ere this found their way back unbidden to their stalls: passes in at this late hour a group of pilgrims returning from some shrine, some needy mendicant, or bold-faced Fakír, fattening on the Superstition and Ignorance of his countrymen; or some poor widow on her road to the Ganges, with all that remained of the ashes of her lord from the funeral-pyre, tied up in the corner of her mantle, but which she, urged by strong Faith and Duty, has wandered many a mile to scatter in the sacred stream. Now the sun sinks, and has departed to the land of the West; now the fleecy clouds are barred with gold; every varied colour, every tint of green, every object, far and near, is distinguished. How the heart softens and yearns homeward at sunset! How wistfully we look at the clouds, free to go whither they will! with how many a message would we charge them! How we bless the hour and the clime, where to us in bygone years the sound of the Ave Maria-bell has so sweetly tolled the dirge of the day! Look again ere the scene fades away, for short lived are the Indian twilights: catch your last glimpse, as if your dearest friend, and not the day, were dying, as if the drops of dew now falling were tears for his loss: gaze your last on the now dimly shadowed out mountains, on the fields, where now all is silent and still, on the stream, where the white stork now stands alone, on the lines of long-necked cranes passing over our heads: where do they go, by what marshy pool, what sedgy bank of Caister do they seek their rest?

And now that the night has fallen, a cheerful flame has sprung up, against which the figures of the villagers stand out in bold relief, presenting such a contrast of light and shade, as would be worthy of the brush of Rembrandt: in the background the houses and draped figures of women occasionally glance out, and then, as the uncertain flame falls lower, they vanish. Join the circle; room is made willingly for you: gaze round on the bright faces, and, as you stretch out your hands to the flames, and your eyes are instinctively directed up to the starry vault, and linger with Arcturus and the Pleiades, mark how those simple companions silently watch you; but little do they know how, as your eyes glanced up, your home-yearning thoughts were borne far away, as the recollection came back to you, how often in a distant country you had measured the hours of the night by the declination of Charles' Wain.

Hard by, on the stone-raised seat at the gate under the spreading pipal-tree, are gathered the old men of the village; grey-beards are croning about old days, or plodding through the intricacies of some petty quarrel: round them in noisy groups are congregated the young men and children, in like manner as years ago *they* stood at the feet of their long-departed forefathers. Here is told the strange tale of magic, or the local legends of Giants, to listening and believing ears; here the merry laugh, that follows the last strange account of the manners and doings of the white stranger, whom they fear so much, but of whom they know so little; here the wildest story of the barber, or the childish fable of the Priest, are received in, as Truth itself, with such conviction, as no future reason can shake: here is fashioned the tone of the public mind, and the deep-rooted ideas of the people. Now the group is joined by some light-hearted traveller singing blithely: no fear has he of robbers, or a strange country, for in his girdle is nothing: many a league has he traversed depending, and not in vain, on that hospitality, which prevails all over India, the cup of water, the cake baked on the hearth, and the corner in the shed to lie down: grateful for such favours, in return he charms the long-lived night with tales of distant climes, of facts blended with fiction, perils by land, perils by water; of temples and shrines, long heard of, now at last visited: fanciful and varied is his tale: perhaps rumours of wars and descriptions of battles and armies, for the sword is never sheathed in India.

Fired by the sound speaks up one of a party, which had hitherto sat silent and sequestered from the rest, whose military bearing and haughty carriage bespeak them to be the Sepoys of the foreign Ruler. Returning are they from their leave of absence; after a seven years' service they have revisited their Native village, their parents, and their little ones; but the quiet life ill-suited them, and they now not unwillingly reseek the fortress and the cantonment. Who can talk of War in their presence and not rouse their martial ardour? Out they speak, and tell of sieges and fights in far Kábul, and on the plains of the Panjáb; how they have seen the banner of their Legion triumphant in many a hard day; of the guns, which they had captured; of what their Captains said, and did, on the day of action. Credulously the gaping crowd listens to such tales, supported by wounds which are proudly shown, and medals which are vauntingly handed round: the speakers are those who have seen service, but with them are lads ready to enlist, sprung of a race of soldiers: nor is the present sufficient, for past History is also drawn upon, and justly so, for one of the party has but a few days ago left an old grey-haired father, who is calmly reposing after his toils in his Native village, under his mangoe-tree,

upon the bounty of a paternal Government: he, in acknowledgment, has sent his whole race under the banners, which he himself has followed ever to Victory over the waters of the Ocean, to Egypt, to Java, and the Mauritius, and in many a wild Marátha battle under Lake and Wellington, those selfsame banners, which his sons had seen waving at Ghazni, bearing which they had opposed numbers with discipline under Napier at Míaní, and supported the gallant Gough in his mishaps at Chilianwala, and his crowning triumph at Gujarát. Vain after such boasting are the weak remarks of some worshippers of the past, some mourners of the fallen dynasties: vain is the account of the armies and the splendour of Aurungzéb and the Mogul, for they have passed away like a dream and are *not*.

Thus pass the hours of the night, till one by one the villagers steal off to their homes, and their couches, and the busy hive is at rest. The traveller sleeps by the side of his horse, or his tethered oxen. All is still, save where the barking of the dogs, or the yelling of the jackal, break upon the ear, rendering the silence which follows more profound. Soundly they sleep, careless and thoughtless of the Future, sufficient for them that they have lived the day: no feelings of patriotism, no high notions of liberty, no thoughts that ennoble, no cares that waste away, find entrance to their bosoms: thus let them sleep, and as we slowly and pensively return to our resting place, let us ponder well, why the Almighty has placed this vast Kingdom in our hands, for what good purpose has He elevated our race in power and in reasoning above these our fellow-creatures, by what means will the dark cloud be raised up, that now shrouds the intellect and conscience of the Indian.

Banda, North India, 1853–1895.

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5. The National Festival.

It was in the evening in the month of October, that season of the year, when Nature puts on her most beauteous dress, tricked out in the deepest verdure, the gift of the departed rains, the slanting rays of the sun illumed the landscape, shedding a wondrous brightness over each tower and each pinnacle, when I found myself standing, the solitary European, amidst a crowd of our subjects, celebrating in pomp and joyousness the national festival of India at Banáras.

The whole of the great city had poured itself out in numbers

numberless; the streets were thronged with gaily-clad thousands; the houses and walls were lined with expectants of the coming procession. Bright drapery hung in festoons from the roof-tops, or was stretched across from balcony to balcony; streamers floated in the breeze, and the cheerful hum of busy voices, blended with strains of barbaric music, sounded gratefully in my ears.

Seated under an ancient tree, whose branches had witnessed many such a festival, on a rural throne, sat the Heroes of the Pageant, the representatives of those, whom the crowds had assembled to honour. In the centre the royal youth, who gladly sacrificed a throne to meet the wishes of a parent, and on each side of him the brother, and the wife, the faithful companions of his exile. Dressed was Rama in that fanciful costume, to which antiquity has given its sanction: in his hand, like the Apollo of the Belvidere, was the unerring bow, and on his shoulders was bound a plaything quiver of now-useless arrows. Flowers, the gay offerings of Nature, were heaped on the steps of the throne, garlands hung round the necks of him and his companions. Each subject, as he approached to do homage to the mimic monarch, brought tribute of flowers and fruits. Each felt pleased and rewarded by a garland from the royal hand; even that young sick child smiles, as its anxious parent holds it up aloft, to receive as a charm some token of the Hero.

I sauntered down the crowd, which opened of itself to let me pass, and closed behind on my steps. What heart does not gladden at beholding the signs of cheerfulness and rejoicing around, the smiling face, the glistening eye, the open salutation, the shout of Victory, coupled with the name of the Hero, which was the watchword of the day? All classes and all ranks were there. Sober merchants and money-changers had this day closed the thumbed ledger, and relaxed the griping hand, and wound on their heads a bright new turban, and stepped forth for once free from care; the wealthy nobleman passes by, borne by his servants, or mounted on high on the turreted Elephant. Struts by with firm and martial tread the erect Sepoy, with beads round his neck and staff in his hand; after him follows a band of young men in the pride of their opening years, with girdles wound proudly, and all the coxcombry of their age; there, too, are the draped figures and half-veiled faces of women, the smiles and laughter of unimprisoned women, for this one day released from their tall, jealous walls, and from the thraldom of their still more jealous customs, wondering, gentle creatures, on this their day of liberty, how beauteous the outward world could appear, perhaps murmuring at the hard fate, which had shut them up in houses, or insensibly contrasting the happiness of being the chosen companion of some one of

the graceful and slender passers-by, with being the slave of the obese lord, at whose altar they had been too early sacrificed.

Ranged on one side in places of honour and repose are the old men chanting aloud the melodious rhythms of the great Ballad of the Ramáyana, their broken notes accompanied by the stringed instruments and the pipe: loud sound their voices, and cheeringly the passers-by join in the chorus: thus once sounded the Psalms of David, when sung with Tabret and Pipe on the hill of Sion! and, as the interest of the story varies, their excited feelings overpower them, and the sound of weeping is blended with that of laughter, the laugh of triumph at the great heroic glory, of which the drama is enacting before them, the weeping at the recollection of the so-called good old days. So imaginary are the evils, for which poor mortals weep, so uncertain the joys, for which they triumph! Some toothless greybeards sit looking on, silent, or mumbling to each other tales of ancient shows, which bring back to them the features of long-forgotten friends, or boasting of feats of agility, and splendour of spectacles, to which this degenerate age cannot approach.

But the procession is now advancing amidst the shouting and clapping crowds: uncouth and fanciful figures of Giants and Demons, such as we have heard of in fairy tale, but never seen in broad daylight till now, waving swords in mimic defiance, and threatening the royal youth, who from his rural throne sits gazing on unmoved. After them follow groups disguised as monkeys and savages, the denizens of untrodden forests; and then a long and gorgeous procession of fantastic figures borne upon thrones, and overshadowed by canopies, equalling in strange and barbaric splendour the pomp of an Asiatic Proconsul, as he swept down the sacred way in his triumphal car to the capital, bringing home plunder and victory from the far east to imperial Rome. Among them were many of the chief citizens, some reclining in state, smoking their pipes in Asiatic repose, with that calm and dignified want of thought depicted on their countenances, which is unknown in the busy cities of Europe: others with strange masks and antique dresses, girt with sword and shield, seated upon thrones, bowing to the applauding bystanders: behind them, on a moving platform embowered with the broad leaves of the plantain, a group of ash-coloured Fakírs, half-clad according to the old traditionary manner, and yellow Munís, playing on shapeless harps, and chanting unintelligible songs: they are part and parcel of the drama, which is enacting, and without them all would be incomplete, but they give but a faint idea of those wondrous residents of the wilderness in bygone days, whose profound sayings, chronicled in their god-like Language, still astound, as they anticipated the discoveries of, the moderns; whose thoughts,

disentangled from their ascetic bodies, darted upwards to the stars, and brought back the wildest tissue of fable resembling Truth, the skein of which Modern Philosophy still struggles in vain to unravel, showing, alas! how near the greatest Wisdom, unassisted by Revelation, is to folly!

But the combatants having arrived, the Hero descends from his throne to wage war against these Demons, and to re-enact before eager eyes the oft-repeated triumph. In the regular profile of his face, in his long flowing tresses, bound by the chaplet, in the stiff motion of his limbs, as he discharges his arrows, and presses on the discomfited foe, we recognize a dignity indescribable, a classic grace, such as speaks to us from the excavated tombs of Egypt, such as Assyrian kings wrote with enduring pencils on the rocks of Mesopotamia; but the deepest and most absorbing interest is reserved for the last scene, when, his exile over, the labour entrusted to him having been performed, the self-devoted redeemer returns to his home and his Kingdom, and surrounded by his brethren seats himself on the throne, which is raised from the ground, and borne along the streets amidst the shouts of the applauding citizens, who in the phrensy of the moment believe, that it is Rama *indeed* whom they are welcoming, and that *they* are the people of Ayodya.

Who is this Rama? In what bygone ages did he live? What great achievements did he perform, that the whole of this vast Peninsula of India, from Kashmír to Cape Kómorin, should, with one mind, thus render to him annual homage, and at the same season of the year carry out to his glory this national pageant? A man, he was of royal blood, and blameless character, who, at a period enveloped in the mist of tradition, sat upon the throne of the Rajpút dynasty of Ayodya, and thence led a force across the Vyndya range, over mountain, river, and arm of the sea, against the capital of Ceylon, which he conquered, and returned in triumph to continue a line, which still boasts of its antiquity. Thus speaks History, and the path of the conqueror can be traced by many a stately fane, many a sacred shrine, with unerring fidelity for hundreds of miles, religiously preserved by the oral legends of many tribes, and a far-divided people. But tradition has woven a brighter garland round her favourite's head, and, aided by the inspiration of the poet, and the daring invention of the Priest, has in this blameless mortal brought into Human conception the dim, shadowy idea of a Redeemer, an Incarnation of the Creator, sent down from on high to be born of woman, to redeem mankind from the evils, that surrounded them. But the gross ideas of unassisted mortals could but clothe their incarnate god in the transitory dignity of Human sovereignty, could make him to triumph only over earthly enemies, the Giants and

the Demons of the forest. After ages saw what they dreamed not of, other Nations have learned to worship what is still beyond *their* comprehension, a Sovereign greater than him, clothed in the purple, a Saviour, who has redeemed from greater evils than earthly, a conqueror who has triumphed over more potent adversaries. Still, the name of Rama has woven itself into the inmost recesses of every heart: his name is entwined with what the natives value most, the early history of their country, the legends of their hills and valleys; for in this country no mountain raises its head unsung, every river flows in verse. Religion and fiction have lent their aid, and so charm-working is the spell, so vividly do the annual festivals bring back every event of the life of the Hero before the gaping crowd, that naught is taught earlier in infancy, naught is remembered so faithfully in age, as the story of Rama. Mark that old withered crone, who has so little of enjoyment in this life, who in her hard struggle of widowed existence, has little time for romance or for poetry; yet so strong is the spirit of nationality and Religion within her, so wondrous the power of oral tradition, that she, too, has relaxed her grim features this day, and as she points her lank arm towards the Hero, is giving that little black-eyed boy beside her the first ideas of the wondrous tale of the Rámáyana.

Read, those who care for the fresh annals of a great people, read the grandest epic in the loftiest and most godlike strains, that the world ever knew. Happy Hero, who has escaped the Lethé of Forgetfulness by the influence of the sacred Bard! Happy poet, who has selected for his strain so pure and blameless a character! We dare not believe, that he was a Redeemer incarnate: we can see through the dim mist of early History the origin of the legends, connected with the wild armies, which he commanded, and the wilder foes which he conquered. All Nations have fallen into the same errors, have peopled the forests with Giants, and placed hill and valley under the protection of fairies. The annals of all Nations commence in the same mythic strains, until Civilization clears away the forest, which encumbered the soil, and the strange crude notions, which perplexed the brains of the early inhabitants; and we wonder then whither are departed the Giants of our Nation's childhood. Men in those days were the like manner of creatures, which they are now, and no evidence has been produced of any change in their physical power, or duration of their lives.

Still the poet, while he tells of wild tales, and perpetuates charming fictions, is true to himself and his country. Though thirty Centuries have elapsed since he pricked on his reed-tablets the stately lines and measured couplets, still the people are before us now as the poet described them; and well deserved

he, that his tale should live in the memory of posterity, for purer Morality was never recorded: no men were more self-controlled, no women more virtuous than those painted by him; vice of all kinds never appeared more revolting, and the virtues, the gentler virtues of forgiveness, of humility, chastity, and filial obedience, never appeared so charming as when standing forth from the magic canvas of Valmíki.

And what History so endurable, as that graven on the living tablets of a Nation's fancy? What homage to virtue and greatness so exalted, as that conceded by the applause of untutored Millions? Ask those weary, footsore pilgrims, what took them on their long and painful journey to Lanka and the Southern Ocean? What leads the countless hundreds to the solitary hermitage at Chitrakót? There is naught to admire in the hill but its wild verdure, but to them it teems with strange interest. With us in our lofty cathedrals we have storied urns and marble tombs to recall the memory of the good and wise, whose bones are laid in the cemetery; but here the ashes of each, as he shakes off his mortal coil, are scattered to the four winds, or committed to the sacred waters; but the mountain, and the stream, preserve the name of the mighty dead. Nature has carved out the lofty Mausoleum of the departed: the ballads of the country, transmitted from mouth to mouth, have worked more enduringly than the sculptured epitaph.

In what place now can we rank, when compared to those ancient and widely-spread Legends, still living in the feelings, still openly acted in the streets before the eyes of Millions, the puny tale of beleaguered and plundered Troy? The rape of Helen aroused a few rude chieftains, the lords of petty, though romantic, islands, and carried across the narrow seas, that intervened betwixt them and the heights of Ida, a fleet of light vessels to besiege an insignificant town: and the story of the Ten Years' siege, the quarrels of the bandit-warriors, would have perished, as has been the fate of many such a foray, had not the genius of the blind Ionian possessed itself of the tale, and just as the intellect of the Greek people was dawning, sent it forth clothed in such marvellous diction, and depicted in all the simple majesty of an undebased Dialect, that future ages can never cease to admire, or hope to imitate without falling short of, the all but Divine original. Thence from the charm of the verse, from the genius of the Poet, came it that the story became vested with such strange interest for the Athenian people: thus centuries afterwards listening thousands hung on the honied words of Euripides, refashioning the old Homeric ballads, and, as seated in the theatre of Bacchus beneath their own Parthenic Temple, they looked out on the island of Salamis, the scene of dearer victories, as the breezes of the Ægean fanned their

flushed cheeks, and swept back their long hair: if in the excitement of the moment they shouted, it was but that the sympathy with the triumphs of their kindred in former days was blended with exultation, arising from the contemplation of their own.

But this is the great triumph of a whole Nation, the inhabitants of a vast Peninsula, not the denizens of one petty Province, the few thousands using the same Dialect, and clinging round one Acropolis; but of Millions, separated by every obstacle of Nature, by vast mountain-ranges, by conquering rivers; cut off from each other by distinct Languages, and dissociating habits, ruled over by hostile Sovereigns, partitioned into separate principalities: but all look back to a dim era of traditional History, since which long centuries of years have flown by, when certain events took place, which they gladly unite, forgetful of the present, to commemorate and perpetuate: and, knowing how much nearer the eye speaks to the senses than the ear, in every town, in every hamlet, lead forth and play out a festive drama. Who talks of the short-lived triumphs of the victor in the Olympic arena? Of what esteem is the parsley-wreath of the panting wrestler, when compared with this undying laurel? All has passed away: the Greek Nation exists, but the people have no longer a thought for the Palæstrum; the ballad of Troy is to them but an old woman's tale: but the Indian, generation after generation, sees enacted before him the same historic pageant, which his forefathers saw, before Alexander penetrated to the banks of the Hydaspes, while Achilles in his spleen was still pacing up and down on the shores of the sounding Hellespont. More wondrous is it, when we consider that it is a people who have naught of real nationality; that know not even the name of patriotism; that have bowed for centuries abjectly to conquerors, anyone whom chance might place over them; that are incapable of unity for their own advantage; yet on this one occasion they raise the cry of victory though submissive to alien Rulers, display unity of action though hopelessly dissevered, and might pass for patriots, did we not know that they had been subjects for centuries. We search History in vain for a parallel, and we find it not, save on that one day, when the many Nations and tribes of disunited Christendom kneel in humble recollection of the sufferings of a crucified Saviour.

But the procession and crowds have now departed; the place, where I stand, is now empty; the noise of the shouting is still resounding, when a new sight displays itself, and, accompanied by strains of plaintive music and lamentation, a long train of men and women pass by, urged by similar feelings of Religion, supported by similar instinct of duty, yet between them and those, who stood here a few moments before, sojourners of the same city, clothed in the same habiliments, is a vast chasm of

ideas, a boundless dissociation of sympathies and traditions. This year they celebrate on the same day, the anniversary of the slaughter of the grandson of their Prophet: with drawn swords and tears they convey to the place of interment a fanciful burden, and fondly deem, that they, the residents of India, mourn in sincerity for the untimely end of these two youths of Arabia. But in their acting there is no deep pathos, in their annual celebration there is no unity of action, and it is not even all the followers of Mahomet that join in the Moharram; even those that do so, scarcely know why, for the sons of Fatima fell not in their quarrel, their blood stained not the soil of India, and so their grief is but an empty show, and their mourning but illusory.

Amidst all the din, and all the clamour, din of the triumphant Hindu, glorying in triumphs, the extent and nature of which are forgotten; clamour of the Mahometans, mourning they know not why, over two murdered strangers, the sound of bells (for it was the Sabbath-eve) fell on my ears from the Church of the Mission, whose solemn tower looked mournfully down on these sad vagaries of poor Human Intellect, these wild fantasies of erring mortals. From within came the voices of children, and men born again even as a little child, who at this hour of evening were pouring forth prayers of thanksgiving and repentance for sins, which they had but lately discovered; and simple-minded devout Ministers were chanting songs of triumph over the enemy whom their arms had defeated, the cause of their mourning, and the reason of their rejoicing, being well known.

Play on, gentle people! Do not forget your national festivals; transmit from mouth to mouth your ancient and time-honoured ballads, and year by year carry out beyond the city-walls your gay pageant; and in the Lord's own fixed time may a brighter ray dawn on your now obscured Intellects! May my eye never weary in contemplating your peaceful sports! May my pen never flag in defending your immemorial customs!

Banáras, 1852–1895.

C. The Trials, to which Converts are Exposed.

Missionary Warning for the Twentieth Century.

There is no doubt that, as long as the world lasts, a change made in the ancestral Religion will be prejudicial to the social status, the means of livelihood, and the domestic relations, of the person, whom his new friends hail, as a convert, and his old associates anathematize, and excommunicate, as a pervert. An American Bishop told us in one of the Sectional Meetings of the Missionary-Conference of 1894, that the Mormonite Polygamists of Utah get their extra wives in great number from Christian England and Wales. No doubt the daughter of an English Clergyman, or a pious Layman, who was talked over to join the Mormonite Sect, would leave her home, and neighbourhood, as an object of scorn, hate, and deprivation of her share of the parental inheritance. The same would be the fate of an English youth, who became a Mahometan, or an English woman who married a Mahometan. We can only realize the exact merits of a case by bringing home analogous circumstances to our mind. The Christian Religion in England is comparatively modern, compared with the antiquity of the Zoroastrian, Brahminical, Buddhist, and Confucianist, Religious beliefs in different parts of Asia.

Let us inquire what the Master says:

"In the world ye shall have tribulation," etc. John, xvi, 33,
"He that loveth Father or Mother more than me," etc. Matthew, x, 37.
"Everyone that hath forsaken houses, or brethren . . . . or children, or lands, for My Name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life." Matthew, xix, 29.

The same sentiment appears throughout the Gospels, and the Epistles.

The professors of the Ancient national quietist Religions, and also the great worldwide Propagandist "Noble Way" of Buddha, were ever tolerant: if left alone, they would leave others alone. A renegade Jew would have received no quarter, no pity, no inheritance, from his own relations and countrymen: the Stoning of Stephen in the Christian era evidences this. The Greek, and Roman, were ever tolerant. Christianity began the practice in Europe of Intolerance, Confiscation, and Disabilities. Islam followed her example in Asia and Africa. Our position is singular in claiming for converts to our own Religion immunities, which until a very late period the Church of England never allowed to the Jew, the Nonconformist, the Romanist, or the convert from Christianity to Mahometanism.

It is a great pity, that people cannot in matters of Religious belief leave each other alone. The policy of the Governments of England up to the time of the abolition of the Test-Acts, the Roman Catholic Emancipation, and the admission of Jews to Parliament, all of which events happened in my life-time, has been atrocious. What has the State to do with the Religious convictions in a free country? Socially, of course, a man or woman, who change their views on a very important social subject, must face the consequences: as long as the world lasts, this must be the case.

In Turkey, or Persia, or any independent Mahometan country, Death, and Confiscation of goods, have always been the recognized consequence of change of Faith. This severity is gradually passing away, as far as the Executive Government, and the Courts of Law, are concerned, but, as outbreaks of popular fury and an enraged Priesthood have to be reckoned with, successors of Stephen are still stoned, and successors of James are still killed by the sword.

In British India, on the occupation of the different Provinces, not only absolute Toleration of all forms of Religious conceptions was guaranteed, but the Hindu and Mahometan Law, and customs having the force of Law, as regards Matrimony, and Inheritance, were declared to be the personal Law of every inhabitant of the country, so long as the paramount Laws of the Human race were not violated: that is to say, the burning of widows, and slaying of daughters, both of which customs were part of the Law relating to Matrimony, and such like were forbidden, as being Murder. It has taken half a century to tread down these customs.

Just before the Mutinies of 1857 a Law was passed, declaring, that the succession to ancestral property was not forfeited by change of Religion: this was a very strong departure from the original guarantees: it is notorious, however, that in past centuries a Hindu, who became Mahometan, did not forfeit his estate; it so happens, that Christian converts generally belong to the poorest classes, and claims to landed property, or valuable chattels, are rare.

About the same time a Law was passed, declaring the issue of a Hindu widow, who remarried, to be legitimate: the Law has been practically inoperative: I never heard of a case.

These Laws affected property and status, but the real trouble of a convert in the Nineteenth century is to retain possession of his wife and children, and this trouble existed in the time of our Lord, as evidenced by His Words quoted above. Can modern Christian Legislation remove the difficulty? is it wise to do so? will *true* Christianity gain by it?

The state of British India is not satisfactory at the present

moment. The air is full of rumours: a period of unrest, if not of open disturbance, seems to be near at hand. The Population of the country during the half-century of Pax Britannica has increased at the rate of three Millions annually, and the general poverty has increased also: War has ceased: Pestilence and Famine are kept under control. Twenty-two Millions of Widows are the result of the Law abolishing Widow-burning: a large number of unmarried females is the result of forbidding the practice of killing daughters in high-caste families: the land is overrun with lepers, as the result of forbidding the burying alive of lepers; and lepers have families of young children. There can be no doubt, that we were right in doing what we did, but we have to cope with the consequences. Well-intentioned benevolent people in Great Britain have commenced a system of worrying the people of India about their Marriage-customs, their use of stimulants, and sedatives. The Native Press is active, unbridled, and outspoken. Up to this time there has been no breach of the absolute enforcement of Religious Toleration, and of the respect to the customs having the force of Law.

Now it is clear, that nothing but Legislation can remove the disabilities, or such portion of them, as come within the scope of Legislation. This implies, that a pressure is desired to be brought upon the India Office, and the Viceroy, to move them to "do something": what? To get up an Association, analogous to the Anti-Opium-Society, would be the worst possible policy: it would exasperate both the Government, and the people governed: who should bring the pressure to bear? The Missionaries of the Church of England are inconsiderable in number, when brought into comparison with those of the Church of Rome, the Nonconformist Churches of England, the Churches of Continental Europe, Scotland, and America; and it would be impossible to act in concert with the Church of Rome, and very difficult to act in unison with the other Protestant Churches, who might suggest methods and remedies, which the Church of England could not approve of. To my knowledge one Nonconformist Church insists upon converts breaking all previous Marriage-Contracts, and starting fresh in life with a new Christian wife. Such was, in fact, the practice of Jewish converts in London, when admitted into the Church of England, until only a few years ago, when I helped to stop the practice.

Nor would the difficulty end here. We base our claim to Justice on the highest grounds, that a man or woman should not be deprived of their consorts and children on account of a change of their Religious conceptions: this would apply equally to the Hindu, who became a Mahometan, or a Brahmo-Somájist, or an Aria-Somájist, or a Theosophist, or a Mormon,

or a Unitarian, or the Professor of any new form of Faith. The Mahometans settle the matter absolutely by declaring the Marriage-Contract made between Mahometans void, if one or other of the contracting parties cease to be Mahometan; and that condition is a matter of general notoriety. The Hindu Contract of Marriage is indissoluble, but the Christian convert is deprived of the society of his wife, and care of his children: this circumstance is also a matter of general notoriety. There is no legal process available for restitution of Conjugal Rights, nor would the Government dare to order the Police to seek for the wife, as for an offender, and make her over to her husband: such a course would be illegal now, and such Legislation is impossible. I put the question to the Laity and Clergy of England: if any of you had a daughter married to a man, who suddenly became a Mormonite, or a Mahometan, or joined one of the Sects, which deny the Divinity and Atonement of Christ, would not the Parents and Relatives of the wife do their best fairly, or foully, to save the wife and the little children from what appeared to them a frightful contamination? Now to my certain knowledge such is the feeling of the Hindu, and Mahometan, Parents and Relatives, when the man, to whom one of their family is married, becomes a Christian.

The alternative is to set the man free from the Marriage-Contract, and enable him to marry somebody else. As regards the conversion to Christianity of a Hindu, this has been done. In 1864–5 a Law to this effect was passed, while I was a Member of the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, and in spite of my strenuous opposition. The Hindu convert to Christianity can cite his wife to appear before the Magistrate *in camera*, and to express her individual feelings on the subject, and to listen to the conciliatory advice of the Magistrate: if she does not return to her husband within a year, he is at liberty to remarry. This presupposes, that the Magistrate is a Christian: this was the case in 1864–5: it is not likely, that a Hindu, or Mahometan, Magistrate would give advice in the sense desired by the Christian convert.

As regards converts to Christianity from Mahometanism, no analogous Law has been passed: I have consulted my friend Sir William Muir, who is an authority on such matters, and he agrees with me, that the converts from Mahometanism should have the same privileges as the converts from Hinduism. The Mahometan Law has already set the wife free: the Municipal Law of India should set the husband free also.

So much for the Marriage-Contract: if the wife herself elects, or is compelled by her relatives, to abandon the society of her husband, the Marriage-Contract must be declared cancelled. Personally I am, and was always, opposed to this Law: in the

Missionary-Conference at Lahore in 1861, I opposed any interference; in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy in 1864 I opposed the Law; but it has been thirty years in force for the Hindu, and ought to be extended to the Mahometan.

As regards the custody of the children of tender years, we may safely leave that question to the Courts of Law: the principles of *jus paternum* are thoroughly understood. Protestant Missionaries should not condescend to enter into Lawsuits with non-Christians only for the sake of getting an influence over young children, and making them Christians. This is the well-known policy of the Church of Rome, which will spend hundreds of Pounds to get a child out of the clutches of Dr. Barnardo: if a man wants the custody of his children, let him sue for it; the question of their Religion will depend on themselves, when they arrive at a certain age.

An independent grievance is, that the Christian convert, having become an outcast, is deprived of the use of the wells of the village. It must be recollected, that the water is drawn out of the well by letting down a brass vessel with a rope into the well; and this is a difficulty, for obviously the vessel of an outcast defiles the water from the point of view of ceremonial purity. But in most villages there are members of the sweeper, and other helot, classes, who are outcasts, and they must have some means of getting their water, which the neo-Christian should not be too proud to share. At any rate, no Legislation in this question is possible. The wells were made by the Hindu, or Mahometan, proprietors, and are kept in repair by them, and the lawful custom of the majority of the inhabitants must be respected. The Christian converts must seek another dwelling-place. The Master has spoken distinctly on this subject also.

In Southern India tyrannical rules in Native States are put forward, compelling so-called outcasts to wear such and-such a kind of dress, or abstain from wearing it; to give way to a caste-man in the Public Road: such customs must die out: the Christian convert is quite able to vindicate his rights on such matters in the Courts of Justice.

A great lesson is being taught to the whole population by the entire absence of any distinction of individuals, one from another, in the State-Railways, Ferries, Schools, Hospitals, and Courts of Justice.

A strong Christian Government of the Nineteenth century will not itself persecute, nor allow others to do so: the ordinary principles of Criminal and Civil Law cannot be departed from in favour of, or against, the holders of any particular Religious Faith: if there are any loopholes, by which Persecution finds its way, they must be stopped by Legislation. There must be no opportunity for Martyrdom: no Crucifixions by order of the

Sovereign, no auto-da-fé by the Authorities of any Church, no stoning by the mob. The State is so far responsible, but no further. The best legacy, that a convert can leave to his friends, is the example of a holy and faithful death: there are no Mortmain-Laws to deprive them of that.

It is impossible for a European to realize, what is the consequence of change of Religious belief in an Asiatic country. Imagine the feelings of a son driven from his father's house, a workman turned out of the manufactory, a young man out of his club, and all the shops closed against him.

Missionaries talk grandly of a convert becoming a new man; and, if Death followed his conversion it would be well for him. So far as regards the *outer* world; but the lowest worm among mankind has an *inner* world also: to be converted in any true sense of that word, he must have been serious, his Soul stirred, his thoughts looking back and forward: there arise before him the superstitions, which have become part of his life, the prejudices, the customs, which are a second nature, the traditions, which have gathered weight through many generations: his conversation, his salutation in the street, must be altered: he may not have much Religious idea, but certain formulæ cling round his heart, which he had learned from his parents, and the old men, on whose knees he had sat as a child: as for a Soul, he never knew till now that he had one; he knew little, cared for little, he had no Past, and took no thought of the Future; but he had a certain amount of affection to his Parents, and a certain amount of Love for his wife and his children. Of course, from the point of view of Christian fanatics, everything in the life, and sacred books, of the Hindu, Buddhist, and Mahometan, is abominable and ungodly; but some of us, who have witnessed their simple lives, and read their magnificent books, think differently: the ignorant convert has to leap into the dark: he does not know much of his old Religion, or much more of his new; he is changing Temple or Mosque for Chapel; Brahmin or Pesh-namaz for a foreigner; Ram-Ram and Bismillah for Pater Noster, if it be a Papist Mission, and "Hamare Bap," if it be a Protestant. Starvation, being sent to Coventry, unkind treatment (not of a penal character), separation from his family, are often the concomitants. "Think not that I am come to bring Peace, but a sword."

The Native Churches in India are quite strong enough, if they have a grievance, to state it by petition to the Governors of their Province, or to the Legislative Council, and to ventilate the matter in their own Public Press, or in Public Meetings called for the purpose. It is utterly impossible to concede anything to a Christian convert, which is not conceded to any other

Native of India, who changes his Religious belief. Such a policy would be unworthy of the character of the Government, and the settled convictions of the Nineteenth century. As stated above, Hindu tribes during the Mahometan Empire accepted Mahometanism, and are still in possession of their ancestral lands. Large numbers have in times past seceded from their Ancestral Religion, and practices, and have become Sectarians, such as the Sikhs of the Panjáb, and many others less well known: they have kept their ancestral lands. There is now a new crop of Religious beliefs, entirely non-Christian, such as the Brahmo-Somáj, Aria-Somáj, neo-Buddhist, Theosophist, Mormonite, Unitarian: they have all a right to the same civil privileges: before long, or even while I write, we shall have Christian converts, of whom the Missionaries have made much account, passing into one of the new beliefs: if the English Christian Official, either by legislative authority, or executive power, tears away the children of Christian converts from the homes of their non-Christian relatives, what will the feelings of the Christian Church be, when the families of Christian converts are torn away from the Christian village, and handed over to Mormonites and Theosophists? In the proclamation of the Queen, 1858, when taking over India from the East India Company, it is distinctly stated, that we must do unto others, as we should wish men to do unto us. We are in an Epoch of Intellectual, and Religious, change: when a Native Christian wishes to marry the sister of his deceased wife, and his own Pastor will not marry them, he merely joins another flock of neo-Christians, where this license is allowed, and gets married.

It does not follow, that the power of Christian Europe will continue very much longer in India. It would be a fatal error to leave Christianity in a "White Man" guise. Of all Religions in the World, Christianity is allowed by those, who study Religion scientifically, to be the one, which has the greatest power of adapting itself to the Religious wants of individuals, Nations, and successive generations of mankind, or in other words to be the most elastic and comprehensive: it has no "Kaaba-stone," like Mahometanism, to tie it to Arabia; no Hindu illusions, which it cannot get rid of, like Buddhism. The Government of India has always acted as the benevolent, and impartial, Ruler of its subjects, and it may be depended upon, as willing to give relief to all those, who can themselves show cause. Nothing could be so fatal to the permanence of Christianity amidst the Millions of non-Christians, as the idea, that Christianity had powerful friends, and advocates, in Europe, that it was the "White Man's" Religion: if that idea gained ground, it would fade away with the decay of European Secular

Power, instead of flourishing for ever with indigenous vitality, as the Church of Christ.

June 12th, 1894, 1895.

Since the publication of the above, the matter has advanced. The Board of Missions of the two Provinces in August, 1895, distributed to all the Bishops of India and Ceylon, and to the great Missionary Societies of all denominations in Great Britain which have Missions in these countries, a copy of a Provisional Report on the Disabilities of Native Christians under existing Laws, and the expediency of pressing on the Government certain remedial measures. The Bishops are invited to consult all who are interested, whether of the Church of England or Protestant Nonconformists, in the field, and to report, and the Board of Missions proposes to reconsider the matter next Session. The advice of the Missionary Societies is also solicited.

The subject has its difficulties. The road to conversion must not be made too easy by the Arm of the Flesh. The Master predicts trials and sufferings as a necessary accompaniment of entering into His Kingdom. Christianity is prepared to exist without the aid of secular authorities. The man, who bought the precious pearl, sold all that he possessed to enable him to buy it. In British India and Ceylon there is no fear of violent persecution or martyrdom. Social estrangement, and family-troubles, are distinctly predicted and must be borne patiently. On the other hand, a Christian Government is bound to consider and, if possible, to relieve any disability, under which any one of her Majesty's subjects has fallen, owing to the exercise of his undoubted and guaranteed right of freedom of Religious convictions. A man may lose the companionship of his wife if she, having had an opportunity of expressing her own opinion, declines to consort with him, but the right to his children of tender years is not forfeited. Indian Law already declares, that change of Religion does not affect succession to land or chattels by ordinary devolution. No disability to public employment, or the use of the conveniences belonging to the general public, is tolerated. If a convert is put out of the Synagogue, denied entry into his father's house, cut dead by his friends in the streets, turned out of his club, that is no affair of the State. The convert must count the cost. Another reason suggests caution. Religious thought in British India is in a state of flux. Education and contact with other Nations are leading on to the break-up of the silence of centuries. Christianity is not the only factor at work in this great change. The people of British India are the heirs of centuries of Civilization, and in competition the young Indian often takes

place above the European. Something more of an Asiatic type than the Christianity presented in an European capsule is required. Brahmoism, Theosophism, Arianism, neo-Buddhism, Unitarianism, and other Asiatic forms of Religious conceptions, based on Monotheism and High Morality, are in the germ. The concessions made in favour of the Christian convert must *pari materiâ* be conceded to the other Religious swarms, and converts may pass from Christian villages into some other category, and exert the right of freedom of Religious conviction with all its consequences; so perhaps it is safer to do nothing.

The paper now circulated was prepared by a Sub-Committee consisting of Sir Charles Turner, K.C.I.E., late Chief Justice of Madras, the Rev. H. Perkins, late member of Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service, and now Missionary of the C.M.S., and Dr. R. N. Cust, Hon. Secretary of the Board of Missions.

1896.

D. The Home-Organization of Missions.

1. The Committee-Room.
2. The Parting with the Outgoing and Welcome back of Returning Agents.
3. Exeter-Hall, May 1, 1888.

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1. The Committee-Room.

In the sketches in previous Chapters, I have brought before my Readers scenes in India, Africa, and Oceania, with a view of giving life, and a sense of reality, to the subject. Very few of the supporters of a Mission have ever seen the workers at their work, and the conventional mode of description in the Periodicals gives but a faint conception of the reality. Still fewer of the supporters have been present in the Missionary committee-Room. It is very audacious, but in my desire to attract sympathy to the great work of Evangelization, I venture to draw a picture of that also. It is not the only Council-Chamber, the only committee-Room, in which during the last forty years I have had a seat, and I have, therefore, a capacity for comparison. I have passed, during the last twenty years, daily and weekly from the Municipal Boards to the Magisterial Bench, the Hall of the Scientist, the workroom of the Sempstress, the Workhouse, the Lunatic Asylum, and the Prison. There earnest men meet with their earnest fellows, learn the science of debate, and the control of the temper.

Perhaps in no Secular committee a letter resembling the one, which I now quote, could have been written. A Secretary was starting literally round the world to inspect our Mission-Stations, and fifty-six members of the committee signed it as drafted by myself: it will serve to throw a light on the working of a committee, and the spirit which pervades its members.

Church Mission-House,
August, 1886.

Dear and honoured Friend,

We do not like, that you should leave us on your long journey without a word of loving farewell. The committee is composed of annually changing members, and we cannot hope, that *all* of us will again meet in the room so well known to us, and which has been so blessed to each one of us, where we

have laboured so often and so earnestly together. The pictures on the walls will be the same, when you return, but some of the chairs will be empty, and you may perhaps miss some well-remembered face, and some voice, which will be silent for ever.

That during the last five years you have had Grace and strength given to you to dedicate your time, talents, and resources, to your Master's Service, with a single eye to His Glory, must ever be a subject of joy and gratitude to yourself. But it is so to us also; for we feel, that of all the blessings, which the Almighty can bestow on His faithful children, the greatest is to have Grace to consecrate their talents, whatsoever they may be, to Him. Other Missionaries have, during that period, at your selection, gone out to labour among the Heathen: you have served Him with equal fidelity at home, and have proved yourself to be a true Missionary at heart.

Those among us, who have experience of such things, have noted with gratitude and delight the ability, and Christian Love, which have characterized your mode of transacting business. You have lost no friends, but on the contrary have made many new ones. Those, who have disagreed with you in details, have recognized your high motives, and single-mindedness of purpose. In your occasional tenacity of opinion you have taught us, that it is well to be in earnest in a great matter. In your readiness to surrender your own views you have taught us, that it is better still to be humble-minded, distrustful of one's own judgment, and ready to give way.

We shall remain revolving in our restricted orbit of committee, and prayer meeting, while you are circumnavigating the Globe. We shall read and speak of Mission work done in distant fields, while you are privileged to inspect it. When on our usual days of meeting we assemble in your absence, we shall think of you, and remember you in our prayers; and we doubt not that, wherever you may be, your heart will, like a magnet, turn to us; that in the cabin of the ship, in the carriage of the railway, in the solitary traveller's resting-house, and still more in our Mission-Schools and Mission-Chapels, with your face, sometimes directed to the rising sun, and sometimes to the setting sun, you will pray for us, and the great united work, to which our best faculties are dedicated, and ask for the special blessing to be allowed to come back to us, in which request the hearts of all of us are united. We shall miss you much each day of your absence, and welcome you on your return.

May the Almighty take you into His special keeping! may His rod and staff support you in your Pilgrimage! Should sickness come upon you, may you find perfect Peace in the hollow of His Hand; for He careth for you! One lesson, at least, we have learned in our committee-room is, that God encompasses

His servants, wheresoever they go, and knows best what manner of Service He thinks good to require of them.

We subscribe ourselves your loving friends.

So much for the Secretary: my remarks now turn to such Members of the committee, as have passed the flower of their lives in the East. I have strong views on the subject: it appears to me that a retired Anglo-Indian ought not to be allowed to live, if he did not consecrate his leisure, means, and talents, to some work for his fellow-creatures. Why otherwise has his life been so marvellously spared, when so many of his contemporaries have fallen victims to the climate, or to the assassin, or to the bullet of the enemy, in some pitched battle? On each side of the road, which he has trod, are the graves of those with whom he began life, in my case 53 years ago.

Committees can be secular or Religious: in the one category come the Geographical Society, the Asiatic, the Prison-committees, the Anti-Slavery committee, the Hospitals, the Poor Law, and the numerous secular Associations. In the other category come the Missionary committees, the Bible Society, S.P.C.K., R.T.S., and others: it is well to attend both categories, and the danger of clinging to one only, especially if that be a Religious committee, is the certainty of narrowing the vision, and contracting the experience: anybody more narrow-minded than the one-Religious committee-man can hardly be imagined. There can be no doubt that the Secular committee is infinitely superior in business-habits, and common-sense, to the Religious committee; and yet in spite of that my heart goes out to the latter: the members of both are high-minded, unpaid, and incapable of a dirty job: earnestness, and a tendency to quarrel about trifles, are features of both: the Secular committees are elected by a free constituency; the Religious committees by a system of co-option, which practically is the choice of one of the Secretaries, who prefer to have a body of dummies, respectable, docile, but ignorant. The secretaries in a Secular committee preserve a grave silence, and record the decisions of the committee; the same officials in a Religious committee in many cases, though not in all, exert an undue influence in the proceedings, and insist on carrying out the views of what they call "the Secretariat."

Nothing surprises an Anglo-Indian more, who for the last twenty years has had to go to his office, and in a certain number of hours to dispose of a multiplicity of matters, than the dreamy and uncertain way, in which a body of Clergy, or untravelled Englishmen, dispose of work in a Religious committee. In the one case, rapidity of perception of the issue, fearless issue of the order, passing on to another matter, has become a necessity

of his existence: the order may be wrong, but it is rapid, capable of execution, and clears the file: in the latter, the debate is weak, illogical, and loquacious: the order is often vacillating, a kind of compromise, or a plea for delay.

I will now dwell further on the composition of a Missionary Society committee: it is an odd sight, and must not be taken too seriously: the affairs of no kingdom, or secular administration, could be carried on under such conditions: the number of members is too great, the attendance irregular: some stop to lunch, and disappear; some look on it as an Ecclesiastical club, a place of weekly rendezvous; many of the members are pious enthusiasts, but lacking in experience: the work must, indeed, be for God, as it prospers under such very inadequate Human conditions. If the committee-system, and association-autonomy, are to last on into the next century, the example of Banking and Mercantile committees must be adopted, and paid Directors appointed, supported by a limited number of honorary unpaid Missionary experts as councillors: the present forty-parson-power, and congress of emotional dummies, will not be sufficient to carry on such a vast and complicated enterprize. As in a Chinese Parliament, so in a Missionary committee-room, there are abundant expressions of Moral and Religious sentiments, but an absence of administrative experience and consultative wisdom.

Yet to have been fifteen years a member of such a Religious Club, or a Missionary committee, is a great privilege: I look back upon sweet friendships formed, only ending in death; of information gathered in private conversation; of spirituality exhibited not in words only but in conduct: I will not allude to the living, though I have many dear friends, whose acquaintance was formed in committee: let me mention some of the dead: the Earl of Chichester, the Hon. F. Maude, Joseph Hoare the Banker, Edward Hoare the Archdeacon, Sir William Hill the General, Bishop Perry, dear Alexander Beattie, Canon Aurioll, dear Sir Harry Verney, Canon Miller, William Gray; old friends were met also, Colonel Channer, dear Robert Maclagan, good Arthur Lang, and old James Long the Missionary. The distinction between a Religious and Secular committee, is that the one begins and ends with prayer: this may, perhaps, have degenerated into a mere form, and many members arrive too late to share in it; in very deed all our talents, whether for things Religious or things Secular, come from the same God, and those who are entrusted with those talents, and blessed with those opportunities, should feel prayer rising from the inmost Soul in return for the Grace conferred of seeing Him anywhere, anyhow. Sometimes in a Secular committee I seem to wonder why there is no prayer for guidance.

The pictures on the walls remind those who are present of the continuousness of the work from the beginning of the century. Boasting is indeed excluded, for, if as little wisdom had been evinced in the conduct of a human enterprize, the concern would have long ago collapsed. In all other enterprizes there is the final check of the Shareholder in annual meetings, or the Local Government Board, or the Home Secretary of State: here there is none. Vast sums are collected in pennies and shillings, and there is absolutely no control over the nature of the expenditure, or the amount spent on any object: under no other circumstances can it be imagined that ten thousand pounds, annually collected from little children in boxes, should be devoted to the maintenance of children of the agents, who ought never to have come into existence. Only imagine any portion of Parochial or County Rates, or sums voted by Parliament for a specific purpose, being diverted from their object to be spent on the maintenance of the children of the employés. Let proper stipends be provided for those, who wish to undertake the Lord's Service, and let them provide themselves for the families which the Lord may give them.

Idiosyncrasy of character comes out in such gatherings with startling clearness: perhaps a retired solicitor, favoured with restless leisure, and a clear utterance, will be up and speak at length on any or every subject, for all are equally unknown to him. Perhaps a recording Secretary, who ought to sit quietly and listen, will force himself into constant notice, and give a lecture as from a Professor's desk. No one likes to stop such men, if their own self-distrust and innate modesty have not prevented their intrusion.

"Satis Eloquentiæ, Sapientiæ parum."

In secular bodies a talkative man is soon put down; in a Religious committee, as in a Church, there is no Presidential bell, or the popular discipline of discordant noises. I have in such committees witnessed a stand-up fight between two Secretaries, or members of uncontrolled tempers or tongues. Where the Secretaries are all of one mind, and the dummy-members are under control, there is no proper discussion of important subjects. After the hours of lunch, when the committee is thinned, anything can be passed. Now, in a secular body, such subjects would be thrashed out; in a Religious committee, many doubt, but the sanctity attached to the subject and the place holds them back from expressing their opinion, and entering into a discussion. Thoughtful men are in consequence compelled to withdraw from such a committee. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson), at the Missionary Conference of

London, in 1894, remarked that "it was not possible for Societies "to deal with a genius on their committee: that this effect "must take place, either the Society must repress the genius, "or the genius will make the Society very uncomfortable." It is, in fact, a disqualification to a member of such committees to have much Knowledge, to have studied the subject too closely, and to have formed any opinion based on Knowledge, or study of the near and remote Future of the great Missionary Movement; and it may with justice be allowed, that a very large majority of members, lay and clerical, can plead, that they are not to be charged with that disqualification.

No one description covers all committees. Some are attended by more than one hundred, some by four or five at the most; some exclude clergy, some have too large a gathering of them, and of an inferior sort as regards Mission-work. Let me repeat again, that the conduct of Missions is a Science, and that the ignorant should not intermeddle, as if they were in a Debating Society, where each member contributes his own miserable opinion. Some committees have a large majority of old men, grave, serious old fogies, hard of hearing and limited in vision: they are helped into their seats, and smile benignantly, like the old men, who looked on while the foundations of the Temple were being laid after the return from the Captivity. In some all the real power has been seized by a Venetian Council, or a Transvaal Volkraad: all other members of the Association are treated as Uitlanders, though in fact the supply of men and money came from them. I confess to a sense of intellectual degradation, when I am present at such meetings. Sometimes the Committee practically shrinks to the "one Man," a pushing Secretary. Such a man should be salaried, and made a Director: his position and responsibilities would be understood then.

February, 1896.

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2. The Parting with the Outgoing and Welcome back of Returning Agents.

In some future enlarged edition of Green's "History of the English People" some notice will be taken of ceremonies peculiar to the Nineteenth century. In an obscure, and unknown, room, in the heart of the great Metropolis, not far from the busy hum of merchants, yet lying out of the orbit of attraction of the general Community, there is a gathering of

men and women on some solemn occasion, and the meeting commences with prayer. What are they doing?

When our great ships leave the harbour for foreign countries, when our soldiers go on board their transports for foreign service, when Governors of great Provinces leave these shores to rule over subject Millions in Her Majesty's Dominions in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, some form of Farewell greeting takes place, and a toast proposed of "Health to the outward bound." So when Missionaries, male or female, start upon their *life-Duty*, the Society which sends them, gives its *final* instructions, hears the voice of each one, and commits them to God in prayer. I say *final* instructions advisedly, because their "marching orders" they have long ago received from their Master on the Mount of Olives at the time of His Ascension.

Such ceremonies, quiet, serious, unpretentious, make those, who are present, feel, that it is good for them to be here, and to many are more grateful than the crowded mass meetings in Public Halls for self-glorification and personal exaltation. Each Missionary in his turn stands up in his place, and makes a gallant delivery of the circumstances, under which he received God's call, of hopes as yet unfulfilled, visions yet unrealized, self-consecration still untested by experience: those may be esteemed most high, who on such occasions speak the least, for they have nothing to describe. The Lord accepts the Will: whether they will render good Service, or none at all, falling even as they enter the Vineyard, is known to Him only: as far as they are concerned, the result is the same. The faithful observer, whose eye falls on them, cannot but look upon them with that look of Love, with which the Master honoured the young man in the Gospel, though He that knew all that was in the heart of man, knew that that particular young man would *not* give up the world, and follow Him. So those, who are advanced in life, may look on these young aspirants partly with Love, and a wish that they were young again, and could share the new venture, and partly with Pity, knowing from experience, spread over long years and many countries, the trials which await them.

The initials by which the great Society is known, by whose aid they enter on their career, should represent the motto engraved on their hearts:

C. M. S.

"Christ My Saviour."
"Carry My Salvation."
"Christ-Magnifying Society."

They have not only to preach Christ, but to live Christ. In the

presence of a non-Christian population both the Divine and Human Persons must be illustrated, for

Christianity is Christ.

Some will fall on the voyage out, or on landing in their new home, before they have stretched out their hands to glean the grapes, or even acquired the power of communicating with their new brethren. Some will be disabled by the break-down of their constitutions, or the chastening hand of God on their faculties. Some will forget their first Love, and under earthly influence, prospect of brief domestic happiness, and home comforts, withdraw their hands from the plough. Some will fall into sin, and prove unworthy of their high vocation. Of some, the race will be run in middle life. Some, the greatly blessed ones, will labour on till old age, and die amidst their flocks.

In their ranks are not many wise, as men count Wisdom; not many great in Gifts, in character, in acquired Knowledge, as men count greatness. They will not leave names to live after them in the annals of their country, unless, indeed, they live in the hearts of their converts, and the traditions of the descendants of those converts, as "the holy men who brought our forefathers, and us, to Christ."

They do not choose their field of employment: it is chosen for them by those, who can gauge their different fitness of body, as regards medical, and of mind, as regards intellectual, requirements. "Send us wherever we are most wanted, where we can do the best work," is their cry, whether among the barbarians of America, Africa, and Oceania, or the polished and civilized Nations of Asia: they know not, in what form of Human Speech they are predestinated to preach and teach the Gospel, and some may, alas! find that they lack the linguistic Gifts to acquire any, and are denied the greatest of Human privileges, the power of Preaching the Gospel.

What is their work? . .	Evangelization.
What is their armour? .	The Helmet and Shield of Faith, the Sword of the Spirit.
What is their great weapon of attack? .	The Holy Scriptures in the Language of the people.
What is their great instrument of conversion?	Love of Christ, and of *all* their fellow-creatures, whether converted or not.

It may seem to some humble Souls, that the work is beyond their strength, and as regards their own strength it is so: "But His strength is made perfect in their weakness" (II Cor., xii, 9). They must recollect the last words of their Great Commission, the last words of the First Gospel: "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world" (Matthew, xxviii, 20); and the exclamation of Paul to the Philippians (iv, 13): "I can do all things through Christ, which strengtheneth me."

The very room of meeting seems to be illumed and consecrated by the presence of the Great Master Himself and His poor servants, as I pass on to another occasion and the ceremony accompanying the welcome back to Missionaries on their return from the field after faithful service. The pictures of departed friends look down upon us from the walls, but an innumerable throng of those who are absent, or have passed to their rest, crowd upon our memories. We still recollect the smile on their faces, when we saw them on a former similar occasion; we remember the seats, which they occupied, the sound of their voices, and the words which they uttered. No spot in the world is so fragrant of blessed memories, so blessed in itself, and so rich in blessings to our Souls. In spite of our manifold shortcomings, our foolish acts of omission or commission, our abundant errors, the fruit of pride, and undue self-esteem, and our wayward will, we still humbly believe, that our Lord is verily and indeed fulfilling His Promise, and is in our midst.

Some one asked a wise man in the East in what form of words he would express the greatest possible "difference" that could exist: he answered: "The difference betwixt the intentions of a man in his youth, and the record, which he can show in middle life or old age." This covers the essential features, in which the second scene which we are describing differs from the first.

Each returner from the field rises up and tells his own story: the truer-hearted the Missionary the simpler the story: it may be very prosaic, the simple round, the common task, of chapel-Services, Schools, village itineration, street-preaching. To some the Lord has granted no visible success, and the success, if any, comes not from the words of the Missionary, but from the life given by the Holy Spirit to those words on the hearts of those, who are elected to be converted. Some have a tale of adventure, of disappointment, of suffering, for in very deed the lot ordained to the Lord's servants differ. Some pass away in their youth; some in their full usefulness and experience. They differ in antecedents, training, origin, and social environment: there is a diversity of Gifts, but the same spirit, the same life-object to communicate the new idea, and, in a Spiritual sense, to turn the world upside down. Some will be buried where they have spent

long happy years, the centres of awakened affection, the rousers of torpid conscience, the exemplars of holy lives. Christ from the Cross will look down on them *there*: generations of men and women spiritually born again will humbly and piously visit the grave of him, who taught them so to live, as not to be afraid to die. To some a harder lot is allotted: the solitary rest-house by the roadside, the cabin on board ship, the tent in the Indian jungle: their dying hours will be consoled by the feeling, that they are filling up what remained unfulfilled of the sufferings of their Master.

As we gaze on the scene, as we listen to the voice of the speakers, a great change comes over us: the walls of the room seem to fall down, and, mounting a tower in our minds, we look over the scene of Spiritual battles now being fought, and battles to be fought in years still to come all over the world. We see the various tribes seated for countless centuries in darkness, we hear the Babel of their different Languages, we hear the blind, spiritually blind, calling for help; and yet the world has been governed since the Creation by an all-wise, and all-powerful, and all-benevolent, Ruler, and by the slightest expression of His Sovereign Will all mankind might centuries ago have become believing Christians: yet History tells us that it is not so. We bow our heads in silence. Can the Ruler of the world fail in doing right?

And sometimes in a gathering such as this there comes, as it were, a breeze from a far country, laden with the memories of a great name, and my old friend at Jerusalem in 1852, Bishop Gobat, walks in, and the company rises to welcome him, or good Bishop Sargent of South India, or the bearer of an honoured name in the Churches of Canada, or the lost and lamented Negro Bishop Samuel Crowther. May the Twentieth century be as fortunate as the one now closing! The Lord's Treasury is never emptied, but the enervating influence of a luxurious and self-seeking and self-indulgent age has to be contended with.

January, 1896.

3. EXETER HALL, MAY 1, 1888.

C.M.S., OR "CHRIST MY SALVATION."

THROUGH the high windows flows a flood of light,
Telling of coming Spring, and present May;
Before the doors rolls on both day and night
Laborious London's pitiless array:
Withdrawn from worldly work for one brief day,
The spacious Hall can scarcely room afford
(While on the sounding organ loud they play),
For men and women met with one accord
On this their annual feast to praise their Lord.

Each feels a portion of the holy flame:
Why was our Country made so great and strong?
Why does our genius Savage races tame?
Why do the ends of earth to us belong?
Why do all Nations to this city throng?
Why does the great Controller bless our store,
And deign our worldwide Empire to prolong,
But to enforce our Duty more and more,
To spread our Saviour's rule from shore to shore?

Up to the ceiling rise the hymns of praise:
A holy text is read: in prayer we kneel:
Upstanding one by one with artless phrase
In turn the speakers our attention steal
With thrilling tones, and words, that make us feel
The grandeur of the subject: our hearts glow
With Love and Pity in their varying phase:
In sweet alternatings of Joy and Woe
Our thoughts fly "Up on high," and "Down below."

"*Down Below.*"

"Down below" we see the brave men toiling,
Bearing th' unsuffered sufferings of their Lord:
From no hard trial in weak fear recoiling,
Trusting to no flesh-arm, or Human sword,
But to th' Eternal changeless Promise-Word:
Some have come home our sympathies to share,
Their plain, unvarnished story to record;
Some have remained for ever, where they were:
Christ on the Cross looked down upon them there.

Round them new germs of Christian life are springing,
  New possibilities of Human Love:
In humble Chapels Sabbath-bells are ringing,
  And swarthy white-robed Pastors gently move
  Amidst their flocks to tell of Christ above:
Its giant fronds still waves the Palm on high;
  The glorious Sunsets still illume the grove:
All is unchanged in Nature's sea and sky;
The hearts of Man have changed mysteriously.

Upraised on high the ensign of the Cross,
  While the stone-idol from its shrine is thrown:
The Savage man for Christ counts all things loss:
  No longer hideous rites and crimes are known,
  Since to his heart the holier path is shown:
By his side walk his children and his wife,
  Who meekly shares his labours, his alone:
Joys of the present, hopes of future life,
Blot out the memory of forgotten strife.

"Up Above."

"Up above" the roof and walls seem falling,
  And Christ's great promise to us is fulfilling:
He will be with His children at their calling:
  His presence now this crowded Hall is filling;
  Jesus is here, all fear and doubtings stilling:
His power supports, His mercies never fail:
  He sees His servants gathered here are willing
Humbly to do His work, though weak and frail:
Rise up, rise up, the Risen Lord to hail!

As the scene clears for Human eye to view,
  We see the Saints and Angels round His throne:
The Holy Martyrs, and Confessors too;
  We recognize some dear ones, as our own,
  Our own lost friends, not lost, before us gone:
Our brothers, and our sisters, firm and bold,
  Who counted life dear but to lay it down,
His Service and His Honour to uphold,
And bring back erring sinners to His fold.

And they look down on us with solemn greeting,
  Bidding us cleave to the same Gospel true,
And looking forward to a heavenly meeting,
  To be with Christ, when all is made anew.
  Oh! come, ye doubting ones with me, and view

The low straw-hut, where Saints their labours close
  Midst tears and prayers of men of dusky hue,
For whom Christ died, for whom again He rose:
Let the kind Shepherd's arms His wandering lambs enclose!

Words uttered here fall on the page below,
  And are recorded by a faithful hand:
Then through the trumpet-sounding Press they blow
  Over the length and breadth of British Land,
  Telling the triumphs of Immanuel's band,
Making the hearts of faithful men to glow:
  The morn is breaking at His high command,
And streaks of blessed light begin to show
The coming of the reign of Christ below.

Is not this day the sweetest of the year?
  Spared are we still to see another May.
Is it not well for us to gather here,
  And, counting up our failings, homage pay
  To Him, who has accepted us this day
According to our will, not to our powers?
  For what have we to offer, but what may
Spring from His Gift, wealth, talents, labouring hours?
Thine be the glory, Lord! the blessing still be ours!

Exeter Hall, May 1, 1888.
(In my old seat: vacated 1891, ætat 70.)

E. Prospects of the Future.

Missionary Warnings of the Twentieth century.

1. The Philosophy of Missions.
2. An all-round View of the Movement at the Close of the Nineteenth century.
3. Certainty of Progress of Christianity, if it be real.
4. Agencies and Methods at work.
5. (*a*) Gradual dying out of Animistic conceptions in races of low culture, and of the ancient Book-Religions.
   (*b*) Substitution of new forms of Religious conceptions in races of higher culture, Moral, Spiritual, but non-Christian.
6. Enlarged capacity of non-Christian races to understand a Religious conception, which affects their Morals in this life, and their Souls hereafter.
7. Christian Truth and practice exposed to new tests.
8. Expulsion of Missionaries from certain countries, under certain circumstances, justifiable and necessary.
9. Form and doctrine of Native Independent Churches.

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1. The Philosophy of Missions.

The great mass of mankind live for the present hour, and their thoughts are bounded by their immediate environment: it is well, that it should be so: the world's work is done by single-minded, *blindfolded* workers, and not by the wild vagaries of speculators: still, it is well for some few to dip into the Future, not the dim and remote, but that Future, which the phenomena of the present are creating. Evangelization, and Civilization, are the two great phenomena of the Nineteenth century, the result of a long and blessed Peace, and a cautious forecast can be made of the immediate Future, the next generation of men. Some men are habitually in their thoughts ten years in advance of their contemporaries, and if their lives be spared, they are allowed to see, whether their speculations were sound or unsound. When in 1846, according to the orders of the Supreme Government of India, I forbade the residents of my newly conquered Panjáb District to burn their widows, kill their daughters, or bury alive their lepers, an old Sikh asked me confidentially, whether I had thought out the consequences of my order. I had not done so. This set me thinking: I have lived to see, that there were twenty-two Millions of widows in India

in 1891, tens of thousands of unmarried young women, and armies of lepers traversing the country: still the order was right, whatever may have been the consequences.

In the same way we ought to reflect what will be the consequences of our Missionary labours, say in 1930 A.D. We must throw our eyes forward, and try to imagine what will be the result in British India of the wild, multiform, haphazard, Methods of Evangelization during the last fifty years. The only advantage of studying the Past is, that we obtain a firmer grasp on the Future. Experience is not a stern-light, but a prow-light.

In our Future there are essential fundamental differences from our Past. In the early centuries of the Christian era old Religious conceptions were breaking up: there was little, or no Education; no Printing-press, no Public Press, no means of locomotion. Mankind was segregated into absolutely separate islands of Civilization or savagery. In each area there was only room for one development of the new idea. The Greek or Roman Churches killed down all, who differed from their accepted form.

In our Future we must expect to see a Hydra-headed, multiform, Christianity: all the European and American Churches are represented: some secretly, some actively, hostile to each other. New forms of non-Christian, or pseudo-Christian, conceptions are springing into existence, characterized by high Morality and universal adaptability.

The ordinary Christian Communities present in themselves very indifferent object-lessons of the purifying influences of Christianity, viz., the being born again as a new man, whose one object is Holiness. Add to this an infidel literature. The following question may well be asked by the educated non-Christian. "The Hebrew Covenant lasted Nineteen centuries, "and entirely failed in its object, which was to keep the "Hebrews faithful to their Covenant-God, and Holy. Can "it be, that the Christian Covenant is failing also at the close "of its Nineteenth century?"

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, in his thoughtful address to the C.M.S. Younger Clergy Union, February, 1896, drew attention to the necessity of attaining not only a general knowledge of the thing itself, but a real knowledge of its principles; that it was beginning to be known, that there is a Philosophy of Missions, as indeed there is of History: those, who knew nothing of the Philosophy of Missions, knew nothing of Missions. He remarked further, that Westerns would never produce effect upon Mahometans: they must be approached by Oriental Missionaries: the Apostles themselves were Orientals. As long as we keep to white Bishops and white Clergy, it is not

a Native Church, but a School. He added, that there are great Phenomena to be known about Nations, and about the applicability of Christianity to those Nations, before the work of Evangelization can be done effectually.

The Essay, which I now submit upon this solemn subject, was reduced to its present form on paper before His Grace's remarks fell under my eye in the C.M.S. *Intelligencer* of March, 1896, p. 229. I feel grateful. The great Spiritual movement of the Nineteenth century is indeed a great, the greatest of, Philosophies.

What is the Philosophy of Missions? Those know it not, who limit their interest to an annual subscription, an occasional Meeting, or the lower Duties in the Mission-field; but those, who study the subject, who are distressed by the failures, and have the Grace to cast their eyes forward into the dim and unknown, though not remote, Future, feel, that there is a Science required to conduct the enterprize, a something to exercise Human Reason, and arrive at certain conclusions based on ascertained facts. It is the same in other Human Phenomena: to the ignorant many Language is merely a mode of expressing thought, or absence of thought: the Art has come somehow: to the teacher in Languages it is merely the machinery for gathering a miserable pittance from the attempt to convey Knowledge to ignorant boys and girls: to the linguist Language represents one of the two marvellous intellectual faculties, with which it has pleased the great Creator to endow His poor creatures, as a differentiation from the brute beasts. So as regards the Philosophy of Religion: to the common herd it is nothing: their conception of their own hereditary Faith is hazy: as to anything beyond, it is blank. To the narrow-minded Pietist, everything outside his own Shibboleth, which, indeed, he cannot explain, is a mere device of Satan, and only fit for unqualified and ignorant abuse. To the student of Comparative Religion all over the world from the earliest ages, Religion appears as the second of the great intellectual faculties conceded to the Human race, a subject for reverential study, as the facts discovered justify the ways of God with man, with man in his entirety.

The Philosophy of Missions comprehends the Science of conveying an exalted form of Religion by the use of Language, and discusses the Methods, points out the stumbling-blocks, shows the reason why, rebuts the objections, builds up experience and Wisdom on the foundation both of past successes, and past failures.

It is impossible to go on in the Twentieth century in the haphazard mode of the early decades of the Nineteenth century: we must set our faces against Faith-Missions, Arm of the Flesh Missions, untrained, and therefore ignorant, Missionaries,

Chauvinistic Missions, where the nationality of the Agents is thought more of than Christ, half-hearted and renegade Missionaries, who desert their colours, as Demas deserted Paul, to suit their domestic conveniences. All our talents, Gifts, and opportunities, must be consecrated to this one object: our study of Languages will promote the increased circulation of the Scriptures; our study of the Ancient Religions will enable us to see in what particulars they fell short of our high Ideal, and the amount of their remnants, which still cling to our Ritual and Doctrine; our study of the new Religious conceptions will show the danger of sensational, carnal, and perverted, uses of the Gospel, as revealed to us.

In carrying on the work of Evangelization it is not the Historical National Church of some country in Europe, that we should have in our thoughts, but the Universal Church of Christ, free from the degradation and pollutions of the centuries, which separated the early Church from the time of the Reformation. The Gospel-Message was for all ages, and all times, for all stages of Human culture, for all varieties of the Human family, for all degrees of Human Knowledge. We should not be always pushing to the front the Anglican Church, as if it were the sole and best representation to all mankind of the Church of Christ: to us in England it may appear so, but neither in Scotland or Ireland, nor in the rest of Europe, is any real value placed upon it; yet an attempt is made to force it upon India, and China, and Africa. What should we have said, if the Dutch had had the power and will to make the non-Christian world Dutch Lutheran?

A Missionary from East Equatorial Africa, in an address in March, 1896, remarks: "Up till now we are playing with "Missions: if the Railways were made at *only one inch per annum*, "we should not be satisfied; *yet that must be what the work must* "*appear to God*." Further on he tells us that his converts, the Ba-Gánda, are above all other Africans "*stamped with God's approval*": this last is a bold assertion to be made by a young man, who has been in no other part of Africa; and the use of the Divine Name is to be deplored: the Missionaries of some Societies employ the sacred Name too freely. How can the limited reason of man pronounce an opinion as to how the work of His poor creatures appears to the Creator? By His gracious permission the Indian and Chinese Nations in their Millions have flourished and multiplied, and grown rich and wise in things of this world uninterruptedly in the same Region since the time of Moses: no thunderbolts have destroyed their magnificent and ancient Temples; no fanatical Elijah has killed their Priests; no Prophet or Evangelist came to them, and told them of the Good Tidings: as Paul describes it, "God

winked at their Ignorance, and suffered all Nations to walk in their own way." The annual *inch* of U-Gánda conversions, except in the eyes of the Agents themselves, does not count for much in the great work of the world of the Nineteenth century, and in the sum-total of the History of Mankind, as absolutely *nil*. What is to be deplored in the statements of Missionaries, and the compilers of reports, are the rash assertion of knowledge of God's plans, and unwarranted exaltation of their own work. This is contrary to the first principles of a true Philosophy of Missions.

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2. An All-round View of the Movement at the Close of the Nineteenth century.

"Watchman, what of the night?"
"There are heavy clouds on the horizon."

In dealing with the affairs of the whole world, it would seem a limitation of the Power of the great Ruler to restrict it in modern times to one Nation: why, then, should we do so in ancient times to the petty tribes of the Hebrews? God spake by men, who were not Hebrews, by Balaam, by Job, by Rabshakeh, by Cyrus, by Buddha, by Plato. He hated nothing that He had made, nor did He forget His poor creatures during those long silent centuries before Anno Domini, and only care for the one graceless, disobedient, faithless tribe, who, owing to the absence of communication with the East, got possession of the ears of Europe as regards Ancient History. When the Fulness of Time came, we read, that "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (John, iii, 16). This scarcely implies, that He only *then* began to love the world, the whole world of white, black, brown, yellow, red, populations, all made in His own image.

Some degree of progress during the Nineteenth century can be traced:

(1) The idea, that all the non-Christian world are doomed to everlasting torture, is exploded.
(2) There is a better acquaintance with non-Christian beliefs.
(3) There is a greater experience of the character of the lives of non-Christian people.
(4) It is admitted, that the object-lessons presented by the lives of nominal Christians is a serious impediment to Evangelization.

(5) The influence of Christian Government, Civilization, and Education, is felt everywhere, like the underground percolation of canal-water.
(6) Missionary reports are beginning to be more real, and less emotional, and gradually it will be found out, that impartiality is necessary to secure Truth, and that Euphemism does not answer.
(7) Missionary experiences supply valuable testimony to the fundamental principles of Christianity.

In the early centuries of the Christian era the Græco-Roman world had fallen so low, that, though Christianity was accepted by them, it was necessary, that a new birth should take place of hardier, and more unsophisticated, races, the Kelt, the Teuton, and the Slavonic, to hand on the Truth: perhaps this same phenomenon may reappear. Christianity in its purity is out of possession of many parts of Europe, and the time may be at hand, when the centres of the pure and unadulterated Faith will slowly drift back to Africa and Asia.

We must recollect, that every age, and generation of men, do, and ought to, shed new light on Truth: we look on the subject from a different aspect than that of our Fathers. To refuse to admit this is to forfeit the power of seeing things as they are, to lose the vigour of a youthful Faith, and gradually to limit our conception of Religion to the conventional use of hard, misunderstood, formulæ and ceremonial Worship.

The mode of communicating the Truth must vary with the requirements of each race, and the degree of their culture. It seems impossible, that we can continue to present to the Negro, the South Sea Islander, the Chinese, the Indian, the terrible Old Testament stories of Balaam, and Elijah, Jael, and Jehu, the sad profligacies of David and Solomon, the cruel damnatory Psalms: they are out of harmony with the feelings of Europeans of the Nineteenth century; how much more with Oriental races in a low culture?

We must not be surprised, if the influence of the Brahmanized form of Worship, and even the conception of Divine things, imperceptibly, but still essentially, introduces among the neo-converts new phases of Ritual, new shades of Religious thought. It has been found impossible to hold the populations of Europe together, though they derived their social culture from the combined centres of Athens and Rome, and their doctrines and Ritual from Rome alone. How impossible it will be to suppose, that the people of Japan, China, North Asia, India in its largest sense, West Asia, Africa, Oceania, and North America, will not in process of time, under the influence of new environments, make new departures? Prophets and teachers will from century to

century rise up in their midst: there were many points of Theology settled in past centuries by the sword, and they will surely be reopened, as the foundation of the doubts of the so-called heretics lies deep in the hearts of thoughtful men seeking after God's Truth,

Moreover, the whole conception of Christian Worship of the early centuries was affected by the influence and example of the contemporary Worship of the Mysteries of Eleusis, and the cults of Isis, and Mithra. Notably, the Christian Church took over much of the local Worship of Pagan Deities, substituting Saints for Gods; and many terms of the Christian Ritual are borrowed from contemporary Pagan Ritual. Why should not the same phenomena occur again, when the weak Christian Native Churches come into contact with the ancient systematized Brahmanical cult, supported by the influence and wealth of the Hindu Priesthood?

Nor is doctrine safe. To European minds the orthodox view of certain mysteries of the Trinity, and the Incarnation, may hold: those, who disagree with these points, generally throw over Christianity and Dogma altogether: but the Hindu mind is subtil, dreamy, and ingenious, and will be tempted, like Servetus and others, to open out questions settled by force, and chicane, at the Four Councils, and accepted without question by later generations.

More than that: the Hindu has behind him vast libraries of accumulated speculation on the very foundation of Human existence. If any Hindu were to read Origen's "De principiis," he would recognize his own familiar doctrine of transmigration. I could quote many Sanskrit passages to support this doctrine, as the only way to explain the mystery of the suffering of the good, and the great worldly prosperity of the evil. Punishment and Reward come in the next life. None (in Europe) have admitted into the recognized body of their teaching Origen's sublime conception of an infinite stairway of worlds, with its perpetual ascent and descent of Souls, ending at last with the union of all Souls with God; but to the Indian mind this conception is as familiar as pleasing.—Hatch's *Hibbert Lecture*, 1892, p. 237.

In his work on the "Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought," 1885, Professor Goblet d'Alviella, of Brussels, remarks, p. 302: "When the Missionaries begin to teach the "Hindu the infallibility of their Scriptures, the Divinity of "Christ, or the mystery of the Trinity, they either have to "address themselves to the orthodox, who possess analogous "dogmas in their own Theology, and see no reason for "exchanging them for beliefs, which are more unfamiliar to "their race without being more in harmony with their reason;

" or else they have to deal with Rationalists, who, having out-
" grown the traditions of Hinduism by means of free inquiry,
" are anything but disposed to subject themselves to the yoke
" of a new Revelation. Thus, Rajah Rammohun Roy said, that
" after giving up the belief in a plurality of gods or divine persons,
" which is held by several sections of Hinduism, he could not
" conscientiously adopt an analogous system, however purified
" it might be."

Then follows the entanglement of old-world customs. It will take a long time before the Hindu will give up his Caste, and the Chinaman his Ancestral Worship, the precepts of Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the opium-pipe. If these are made conditions precedent to Baptism, it will be an undue limitation of Christian liberty of thought, study, and practice. Our Churches and private dwellings testify to our respect to our Ancestors, at least of those, who have Ancestors whom they care to acknowledge. Commensality and Matrimony are fenced round in Great Britain as well as in India. Many worthy Christians meet in Church, who do not associate at table, or intermarry. As to Caste having any practical effect upon professions, or employments, it is a delusion; you will find Brahmins in every grade of life, as Soldiers, Police, Messengers, Clerks, and Cooks. The Railway, Schools, Hospitals, and Courts, are great levellers: the Christian Church will be open to all, and will apply Moral tests only. The Ritualism and Statuary of the Roman Catholics are mere relapses into Hinduism: the same sculptor supplies statues of the Virgin and Child, and Dévaki and Krishna, with slight decorative variations, to suit the details of the Romish, or Sanskrit, legends.

How did the early Hebrews, scattered in their villages in Palestine, acquire any knowledge of the Law, as conveyed to them in the Pentateuch? Scarcely any could read: there were no synagogues, and no facilities to obtain copies of writings: the Priests were as ignorant as the people. So in the early ages of Christianity there must have been a blind belief, not based on reason and conviction. But in the modern propagation of the Christian idea in India there is the Press, the wide distribution of printed matter to a population, which can read and understand: there is a weekly teaching of young and old: Criticism has to be met; ideas, if entertained, have to be defended; Superstitions can be exposed, immoralities held up to scorn: all the conditions of the problems have been changed, yet not all to the advantage of sound doctrine.

And sometimes the convert is angry with God, because He has called away his loved ones. I remember the case of a pious officer in the Army throwing to the winds his Religious belief on the occasion of the death of his wife and children. We read

of a similar story among the Red Indians of North America: "I was deeply touched to see the tears and sorrow of one poor "squaw, when she saw her husband not remain for the Sacrament, "after being a regular attendant. Nothing would please her, till "she had brought him to me after the Service, and his reason "explained. It was this: death had again visited his happy "circle of children, taking away his oldest and only grown-up "son, causing him to question, why God had dealt so hard with "him. With guidance from above I spoke for some time to him "of the Love of God, to be seen shining through the dark clouds "of affliction even. Glad was I to see him remain the next "time with his wife, and hear him say before the Service, that "'I feel fine now in my Soul, and not heavy.'"

Here is a distinct danger. The Old Testament tells us how long life, abundance of children, success in battle, good seasons, corn and wine, conquest of enemies, were the sure reward of those who trusted in God: if these blessings failed, they had recourse to a more influential or more beneficent Power. The same problem exists now.

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3. Certainty of Progress of Christianity, if it be real.

Hear Mr. W. E. Gladstone, *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1888: "Christianity, in the really Christian sense, is the presentation "to man of not an abstract dogma, but of a Divine and Loving "Person, to whom the Dogma is to be united by a vital in-"corporation: it is the reunion to God of a Nature, severed by "Sin from God; and the process is one, not of teaching lessons, "but of imparting a new life, with its ordained equipment of "Gifts and Power."

A very different Authority, John Williams, the Missionary, who was killed at Erromanga, writes: "Christianity has triumphed, "not by Human Authority, but by its own moral Power, by "the net, which it spreads abroad, by the benevolent spirit, "which it disseminates, for kindness is the key to the Human "heart, whether of the Savage or Civilized man."

An Authority remote from both, Cardinal Wiseman ("Callista," p. 227), writes: "The instinctive notion of Religion is the Soul's response to God, who has taken notice of the Soul: it is either a *living intercourse*, or a mere name."

It is only those, who have studied the stream of History of the Human race, and informed themselves of the principles of the great Religious conceptions before Anno Domini, and those which have come into existence since that great epoch, who can realize the mighty change in the whole frame and

attitude of the mind in respect of Divine Things, which is produced by the conception of a Kingdom of Heaven, or Kingdom of God, a Divine Society; the individuality of the Christian belief in comparison with the nationality of old beliefs, and the universality of the belief in comparison with the ethnic, and geographical, limits of old beliefs; the extreme necessity to all, the exclusion of none, the reasonableness, the simplicity, and the impossibility of Human wit suggesting any other all-sufficient scheme of Salvation.

During the period, which has elapsed betwixt the promulgation of the Gospel by the Apostles, and the present time, the Nations of the world have passed through various stages of Political existence, oscillating from the Tyranny to the Republic, from well-ordered administration to the absence of all control, from peace and prosperity to the awful contrary. During that stage the Human mind has passed and repassed through every stage of intellectual variation, from deep degradation to high enlightenment. The Christian idea, as expressed in the New Testament, after the removal of the Pagan, Jewish, and Mediæval accretions, has remained always the same, in conflict with Human weaknesses, adapting itself to every form of Human culture, prosperity, enlightenment, or the contrary, of Nations, or individuals. For it has in itself the essence of Divine and Human Power; it is able to subdue, in times past and present, all the sad vicissitudes of Human life: like the Rainbow, it, and it alone, can span the awful chaos of Human weaknesses, miseries, and wickedness. Society gradually tends to disintegration: the broken materials are re-formed into a new polity, and remoulded; a new life is breathed into a dead or slumbering Soul.

Let us consider, whether there is any other possible Religious conception but this: we can look onward by the help of accumulated experience, and back with Knowledge. The fire cannot burn out the Christian idea, the water cannot quench it: it may assume other external forms, but the same principle is *there*, for it is implanted in the Human heart to love the Creator and Preserver, and love the fellow-creature: darkness cannot hide it, nor Light impair the brilliancy of the conception of "God with us, Creator, Saviour, Sanctifier": is there anything more that man could ask for, and could he dispense with any portion of what he has received? Can any ancient Book-Religion, or modern benevelent conception, such as the Religion of Humanity, supply its place?

Consider the wonderful patience of the Creator: if we can believe the carefully deduced calculations of the Egyptian, and Mesopotamian, archæologists, based on the discoveries of the traces of the Human hand, the world and the Human race must

have existed upwards of Ten thousand years. He has waited so long to be Gracious: here a little, there a little: He might have made mankind Christian by the mere expression of the Divine volition; but, as in the material world, as in the world of Human thought and Knowledge He allowed time, space, and power, for a gradual development, so in matters relating to the manifestation of His Will in things Spiritual. The Human race must have its childhood, adolescence, and manhood: He speaks to the Universe, and to the Individual: His wheels grind very slowly, but they grind very fine. The Divine Presence at no period of Human existence has been far off God's poor creatures. Infinite Love has ever cared for them: they were as little children holding the hand of an unknown father: if it should stumble, the father would not let it go. Let the young Missionary remember, that the tale of Divine Pity was never yet believed from lips, that were not felt by the listener to be moved by Human Pity.

Hear the following words: "In the realm of Grace conversions "were very seldom sudden; they had usually been prepared for "by long antecedent convictions. It was so with Saul of "Tarsus; but certainly, as with him, there might ultimately "come a point, at which one definitely stepped out of darkness "into light, just as there was a time, when the perfectly ripe fruit "would drop from the tree. God has His own time for sending "down blessings on His work. It took three centuries to "convert the Roman Empire to a numerical Christianity, and "the time might well have seemed long to those, who were "watching and waiting for the event. But man's duties were "altogether apart from God's purposes; and it was clear, that "they must be performed with zealous activity, whether the "blessing were to come or not. For if the Philippians had "not carefully prepared the soil, how were they to profit by the "early and latter rains, when at length they came? Duties were "with men: results were for God, and for Him alone."

What was the advice of Augustine of Hippo in one of his Sermons? "We must first endeavour to break the Idols in their "hearts. When they themselves become Christians, they will "either invite us to the good work of destroying their Idols, "or they will be beforehand with us in doing it. And in the "meanwhile we must pray for them, *not be angry with them.*" —Robertson, "Sketches of Church History," p. 77, S.P.C.K.

The belief in Christ has for 1,900 years lived under a Criticism the most searching and scientific, that ever assailed the History of any event, or any idea conceived by man; yet this Criticism has made the belief more certain, on account of the intrinsic Truth of the story, and the reasonableness of the conception. This is not the case with regard to the tenets of any other

Faith: any Mahometan, who denied the tenets of his Religion, would be made short work of, even if he had the critical apparatus and acumen: it would never occur to a Hindu to raise the fundamental question. Ancient customs persist, although the dominant Religion is changed: the old Roman rural cults may have been contemptible, but they clung to the Christian conception. Still more persistent is the old intellectual tendency of a Nation: the spread of Christianity in the decaying Roman Empire evidences this. Neo-Platonism was strong in Augustine: we may expect the same phenomenon in the new Indian Church. Aristotle may be said to have been the seedplot of the mediæval scholasticism: will not the Indian mind be influenced by its old philosophical Schools, although nominally Christian? The idea of a "new man" Spiritually does not necessarily imply new environment of ideas, new trained habits of argument, new intellectual prejudices, new mental character.

Am I overbold in stating, that the converted Hindu would be right in drawing upon his reservoir of Human Knowledge? the accumulation of the past, of intellects gone before, were not in vain: there is no waste in God's Treasure-House. The Philosophy of the Greek is admitted to have had a Divine function in developing the new doctrines given to the world in Galilee. Paganism is not, as the Missionary says, the work of Satan: as the precious ore, itself Asiatic, gets free of its European mould, it may develop itself into new forms in the Asiatic mould, and still be the Truth. Every good and perfect gift is from above: how can we state, that words actually good, and lives unmistakably holy, are worthless, because they did not harmonize with the conventional surroundings of Jewish and Christian story? The life in Christ, and Faith in Christ, may have been exhibited outside the Christian Church, perhaps even in nobler forms: we only see in part up to the present time. We can see how essentially the Christian Church itself has differed in different countries, and at different Epochs. All cannot have been right, exclusive of other developments.

The Hindu inquirers are essentially at a different standpoint from the Jews at the time of the Apostles: they know absolutely nothing of Old and New Testament; Paul's Epistles can scarcely be intelligible to them, as they are neither Jew, nor Hellenist. Like the Gentile Greek they can only envisage the new doctrine on its merits, and argue it out by the help of the philosophic and political ideas of their own environment.

Sir C. Elliot, Governor of Bangál, seems to go too far in his speech quoted below. Had Lord Ripon, a Roman Catholic, or a free-thinker Governor, allowed himself the same liberty of words, he would have been censured: "I will venture, in a very

" few words, to lay before you the views, which I hold as to the " position of Missionary enterprize in this great Empire. The " point, that I would insist on to-day, is this, that, whether " successful or not, the work of offering Christianity to the " people is one, that ought to be persevered in, since without it " we should fail to utilize one large section of the influence, " which the European ought to have on the Asiatic mind. I " hold, that it is the part of Missions to carry on and complete " the work, which England is placed here by Providence to " effect, and which would be imperfect without them. The " Government of India can do much; if it could not, we, who " are its servants, could not feel the pride and enthusiasm, with " which we serve it; if we did not believe, that it is following " the course which the finger of God has marked out for it, in " this country, we would not serve it at all. The civil and " military Government can do much: it can ensure internal " peace and security of life and property; it can provide good " Laws, and good Courts to administer them; it can remove " many hindrances in the way of material progress, and to a " great extent can protect the country from famine; it can " give opportunities for honour and distinction to the worthiest " of our Native fellow-subjects; it can bestow Education on the " masses; and can even offer, with a doubtful and hesitating " hand, a maimed and cold code of Morals. But it can go no " further, and there its influence stops. Consider for a moment " what a vast hiatus this stoppage implies. Government cannot " bestow on the people that, which gives to life its colour, and " to love of Duty its noblest incentive: it cannot offer the " highest Morality, fortified by the example of the Divinely " perfect Life. It is here that the Missionary steps in to " supplement the work of the Official. If we look back on our " own life and consider what a difference it would have made " to us, if those influences, which surrounded our childhood and " moulded our character, had been removed, we shall easily " see how important a supplement that is. And it is for this " reason, that I make bold to say that, if Missions did not exist, " it would be our duty to invent them. This is what was said " by the famous men, who built up the administration of the " Panjáb, and who, when it was annexed in 1849, among their " first requirements, along with courts, and codes, and roads, " and police, wrote home to the Church Missionary Society " for a supply of Missionaries. But we are not now in their " position. Missionaries do exist: nay more, they progress " and prosper; they are numbered now by thousands, and their " converts by hundreds of thousands. All that is left for us to " do is to aid and support them with our money, with our " friendly counsel, and sympathy, and co-operation.

" I go further, and say that I gladly support this School on " the ground, that it teaches Religion, and the Christian " Religion. By my position I am bound to be impartial " towards the Creed of all Her Majesty's Subjects, and I can " favour none. But were I the most philosophic unbeliever, I " should still as a Government Officer rejoice in seeing a pure " Religion taught. For History teaches us, that after the " abandonment of one Religion, if no other is adopted, or if " at any period the men, who are the most educated and the " leaders of thought in a State, practically abandon all Faith, the " result is blind degradation and crime. It is a source of great " anxiety to the thinking men, and I know it is to the most " thoughtful and cultured of the races of this country, who " have been forced to disbelieve in their ancestral Religion, that " so many of the educated in India should be believers in no " Religion at all. Some of the best of them in Sindh, " recognizing this, have with infinite trouble and self-denial, " and at great personal expense, started a school, where Religion " is taught, and a belief inculcated in a God, who loves mankind " and hates sin. All honour to them. The School is largely " attended, and its influence is, I know, for the very best. But " I am bound to say, that so far as I read History the experiment " will ultimately fail. All earnest-thinking men, like my friends " at Hyderabad, have the fullest sympathy of us Christians, but " on an occasion like this, at a professedly Christian School, " I cannot but express the pleasure of myself and other " Christians, that this School not only teaches secular Education, " but teaches the Morality of the Bible as well, and also teaches " the Christian Religion."

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4. Agencies and Methods at Work.

In casting my eyes forward into the Twentieth century, I cannot but reflect on this branch of the subject: I have written so much about it elsewhere, that I can be brief. The whole subject of the supply, training, and control of the Agents, and the controlling authority in the Parent Country of the Mission, ought to be considered by a Council of experts, and not left to haphazard as it is now. An earthly Kingdom could not be supported by an army recruited, trained, and controlled, in such a manner. The whole system of the Platform requires reform; the occupiers of the Pulpit should be better instructed. And those, who are sent out from Europe and America must recollect that, if they love the Lord, and wish to build up

a Church, which is to last, they must be ready to give way to their Native brethren. I know, that this policy is distasteful to busybody Secretaries of Home-committees, and the Chauvinist section of the supporters.

Hear what Mr. Lefroy, of Dehlí, says, in 1895: "At the same "time, I do think, that we can see one good, and that not "a little one, which God is bringing out of the evil: it is "causing us, in the absence of English aid, to turn our thoughts "more to the possibility of being reinforced by young Native "fellow-workers; it is making us more ready to appreciate "them adequately and more anxious to secure them, and remove "any misunderstandings or undue inequalities of position, which "would tend to check in a wrong way, a possible supply. "That the ultimate Evangelization of the country must be done "through their means, is a truism we are all ready to recognize; "but perhaps we have been too slow to give it practical weight "in determining our attitude towards them, and to show our "hearty appreciation of their help. There are in any case "plenty of difficulties in the way, and difficulties not *only* on "our side; and I do not in the least want to see them ignored, "or undue haste shown in moving in this direction, however "desirable it may be to keep in view the end, which I have "indicated. We ought, I think, to be more, rather than less, "careful to scrutinize thoroughly the character, abilities, and "motives of all, who offer for this high work. Better one good "man than fifty inferior ones. But, given the good one, we "ought to be very careful, more so than I fear in too many cases "we are, to show our true appreciation of him, and give him "a really satisfactory position."

I quote from the Liverpool Missionary Conference, 1860, p. 312: "A Missionary in commencing the organization of a "Church naturally begins with the system, which he and his "supporters at home conscientiously follow; but let him not "think, that *this is the only possible system*, under which Souls "can be saved: let him apply it to a new country and a new "people with considerable latitude, retaining only the essential "features, getting rid of mere technicalities, and those *historical* "elements which all systems, Political and Religious, absorb "into themselves in the course of years." Oh! that we were wise, and considered these words!

Hear a cry from Yáriba-land, in West Africa, 1892: "It is "now, I think, some twenty years since Mr. Hinderer finally "left Ibádan, and since that time the work has been practically "in the hands of a Native Pastor, together with Native "Catechists and teachers, and I think the work would do credit "to any body of men. The work here is also, I think, a "remarkable instance of what God can do in the course of a few

" years, through the feeble instrumentality of one man and " woman. When Mr. Hinderer entered Ibádan in the year " 1852 there was not, I suppose, one Christian amongst the " whole mass of 100,000 or 150,000 heathen inhabitants, " whereas now there is a Church of some 500 baptized members, " which until last year was under the superintendence of " a Pastor, who was formerly received by Mr. Hinderer as a " heathen boy at Abeokúta, and was, I believe, altogether " trained by him ; while two of the four Catechists in the work " here were also received by Mr. Hinderer as Heathen boys " from their parents at Ibádan, and were, I believe, almost " entirely trained and educated by himself and Mrs. Hinderer, " This may not perhaps seem very great progress to some, but " to those, who know anything of the reluctance to leave deep- " rooted Superstition and Idolatry, it will appear nothing less " than a Miracle of Grace, more remarkable, perhaps, than many " others, for which we have to thank and praise God. But on " the other hand, when we look at these 500 Christians as the " result of some forty years' work, and compare them with the " 100,000 or more Heathen inhabitants, are we not constrained " to ask, ' What are they among so many ?' or when are the " 2,000,000 Heathen computed to exist in the Yáriba country " going to be evangelized at this rate? In answer to these " questions, I would only say that the matter is with God."

No doubt it was slow work in the time of Paul, but he made use of the material, which the Lord provided in each country, which he visited.

It is recorded, that a Scholar in his old age regretted, that he had not devoted his life to the study of the Dative Case. This is but a miserable sample of the narrowing of the Ecclesiastical vision to one, the Western European, aspect of the Christian doctrine and practice. It is a distorted view of the Divine Plan of the Evangelization of the whole world, to suppose, that we must act upon the lines adopted by the Greek, or the Roman, or the Anglican, Churches, however suitable they may be to their own Province and nationality. The Word of God is not bound : the Gospel of Galilee is not limited to one only funnel of communication from Apostolic times.

Green, in his "English People," No. 14, p. 618, writes: " Erasmus desired to set Christ Himself in the place that Tra- " dition called the Church : he strove to recall men from the " teaching of the Schoolmen to the teaching of Christ. The " Gospel brought vividly home to the readers the personal " impressions of Christ Himself: all the Superstitions of " mediæval Worship fade away in the bright light of the " personal Worship of Christ. Where so many have failed, " Luther and Calvin failed : they drove out the errors of Rome,

"and tried to replace them by another Human system of "doctrine just as elaborate, just as rigid, and equally claiming "to be infallible and intolerant." The word "Church" in its multiform meaning has become a snare in Europe: what must it be, if forced on the Asiatic and African?

In his Bampton Lecture, 1843, Dr. A. Grant gives us the idea of his Epoch on the Mission-question. The date is interesting to me, as in 1844 Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta gave me my first lesson on the subject: we have indeed advanced since that time: he makes remarks, which no one could possibly make now, and quotes secular books now forgotten. Such will be the fate in 1950 A.D. of most of the books of our Epoch. It is a comfort to think, that Dr. Grant had grasped the central facts of the Duty imposed on all of us, and the Power promised to enable us to discharge that Duty; but he was unable to disentangle himself from the idea, that the Anglican Church, as established by Parliament, and that corporate body alone, was entitled to discharge the Duty of the English Nation, or could expect that the Divine aid would be granted. He excludes from his visible Church the Greek and Roman bodies, and our Nonconformist Christian fellow-subjects. In a worldwide problem he would restrict the work to the Anglican Church in its corporate capacity, not allowing the S.P.G. or any other Association, to exist. The History of the Past had had no lesson for him: he either did not see, or did not comprehend, his own environment: he was not qualified to give advice, because he did not understand the conditions of the problem.

One passage is worthy of quotation: "We have found by "experience, that Christianity has no local boundary, is shut "in by no peculiarity of climate, or Civil prerogative, but has "a plastic Power, which can adapt itself to all races: it draws "to itself all that is good in Human Nature, all the lingering "principles of Truth, on which Error has been based, and "represents that Unity, which still lives at the bottom of all "diversities of Religion. It demands not Civilization as a con-"comitant; it is not limited by prescribed forms of civilized "life, for it can appropriate to itself all that is good in men, "and correct what is not good." Dr. Grant was unfamiliar with the Sacred Books of the Ancient Religions, and the new conceptions, that were coming into existence, and knew not, that Mr. F. Harrison, Apostle of the Religion of Humanity, would entirely accept the above quotation, as descriptive of his own conception; and so would many others.

History often repeats itself: similar environments produce similar phenomena: Cyprian of Carthage was not converted till he was fifty years of age; Tertullian of Carthage was not converted till he had arrived at manhood; Augustine of Hippo

was the son of a truly Christian Mother, and yet he passed the flower of his youth in gross immorality, and embraced both Manichæism and neo-Platonism before he found Christ.

Dr. Handley Moule thus describes Augustine: "For seven-"teen years from his entering Carthage until his conversion "at Milan at the age of thirty-three, the conflicting currents "of the speculative thought of his time drew Augustine hither "and thither, always thinking, always seeking, often with "profound insight, always conscious of unrest. Who could "wonder that he wandered morally as well as mentally? The "professing Christendom of our own day is far from stainless "as to the grosser forms of sin; and what would the moral "atmosphere be in the Roman Africa of the fourth century, "in the singularly dissolute Roman Carthage? We heard with "shame, distress, and surprise, that Augustine had a son born "to him, that should not have been born, when he was but "eighteen."

The phenomena of the early centuries in North Africa may repeat themselves in Asia; or, perhaps, studying in one of the State-Colleges in British India is a lad, reserved to make a mark in the Christian Church of India.

"Non sine Diis animosus infans."

Sanctified like Jeremiah to be a Prophet unto his Nation, he will be learned in all the accumulated Wisdom of his Hindu forefathers, their wealth of Ritual, dialectics, Philosophy, and Poetry; their feeling after God during the course of many centuries, if haply they could find Him; their tangled maze of Divine Incarnations to save mankind; their mystical Triad, their doctrine of Judgment after death, and Salvation by the power of a Saviour through the great instrument of Bhakti, or Faith; their sense of the great delusion, or Maya, which obscured all Human affairs; their mystery of Metempsychosis, or Second Birth; their aspirations after Holiness; their dream of a remote and dim Future, when all would be absorbed in one great essence.

By the aid of those excellent Missionary Associations, who send out qualified men to grapple with the educated classes, as they leave the State-Colleges, this coming man will have studied the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in their original Languages, and made them his own; and have compared with the originals the Translations into five or six Vernaculars of British India, spoken by Millions, and into Sanskrit itself: he would not in his studies have made use of the spectacles of European mediæval prescription, but he would have absorbed into his intellect and conscience the *ipsissima verba* of Him, who spake like no other man; and he would have pored over the wise, though Human, utterances of Paul, who knew nothing

personally of his Master's earthly pilgrimage, and of John the beloved, who accompanied Him from Jordan to the Cross, and Mount Olivet.

Reading a passage of the Scriptures in several Languages is more helpful to arrive at the real meaning of the writer than such commentaries as that of the good Bishop Wordsworth, of Lincoln, and that known by the name of the Speaker of the House of Commons: it may be assumed, that the translators are truthful and well acquainted with the powers of the Language which they handle; and each form of speech, if deftly handled, gives back a true representation of the thought conveyed in its own vocables, and according to the Laws of its own structure. It is a wondrous and instructive pleasure thus to carry a portion of the Scriptures through six Asiatic Languages, the Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi, and Urdu, of the Arian Family, and the Hebrew and Arabic, of the Semitic, and then through eight European Languages, the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, and German. India is essentially a Polyglot country.

This youth will have heard nothing of all the folly and wickedness of the Roman Church from Damasus to Leo X, and would wipe gently off the slate of History, in sympathy and pity, all the inconsistencies of German, Anglican, and Swiss Reformers, who could not get clear of the meshes of past ages, and who knew nothing of the world beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, and its Teutonic Colonies. The world is now opened geographically, intellectually, and spiritually, and we know, that there were great men, through whose mouths a Power beyond that of men had spoken in sundry times and divers manners before Moses. The Father of Mankind did not forget any of His poor children during those dreary centuries: He would not, that anyone should perish, for He so loved the world, the whole world, that in the Fulness of Time He gave His Son to redeem them. Paul unmistakably felt this in his addresses at Athens and Lystra; but for him Buddha, and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Zoroaster, and Socrates, and Plato, had lived, and given forth their immortal utterances, in vain, and had added nothing to his sum of Human Knowledge, which was that of a Pharisee, and a Pharisee only.

But the youth, whom we figure to our eye as holding the great fort of Divine and Human Knowledge in the Twentieth century, will, in his armed intellectual strength, based on Oriental as well as Occidental Knowledge, have passed beyond the miserable limitations of the Schools of the Asiatic and European Brahmins; will have marked how the great lines of Spiritual Thought, after wandering through those ages, had converged and settled in the Christian conception, as given in

the Gospels, and illustrated in the Epistles. Unassisted Human Wisdom could create nothing equal, or desire anything better than what was there propounded. To his enlightened vision the resemblance will be evident, though historically and intellectually entirely independent, betwixt the Tablets of Asóka, the Noble Way of Buddha, the precepts of Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the Sermon on the Mount, inasmuch as they are all based on Altruism as opposed to Egoism, and on unbounded Love to our fellow-creatures, and to the Creator no longer unknown.

So also I speak with reverence, and with bare feet standing on holy ground, he will ask whether, and why, his own great race, counting by millions, were left since the earliest centuries out of touch with their Creator, Who hated nothing that He had made. He will find a new meaning in the celebrated Hindu book, the "Ocean of Love," or Prema Ságara, when he identifies the word with the Greek word Ἀγάπη of Paul, and the "Ocean of Love" of Kabir. He will cease to wonder at the Sanskrit myth of the Avatára, or Incarnation, of the Supreme Deity, Krishna, becoming the object of Love to thousands, while each individual imagined, that he or she was the sole beloved of the Deity. In the wonderful Bhakti, or Faith, which was felt to that person of the Triad called the Preserver, he will realize the meaning given by Paul to Πίστις, Faith in One Who could save beyond the grave.

He, a Hindu, could proudly look back to countless centuries, during which he had remained the same even to this day. More than a thousand years ago pious Chinese Buddhists crossed the frontier to visit India, and collect documents connected with Buddha: even then the Hindu conception had given off a branch, which developed into Buddhism, the most numerous in the world, while the Hindu Temples and Worship remained unchanged. Centuries later Islam had invaded India, and held it in subjection for centuries, but there was no change of the great Hindu conception, into the folds of which thousands of the non-Arian Pagans annually enter voluntarily, as a great step up in the world of culture and Civilization. Can it be, he would ask himself, that this mighty phenomenon of a Religious conception, lasting thousands of years, came into existence without the Divine Will and Permission? He finds in History, that the conceptions of Zoroaster and Kong-Fu-Tsee go back to the same remote period, and are still alive. But he hears, that the ancient Egyptian conception, with its Isis and Osiris, had disappeared two thousand years ago, and its Sacred Books had vanished from Human handling, and contact with Human intellect. He hears that the ancient conceptions of Mesopotamia had also totally disappeared under the soil, while the great Brahmanical conception, strengthened rather than weakened by its sects, still

numbered two hundred millions. He reads the burning lines in the Bhágavad Gita, in which Krishna reveals to Arjuna great mysteries in majestic and harmonious verse. He ponders over the contents of the wondrous Ramáyana, which tells of a Prince, who abandoned a throne to please his Father, and enable him to keep his oath; who went into the wilderness alone, except with his faithful wife, to contend against the enemies of the Human race, and save mankind. He reads in the famous passage in that magnificent Epic, the rival of the Iliad and Æneid, of the crowning offence, that led to the destruction of the enemy of mankind, the rape of that faithful wife, while her husband was absent: all Nature stood aghast: the denizens of Heaven shed tears: *the great evil was being wrought*. A darkness overspread the heavens and the earth: it was the short-lived triumph of evil over good. Even Brahma, the great Creator, raised himself on his throne, and exclaimed solemnly, "Fate is now working." It must needs be, that the offence should come, that the Salvation of man should be wrought: but the Universe trembled at the outrage, though they admitted the necessity of the Sacrifice. (Cust's "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," First Series, p. 95, 1880.) The Divine Incarnation is described as pure, holy, chaste, with the great gift of self-Sacrifice in the cause of Duty; and year by year the great story is enacted, as an undying pageant, in every large Indian town, amidst smiling and weeping crowds.

All these wonderful Sacred Books and Sacred Poems have survived the wreck of ages, and are available to us in our own Language, and to the educated classes of India in their Vernaculars: they are dimly known now, but in the Twentieth century, an Epoch of enlightenment, and Education, Public Press, and meeting together of Nations, they will be taught in the Schools, and talked over in the market-place: it cannot be but that a new Socrates, a new Paul, a new Hypatia, will appear, and the humble and impartial observer will recognize the presence of God in all the ages, at some periods unseen, at others only dimly seen, or seen through false Human intellectual lenses, but in these last days seen through His Son, when the great Plan of Universal Salvation was worked out.

What will be his opinion of the Agents sent from Europe to convert Oriental Nations? The reply is given in a small pamphlet sent to me by post, with no name of Author: "Does "the Church of Christ sufficiently realize, that this is one of the "main hindrances to the spread of Christianity in all parts of "the world? We have our great Missionary Societies, which "are only necessary, because there is such a large proportion "of its members, who are Christians only in name. The more "need there is for Missionary Societies, the more shame to the

" Church: for her sons are going forth by the thousand con-
" tinually to all parts of the earth to fill various positions, but
" chiefly for purposes of trade; and if but a tithe of them were
" consecrated to the Service of Christ, the need of Missionary
" Societies would speedily disappear. Let every young man, who
" goes forth to engage in Commerce, be impressed with the
" fact, that his whole conduct will either greatly help, or greatly
" hinder, the cause of Christ. Pious merchants are wanted far
" more than pious Missionaries. *The adaptation of Christian*
" *teaching to common life, the exemplification of Christian virtues*
" *in common duties, is the greatest need.* The man, whose daily
" necessities are supplied by a Society, does not share the trials
" and the difficulties of the people, whom he seeks to benefit.
" The man, who comes amongst them for a few years of studious
" and perhaps celibate life, is a being, with whom the majority
" have next to nothing in common. His sympathy, and kindness,
" and patience, and self-denial may win the admiration of many,
" and the hearts of some; but, nevertheless, he is a man apart,
" he really shares neither their sorrows nor their joys. What
" strikes them most forcibly perhaps is, that he lives by his
" Religion without agriculture and without trade; and it seems
" to them an easy livelihood, and they would like to adopt it.
" His Religion is his Business; his talk about God and Heaven,
" about Christ and Salvation, about the Book, which he always
" carries with him, is all Business; Business, which has not to
" contend with competition, and which flourishes whether there
" are few or many customers, and which makes no bad debts.
" It is not possible for his hearers to become like him, because,
" if they do adopt his Religion, the Society, which maintains
" him, will not maintain them; nay, they are told, that it is
" their duty to give of their substance to the Society, which has
" so kindly sent them a Teacher of the true Religion. The
" wonder is, that under such conditions, so many genuine con-
" versions result; but the preaching of Christ Crucified is the
" Power of God unto Salvation to everyone that believeth, and
" its power overcomes even the greatest obstacles."

In a sermon on "The Religious Outlook in India," delivered in the London Road Wesleyan Chapel, Derby, 1895, by Chowry Muthu, M.D., occurs the following passage: "You are pursuing
" a wrong policy, if you think you can found a Western
" Christianity on Indian soil. India does not want your Creeds,
" your Theologies, your sectarian differences, your denomina-
" tional prejudices. I say, keep them at home. Do you not
" see the Wisdom of this? Why do you quarrel in a battle-
" field? Is this right? Is Christ divided? The Missionary
" Societies have made a great mistake in taking sectarian and
" denominational differences, and planting them in a new soil

" like India. It is one of the greatest stumbling-blocks to the " progress of Christianity there. If you want to impress the " beauty, the grandeur, of your Religion upon the Brahmos and " other seekers after Truth, if you would infuse new life and " energy into the timid disciples of Jesus Christ, if you would " strengthen and develop the tone of the Indian Churches in " India, you must close up your ranks, unite your forces, and " present a united front before the enemy. While you are " teaching your denominational peculiarities, men are seeking " after Christ in vain. By your party spirit, by your narrow- " minded policy, you have done enough mischief. What is " wanted is a National Indian Church, bringing together " Christians of all denominations into common fellowship, and " thus showing to the Hindu, that they are children of one God " and Father. Missionary Societies should be wide awake, and " understand the signs of the times."

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5. (*a*) Gradual dying out of Animistic conceptions in Races of Low culture, and of the Ancient Book-Religions.

(*b*) Substitution of New Forms of Religious conceptions in Races of Higher culture, Moral, Spiritual, but non-Christian.

The late Archbishop of York, Dr. Thomson, remarked, in a great Meeting in London, that what he feared for the Future was, that through the want of Christian diligence we should see new Religious conceptions taking the place of the old ones, which had had their day, and would not stand the electric light of modern Civilization and intellectual expansion. I have long feared this also.

In my Lecture on "The Religions of the Ancient World," Part III, page 342, I set out the details of the First class alluded to. In the seventh century of the Christian era one new Religious conception came into existence, and assumed a wide expansion, in some places uprooting Christianity: this is the Religion of Islam, or Mahometan, represented by fifty Millions in British India alone, Monotheistic, Propagandist, free from Ritual, with only one Sacred Book, a holograph written by one man, with no subsequent accretions, in a Language, still one of the most magnificent and widespread in the world, with a vast Religious Literature.

In my Essay on "Clouds on the Horizon, or the Various

" Forms of Religious Error, which stand in the way of the " acceptance of the Christian Faith by the Nations of Asia, " Africa, America, and Oceania," I give the details of the Second class, and I enumerate them here in order, that the Reader may appreciate the extreme gravity of the position.

I. Old systems purified, refined, and adapted to the environment of a Civilized society, and spread of Education.

Theist
(1) Neo-Islam.
(2) Neo-Judaism.
(3) Neo-Hinduism, Jain, Sikh, Satnámi, Aria-Somáj.
(4) Neo-Zoroastrianism.

Atheist
(5) Neo-Buddhism.
(6) Neo-Confucianism.

II. Modern conceptions formed from the blending of the old systems with Christian doctrine, either consciously or unconsciously.

(1) Brahmoism { Adi-Somáj / Brahmo-Somáj.
(2) Theosophy.
(3) Hau Hau, Te Whiti, Te Kooti, of New Zealand.
(4) Mormonism.
(5) Positivism or Comtism, or the Religion of Humanity.
(6) Christian Buddhism.
(7) Scepticism, or Agnosticism.
(8) Unitarianism.

At a Diocesan Meeting in 1894, Archdeacon Mitchell, who had long experience in India, remarked: "Since he had " been in England, he had found, that many people imagined, " that Religion was a thing very little thought of in India. No " greater mistake than this could be made. The Indian was by " his very nature exceedingly Religious. He did not mean to " say, that their thoughts of Religion bred anything of Morality, " because they knew, that even in a Christian country Morality " and Religion were divorced, and so it was in India. The " Religious Hindu did not very often conform to their notions " of Morality, nor did they very often reach what could be " called Religious thought. Of course, the elaboration of " any Religious system needed thought, but in Religions after " a time there became a state of stagnation; Religious thought " became dormant until it was raised again by some mysterious " circumstances. Now this was exactly what had happened in " India. Fifty years ago the great waves of Hinduism had " passed away, and there was no special thought of raising it,

" until there came the influx of Western ideas. But at the " present day it could not be said, that Religious thought was " dormant amongst the thinking classes of India. On the " contrary, it was extremely active, and the present was a time " of great unrest. India felt the great change, which was coming " over her, and more especially felt the great change, which had " taken place during the past few years. Men's opinions were " undecided, and they did not know which way to turn. Many " things presented themselves to their minds, and they were not " able to choose; therefore the position of Missions in India " was of the utmost importance. He could not but think, that " God had sent them into the country, not to enrich themselves, " but to direct the Religious thought of the people. Therefore " he thought the responsibility resting upon all of them was of " the greatest."

That there is a Movement about to take place in the minds of men, is asserted by a Missionary Periodical not in the least of a sensational character: "It is said, that we are on the eve " of, that is to say, we are within a few years of, the rising of " a great wave of Native feeling. This is said not by one nor " by two, but by many. Five years ago the Bishop of Calcutta " told the Society, that India is the land, where the future of " Mahometanism as well as Hinduism will be settled; and that the " Hindu themselves know, that Christianity must have much to " do with the Future of their country. He added, that the time is " coming, when there will be a great breaking up of the Native " Religions, and that then the Christian opportunity will come. " Nor is it only Bishops, or Missionary priests, swayed by de- " votion to their work, who thus speak. An ex-Governor-General, " of calm and penetrating judgment, Lord Northbrook, at the " Society's Meeting at Winchester considered that he had " reason to justify him in making a very similar forecast. And " he went a step or two further. For he claimed to be only " expressing the opinion entertained by some of the wisest and " best men in India, when he said that he believed, that a time " was coming when, in God's Providence, there would be a " great wave of Christianity extending over the whole of the " Hindu Community. And he went on to speak of the way, in " which he expected it to come about. Lord Northbrook does " not believe, that the wave of Christianity will come actually " and directly from the preaching of the English Missionaries, " but he believes, that it will come from the Hindu themselves, " led by some able, eloquent, and earnest Christian Hindu. " No mere increase of the rate of conversions is what is antici- " pated. It is not merely that, where a Missionary has baptized " ten persons in a year he may have a hundred to baptize in " twelve months. It is something more than that. There is

" a mass of opinion, of curiosity, of desire, of thought, working, " yearning, inquiring, hoping. If this be a true forecast, how " tremendously important is the preparation for the wave!"

It does not, however, follow, that the Movement will be in favour of an alien Religious conception and practice imported from the West, clothed in the garments of European mediæval construction. It must be something fresh from the Sermon on the Mount in Galilee, and the Cross at Jerusalem, undefiled by the corruption of ignorant European centuries.

From the intellectual point of view of the Nineteenth century it is clearly recognized, that the Pagan Deities were, and are, nothing but the airy creations of the fancies and fears of the Persians, the Indians, the Greeks, and the Romans, in their barbarous state. We gather, however, from Paul's Epistles, that the neo-Christians of his time still thought, that, though not objects of Worship, still they were something, Demons, or Spirits, or Powers invisible. Down to the time of St. Martin de Tours, in the Fourth century A.D., this delusion obtained: we read in the chronicles of his friend Sulpicius Severus (Dial., ii, 13): "He drove the ancient gods from their temples, and they clung to them": these poor gods had become demons, and, when driven from their temples, entered into the bodies of maniacs. St. Martin hunted them down, abused them, and made them recognize their own weakness. Mercury gave him more trouble to conquer than Jupiter, who was a slothful brute: "Jovem brutum atque hebetem esse dicebat."

Now, in India, in the midst of the ancient Hindu gods, neither neo-Christians, nor the educated Community, believe that Vishnu, or Siva, were ever anything but the creation of the brain. In fact, Intellect and Common-sense have advanced, and no doubt Buddha cleared the way. Still, for a long period after conversion, a Hindu neo-Christian will still have a fear come over him, when he passes by an Idol, though he knows that it is only wood and stone, which he can upset and break: the neo-Mahometan will still shudder at the idea of killing animals, except in the old orthodox way, accompanied by a prayer: blood will be an object of aversion to both. The European Christian looks on these weaknesses with pitiless surprise; but, if we turn to Acts, xv, 20, we find, that the same process had to be gone through, in the process of the enfranchisement of the Human intellect from foolish, empty forms in the name of Religion.

6. Enlarged Capacity of Non-Christian Races to understand a Religious conception, which affects their Morals in this Life, and their Souls hereafter.

We must not judge people harshly, because they do not at once accept the Message of the Missionary. I should not believe their sincerity; if they did: it is very difficult to burst the hard rind of the material and intellectual environment. It was only very gradually, that the mighty fact grew on the Disciples in Galilee, that their friend and Teacher was the Lord of all, the Divine Wisdom of the Proverbs, the Λόγος of the Fourth Evangelist. Paul, as far as we are informed, had never seen the Lord in His earthly Pilgrimage, or during His Passion; but he had seen the Risen Lord, and appreciated the Message at once; he had no stages of hesitation to pass through.

Bishop Patteson of Melanesia remarks ("Life," i, 340): "We "have not to contend with subtle and highly elaborated "systems of false Religions. In some of the islands it is the "'Ignorantia purae negationis'; yet generally there is a settled "system of some kind." It is a fatal error to suppose the European aspect of the Christian social life necessarily adapted to such races as these: it is entirely repugnant.

Sir Bartle Frere, in his "Indian Missions," p. 68, 1872, gives a picture of the working of opinion: "In every village will be "found some men of naturally devout minds, ill content with "what their ancestral system offers them: their hearts have "been stirred by misfortune and suffering; their consciences "have been awakened, they scarcely know how. They have "vainly sought rest for their Souls by penances, pilgrimages, "and Sacrifices of what they love and value. In this state of "feeling, they hear a word of our Lord, or a wise remark of "Paul, which seems to promise them what they seek." This is the first stirring of the waters, and the birth of a new idea.

The intense Ignorance of the people used to give an additional piquancy: we are carried back to the Epoch of the Exodus, when to the Hebrews the discovery by Copernicus of the rotation of the globe was unknown, and the Sun and Moon, and Heavenly Host, were supposed to exist to be of use to man: not only were they in such matters ignorant fools, but they were ignorant of their own Ignorance, and therefore doubly fools: but all this has passed away. The man, who comes as a Teacher, must himself have been well-taught. Already there is general upheaval among the people: in India the helots and outcastes feel, that they can no longer allow themselves to be domineered over, or treated as a polluted class. Old conservatives may shake their heads, but they will have a battle to fight with their children, and the generations

yet to be born. Still more striking is the effect of the Epoch on the classes, who attend the State places of Education, and who read the Native Papers and Books from Europe.

When we carefully read Deuteronomy, we recognize, that there was a copy of the Law in the charge of the Priests, and that portions were read out at intervals; but how could the general public keep themselves informed? The unlearned classes in those early days were utterly without the means of searching the Scriptures: we know in what form the Gospels were presented for centuries after the Christian era: uncial characters, words running into each other, no punctuation; copies not to be had without difficulty; the humbler classes unable to read, or understand unless taught carefully: no School-books, Text-books, Scripture-helps. Add to this, Superstitions, misconceptions of natural phenomena, no guarantee of life or liberty, no certainty of escape from the Intolerance of the Ruler or of the populace; nothing on their side but Divine Grace.

How different now is the British Indian Empire? Tolerance, Protection, sympathetic Rulers, places of Worship, Schools, copies of the Scriptures, Books of Devotion, manuals of Religious Teaching, in each vernacular Language; Pastors, Teachers, friendly advisers; the right of private judgment. This wonderful freedom must generate difference of opinion on Divine Truths, and Human observances, on correctness of Translations, and interpretation, on the Person of Christ, on the genuineness and structure of Scripture, on Eschatology, on the Laws of Marriage, on the disposal of the dead, on observance of holidays, and, in fact, on every detail of Human life.

If the Missionary be wise, he will anticipate the misstatements by good yet ignorant men of the Criticism of the New School, and the assaults of the infidel, by teaching what the Old Testament in its material form really is: *not one Book, but a Library of Books*, the earliest of which may have been *committed to writing* 800 B.C., and the latest 200 B.C., compiled or written by different authors, the names of some of whom are unknown, in two Languages, Hebrew and Syriac: he will point out that the writers were most certainly inspired, but that that word should not be applied to the Books themselves; that the Word of God is contained in those Books, but that in their collective form, they cannot with any degree of accuracy, be called the Word of God.

The Hindu and Mahometan each claim for their Sacred Books, that they were actually written by their Divinity, are in very deed the Word of God, are free from all Human error in transcription, and embrace all possible Human Knowledge. Nothing of this kind is claimed for the Old Testament: it is a priceless treasure in earthen vessels, liable to all the incidents

of transcription, the tricks of the Editor, and the snare of the interpolator and corrector. It is possible that before the introduction of Alphabetic writing, which cannot as yet be traced back to a date earlier than that of Ahab, King of Israel, portions may have been transmitted orally from generation to generation. We believe, *ex animo*, that they are truthful, and were written by Holy men. The pious Hindu knows that their own wonderful Books were transmitted orally from the mouth of Fathers to Sons for many generations, until Alphabetic writing found its way to India from West Asia; that there are in their midst men, who, out of pure Love and Holy reverence, can repeat with accuracy the Texts of ancient volumes. The pious Mahometan knows, that amongst them are scores in old age and middle life, who can repeat the whole Korán from memory, though this book was written in an advanced Literary age, and committed to writing by the hand of Mahomet himself.

The educated Indian knows well that those, who repeat the Sacred Hindu and Mahometan Books from memory, do not understand the meaning of a single word: and they know, that those of their countrymen, who listen to the Latin prayers of the Romish Priests, are in the same intellectual position. If they do not know it, they may accept the fact, that the Sacred Books of all four Religious conceptions, the Brahmanical, Jewish, Christian, and Mahometan (I place them in chronological order) have come down to us in the same wonderful Phenician Alphabetic system, and that no manuscript of the Hindu or Jewish Books has survived of an earlier date than that of the English Heptarchy.

The Rev. S. John estimates, that there are five or six thousand *English-speaking Hindu* in Madras, and it is among these that his work lies. He thus describes the attitude of their minds towards Religion: "It is a stern fact, beyond all disputation, "that the mind of the educated Hindu, not unlike the dove of "Noah's ark, finds no rest whatever in any system of Religion. "They are going through all phases of thought: Atheism, "Materialism, Scepticism, Theosophy, etc. With some Hindu, "Rationalism and Utilitarianism form the only *criteria* for "judging the excellency of any Religion. Hence the *why* and "the *wherefore* are asked for every Biblical statement. Faith "should form no part of Religion; Reason alone should be "enthroned, and all the dogmas, teachings, and precepts should "be tested by Reason. Also, if any Religion is to be accepted, "it must necessarily be productive of substantial good to the "recipient. The good or benefit looked for is one of a material, "and not a Spiritual, character."

Mr. Wood relates the following conversation regarding the Future state, which was held in one village, some ten miles from

Mamboia, between a Native Christian and an exceptionally intelligent chief: "I began by asking him regarding the Future "state, and his belief concerning it, if any. He said that as far "as he knew he would be eaten by hyæna. (The Wa-Humba do "not bury, but leave their dead in a forest in an upright position, "fastened to a tree, to be taken away by hyæna or eaten by "birds of prey.) Mugimbwa told him about the Future life and "our teaching concerning it and the Resurrection of the body. "Sekanána replied: 'The idea of you, a young lad only born "yesterday, telling me such a thing: look at my grey hairs, and "then can you think I should believe it? Don't mention it.' "Mugimbwa spoke about the seed-grain dying, yet rising again, "the same but new. Sekanána replied: 'Yes, the parable is "fine; but it won't do. The life is in the seed, and, when put "into the damp ground, begins to swell and grow; but dead "men, or blood once spilt, or life once out of the body, cannot "be restored.' Mugimbwa then spoke about the mystery of "regeneration as showing wonderful power, meaning thereby, "that the same power could cause the body to live again as "once caused it to be formed; but Sekanána at once said the "same thing would hold good regarding oxen, hens, serpents, "etc. Mr. Wood then said a few words regarding the belief in "the Omnipotence of God. He replied: 'If God be almighty, "of course this thing would not conquer Him.'"

Another time, when a festival in honour of the goddess Rajin was to be observed for several days at a tank some twenty-five miles from Srínagar, the Principal of a Mission-School went with his pupils: "All present, many hundreds who were gathered "round this tank and its golden umbrella, fell down and "worshipped the goddess, who was supposed to be under the "golden umbrella, which umbrella His Highness the Maharája "of Kashmír had set up. But not one of the boys with me or "those, on whom I had my eyes, and who were with their "relations at the tank, bowed down with the hundreds of "Idolators around them. I was as much surprised as I was "pleased. But at the same time it brought before me the "great responsibility of teaching these boys Christianity, and "therefore taking away their ancient Religion. A man with no "Religion is far worse off than a man with one; and in taking "away their Hinduism one puts these boys in a very dangerous "position, unless one can induce them to face persecution and "accept Christianity, in which they profess their belief. But "this dangerous step none yet dare to take."

That is the real danger: there is more chance of converting the followers of a false Religion than one, from whose intellect the conception of the Supernatural has by hard Reason been swept out.

Mr. Lefroy, of Dehli, reports a conversation with an intelligent Hindu: "I indicated some of the difficulties, which I felt "on the subject of Idolatry. He did not make much defence of "it. He began by saying, that of course it was not necessary "for persons of superior intellect like myself and himself, but "that for the common herd it was a helpful practice. He said "he viewed it something as though a man had fallen into a "well, and to save himself from drowning, grasped at a root "growing out of the wall; and, while unable to get out of the "well by its help, was just able to keep his head above water.

"I replied, that that was one possible illustration, but asked "whether another, and perhaps more appropriate one, might "not be that it was like a drowning man clutching at a straw, "which would sink with him. He admitted that he was not "prepared to say but that this might be another not wholly "incorrect view. He then suggested that the interview had "been long enough, and we parted with profuse expressions of "civility and mutual regard."

This anecdote is worthy of perusal: "In Jaffna there is an "'Anti-Christ Society,' which, amongst other things, occupies "itself in writing, printing, and distributing anti-Christian "Tracts: many of which, however, are, it is said, couched in too "pedantic Language to be understood by 'the man in the street.' "A Mission agent not long since told me that, happening to "call at a house, he found a number of young men of this "Society with Bibles and a Concordance, studying the Biblical "plan of Salvation, as presented in the words of the Bible "itself, *with a view to its refutation*. The incident is suggestive, "and by no means to be lightly regarded."

I quote the following from a thoughtful writer: "It is "asserted, that the effect of Missionary Schools and Colleges "upon the Religion of their pupils is little or nothing, and "that of Government-Institutions simply destructive of all "Religion. Neither statement is accepted by those, who have "had the best opportunities of forming an opinion. As to the "State, it cannot be denied, however much it may be regretted, "that absolute Religious neutrality is inevitable. Any attempt, "or suspicion of an attempt, to waver in this policy would be "disastrous. In the Religious riots of latest occurrence "nothing has aroused more disaffection than the charge, or "more often the insinuation, utterly false, that Government "has shown a tendency to deal more gently with Mahometan "than with Hindu rioters. Neutrality as to Religion must be "a matter of course in Government-Institutions in India, but "it is not necessary, that the masters and professors in State "Colleges and Schools should teach Agnosticism or deny, that "Morality is more than Opportunism. It betrays a strange

" want of confidence in the eternal verity of Christianity to " assume, that increase of Knowledge must be fatal to con- " version from other Religions, and the assumption is not in " accordance with experience. One of the most far-sighted " of the great Indian Rulers left on record seventy years ago " that, if there be a wish to contribute ultimately to the destruc- " tion of Superstition in India, the only means of success lies " in the diffusion of Knowledge. In Missionary Schools there " is a great diversity of practice, but allowance should be made " for the difficult position, in which many Protestant Mis- " sionaries find themselves. Their Home-subscribers are apt " to regard conversion of the Heathen to be the main work of " the Missionary whom they support, and any educational efforts " are incidental and having this work for its object. The " Missionaries themselves may find this to be altogether an " inversion of the truth, and that all but a fraction, and it may " be a small fraction, of their work is purely educational; and " it may, and does happen, that the highly educated Hindu, " instead of embracing Christianity in any form, concludes " from his reading, that the mass of his countrymen are sunk " in Superstition, but that a more philosophical apprehension " of the ancient Sanskrit Sacred Books will lead to a Faith not " less sublime and soul-satisfying than that pure and divine " Religion of the primitive Christians, of which he *conceives* " *all existing Churches and sects to be more or less corruptions.* " That this is true of many of the most cultivated and " thoughtful Hindu, there can be no doubt, and year by year " the number of these men increases, and new generations " are born in homes, where about one parent at least the " atmosphere, moral and intellectual, is purer and clearer than " that which enfolds and darkens the mass of his countrymen. " We say one parent, since a very small fraction of the people " is touched by high Education, and a minute fraction of that " fraction is represented by females. The writer believes, that " the effect of Education on the Indian Nation is already " sensible, and may be expected to increase. Whether it will " result in large conversions to Christianity, or in the appear- " ance of some new form of Deism, no one, who apprehends " the problem, would venture to submit."

However much we may hope and think that by making a man a Christian we make him a "new man" and can mould his Future life as we like, we shall find, that no permanent change takes place in the Religious belief, or the usages of the new Christian, which is not more or less rooted in the beliefs and usages of his race (see Hatch: Hibbert Lectures, p. 4). We cannot make a *tabula rasa*: the Italian, the Spanish, the Teutonic, Christianity differs from each other essentially: still more will

differ from each other the forms of Christianity, which are evolving from the Hindu, the African, and Oceanic convert. The Missionary thinks, that he will mould his Hindu clay according to his own English pattern, but he will find, that there is a depth of indigenous material antipathetic to the foreign importation: there must be a recasting of the precious ore to suit the new environment of antecedent habits of thought, prejudices, intellectual or spiritual, quagmires, in which his Soul is plunged: he would not be Human, if he were not so. I have, as it were, felt it in conversing with an Indian convert: he had indeed got to the root of the matter, that Christ was his Salvation; but his mode of expression, his inductions, were those of a man, to whom History, Geography, and the physical conformation of the Globe, were non-existent: the intellectual atmosphere, in which the great Bible-story, as it were, floated, was different from my own views. He would talk of Jesus as a Sahib, who had lived in Wiláyat, a long way off, and a long time ago, and his power of argument was limited by his Knowledge. His Faith was indeed better than mine, but his Reason infinitely worse. No doubt there is something of the same striking contrast, when a learned divine discusses divine things with an old village-woman in England, whose thoughts had never gone beyond the fields, where she had spent her life; but in spite of all this she had given her heart, without doubts or conditions, or any effort of Reason, to Christ, and of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.

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7. Christian Truth and Practice exposed to New Tests.

One certain result of the enlargement of the cords of the tents of Christianity, and its ceasing to be an European and American speciality, must tend to the reconsideration of many Dogmas and Practices, which we have blindly inherited from the dark ignorant Middle Ages. When we lay our Creeds and Rituals by the side of the Gospels, we see how large a portion of what is called Christian Doctrine, and Usages, is in reality the weaving of the Greek Intellect and Roman practice, in their essential Pagan form, with an imported flavour of Judaism. Augustine of Hippo admits his great debt to Plato and Cicero. It may be urged, that this was part of the great plan of the Education of the world, that the Greek Language and Philosophy were divinely prepared just at the decay of the Hebrew Genius, to be, as it were, the matrix, in which the Divine Precepts, promulgated in Syrian villages to uncultured peasants, were to be developed so as to suit the requirements of Future Ages and

Nations still to be born, in a totally different Human environment, and at the highest hitherto known elevation of the Human intellect. This may be so.

But the converted Hindu may argue with great reason, that his Language and his School of Philosophy were far better suited to be the envelope, in which the Precious Promises of the Gospel should be presented to an Indian population. We cannot lose sight of the fact, that to the very last the Roman Education was Pagan, that Christians did not hesitate to avail themselves of the Pagan Education, and thus Christianity became to the young mind a blending of Pagan and Christian ideas: in our own period the Christians are the upper class in this world, and the non-Christian the lower: the reverse was the case in the early centuries. In India the neo-Christian will go to the State-College without injury, if he has been taught a large Christianity, but not so if he accepts his new Religion in a European mould, not in the least warranted by the Gospel. He may rather be inclined to strip away the Greek integuments, and cut through the bark, which has hardened in Italian and Teutonic gardens round the tender plant; and just as the European is compelled to adopt the Languages of India, the necessity may be felt to convert the European Religion into an Asiatic. I heard a Bishop of Japan urge in a Missionary Society in London, that the only necessary links between the Japanese and Anglican Churches were: (1) the Bible, (2) the two Sacraments, (3) the Nicene Creed, (4) Episcopacy: the Articles of Faith, Book of Common Prayer, and Traditions, must be thrown over the ship's side. The Church will be in all externals Japanese.

Hear what Dr. Murdoch, one of the greatest authorities, says: "The character of the people of India is largely moulded by "their Literature. The Pantheism of the Upanishads has per- "meated all classes; the popular mythology is nourished by "the Ramáyana and Mahabhárata. The main lesson of the "Panchatantra, one of the most popular prose works, is *how to* "*overcome by deceit.* The late Oxford Professor of Sanskrit said "that the greater number of Hindu tales turn upon the wicked- "ness of women, the luxury, profligacy, treachery, and craft, of "the female sex.

"In addition to the old Hindu Literature, we have now to "contend with numerous recent publications designed to oppose "the progress of the Gospel. When last in North India I got "a copy of a scurrilous and obscene tract against Christianity. "Its frontispiece had a ghastly caricature of the Crucifixion, "with a legend around it pointing out the inability of the "Saviour to save Himself. Of this tract 20,000 copies were "printed for free circulation."

In one of the Museums at Rome the traveller can still see a picture in chalk, drawn by a Roman soldier to annoy a Christian fellow-soldier, of Christ on the Cross with an ass's head. It is a very old idea to insult the objects of Worship of another Nation, and I am sorry to say that, in one case certainly, the English Missionaries have published books exposing to ridicule objects of veneration to the Hindu in a manner calculated to cause a breach of the peace.

Dr. Murdoch adds: "The Hindu Tract Society, of Madras, "printed last year seventeen tracts and leaflets. Several were "issued by 'A well-wisher to the Society'; among them, 'The "Bible-Dissector for the use of Mission-School-Students,' and "'One Hundred and Fifty Contradictions of the Bible: a Bible "Handbook for Mission-School-Students and Inquiring "Christians.' A Freethought Book Depôt in Madras issues a "list of one hundred and twenty-four separate works, including "thirty-four publications by Bradlaugh, nineteen by Mrs. Besant, "nine by Foote, sixteen by Ingersoll, with others by Paine, "Voltaire, etc. Ingersoll's Lectures have the largest sale. "Among books may be specially mentioned Mrs. Besant's 'My "Path to Atheism,' and the 'Freethinker's Text-Book,' in two "parts, by Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant.

"In the list there is a most demoralizing book under the "apparently innocent title of 'Elements of Social Economy.' "It advocates free thought and free love. Marriage is de-"nounced on account of its 'innumerable evils and injustices.' "It is said that 'Man stands at the head of the universe. Any "human being, no matter however fallen or degraded, is an "infinitely more glorious and adorable being than any god, that "ever was or will be conceived.' If Education leads only "to the perusal of superstitious, immoral, and anti-Christian "works, it will be a curse instead of a blessing."

In the early days of Christianity it was impressed on the neo-Christians, that they ought not to burn their dead, but bury them. We are once more face to face with a people in India, who for centuries have burned their dead, and common-sense suggests, that this custom should not be disturbed. The questions of Polygamy, Caste, Liquor, Circumcision, and defilement of the body, will all be raised: foreign vestments and architecture will be totally out of place.

There is little doubt that, when the converts to the new Faith have been settled for two generations in a large Region, and count great numbers of the educated classes, the thoughts of the thinkers will be turned inwards, and the subtle mind of the Indian will be exercised by doubts and questionings, half-beliefs, and rationalism: the person of the Saviour, the mystery of the

Taught the Christian principles of Truth, Love and Purity, and with the knowledge of which we read in the early days of Christianity, will come up again. They were settled in the early days by force and violence: *we settle!* The books of so-called heathen sages being, and the people of Europe [illegible] be: it is now established that the ancient educated Hindu, unimpressed by proselytizing on the Law, will be likewise [illegible] question, as soon as they are settled down as a Native Church, independent of the white foreigner.

An ingenious writer in *The Times*, in 1895, tries to define the Religious Basis in the Board Schools of London as to Christ: "Each Christian Church [illegible] the basis of all [illegible] of Christ's moral teaching as the Creator. As the Book of Life, [illegible] as the supreme Lawgiver, the supreme World-Consciousness, whom men call God. So far the Board School Religion is Theistic. It excludes only professed [illegible] who do not [illegible] may be neglected in legislating for the Nation.

"Secondly, an historical fact is affirmed. In the fulness of time, when things were ready for Him, a man was born, a life [illegible] was lived [illegible] of Human nature, such as was never seen before or has been seen since, the Man Christ Jesus, who, as being incomparably the best of men, may serve for others as their example, as exhibiting in Human form, in His acts, His words, His life, His character, [illegible] glory, the express image of His person," or God incarnate. So far this instruction is Christian. It excludes only those, [illegible] but Unbelievers who, again, being in this Christian country but a few, may justly not be taken into consideration in legislating for the many."

Of course the Denominational Churches would object, that this is not enough, that a good deal has to be taught in addition; but [illegible] and [illegible] from all the [illegible] of European Christianity, that may recommend it to the new convert, who wishes to know what he is believing in.

The Word of God is not bound by Human definitions, least-ways by those made in a less enlightened Epoch. The Truth of God is greater than the limits of the intellect of man at any given period. Statements of Truth enacted by Europeans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, may not prove to be so in their turn in the Twentieth century. Hear what Bishop Westcott says: "We have still much to learn. The treasures [illegible] are not yet exhausted. If we watch with [illegible] how far our Message is received by men of [illegible] minds, and by men of ancient civilization, we shall

" be enriched by the thoughts, which it reveals out of many " hearts, and the glory of God will be more fully known." (C.M.S. Annual Sermon, 1895.)

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8. Exclusion of Missionaries from certain Countries, under certain Circumstances justifiable and necessary.

This seems inevitable, if the Missionary adopts the present fashionable policy of being a general grievance-monger, a denouncer of ancestral customs, a critic of the acts of the Government: Russia, Austria, and France, have to a certain extent adopted this policy. I quote the following telegram from St. Petersburg, November, 1895: "The *Turkestan Gazette* " hears from Viernoe, that the Minister of the Interior and the " Minister for Foreign Affairs, have given permission for Ameri- " can Missionaries to take refuge on Russian territory from the " violence of the Chinese populace, on the express condition, " however, that they are not to prosecute their Religious pro- " paganda among Russian subjects, and not to interfere in any " way in matters of Creed and Faith. The *Turkestan Gazette* " remarks, that this reservation was evidently needed, for these " foreign Missionaries carry on their Religious proselytism " simply in the interests of the particular Church, to which they " happen to belong, and not at all in a spirit of Love and " peace, thus inoculating a feeling of hostility towards other " Christian Communities."

It will be a sad day, when the Government of British India is driven to adopt this policy, but the day is not far distant, if Missionaries forget their proper peaceful duties.

The Governments of Oriental Kingdoms, British, French, Dutch, and German, will in the first years of next century have to consider the conditions, under which propagators of new Religious conceptions can be admitted to sojourn and spread the same in their territories. There will be:

I. Aliens from Europe:

(1) Trinitarian Christians.
(2) Mahometans.
(3) Theosophists.
(4) Unitarians.
(5) Mormonites.

II. Indigenous to Asia:

(1) Brahma-Somáj.
(2) Aria-Somáj.
(3) Neo-Buddhism.
(4) Other forms, which are in germ.

Toleration is the law of modern life, and except in moments of Rebellion and Political disturbance such as in 1857–8, no passports ought to be demanded. The Propagators must have a fair field, with no favour, no opposition; but it must be understood, that they for the time waive their rights as subjects of a friendly Power: Planters, Merchants, Travellers, have them, but the man, who enters a country deliberately to attack the Natives on their tenderest side, their Religious convictions, must count the cost, as Barnabas and Paul did: they need fear nothing from the Officials of the State, but they must so behave as to stand well with the people. Hitherto in British India they have done so: not one perished by the violence of the populace during the Mutinies. The true Missionary does not rest on the Arm of the Flesh: not by Might nor Power, but by the Spirit. His example is that of Paul and Barnabas, not of Boniface and Xavier.

The Mission in U-Gánda was maintained by the Arm of the Flesh. A Missionary thus states, March, 1896, at the C.M.S.: "Political considerations threw many of the Chieftainships into "the hands of Christians, and many became *readers*, because "their Chiefs were so also, or because they thought it well to "come under European, in this case English, influence:" a little further off the same Political considerations made them Roman Catholics.

We cannot jeopardize our Empire because of the foolish conduct of the least wise of our population. Our thoughts go out to those poor nine Chinese executed for the late troubles in 1895. Were they the real men, or only chance men caught up to make a show?

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9. Form and Doctrine of Native Independent Churches.

In the last Census of British India we have a statement of the different Denominations of the Christian Religion, represented in that country: an attempt is made to reduce them under intelligible headings:

I. Old Churches:

(1) Abyssinian.
(2) Armenian.
(3) Syrian.
(4) Romish.
(5) Greek.

II. Great Britain and Ireland:

(1) Episcopalian.
(2) Free Church (Episcopalian).
(3) Presbyterian.
  (*a*) Established.
  (*b*) Free Scotch.
  (*c*) U.P.
  (*d*) Reformed.
  (*e*) Irish.
  (*f*) Calvinist.
(4) Independent.
(5) Methodists.
  (*a*) Wesleyan.
  (*b*) Methodist Episcopalian.
  (*c*) Primitive.
(6) Baptist.
(7) Plymouth Brethren.
(8) Bible Christian.
(9) Society of Friends.
(10) Catholic Apostolic or Irvinite.
(11) Salvation Army.
(12) Unitarian.

III. America:

(1) Episcopalian.
(2) Presbyterian.

IV. Continental:

(1) Lutheran.
(2) Swedish.
(3) Reformed Dutch.

This list indicates the fissures in the Church of Christ, which no time will close up, but which will rather widen. But there is coming into existence another cause of division of these nominal Christians, viz., their race and ancestral Faith. The Parsi represent a very small fraction of the Millions of India, the last survival of the great Zoroastrian conception, which once

dominated Central Asia. The Christian converts must be few, but we read the following: "I think, that it may interest your "readers to hear of the Parsi Christian Association, which has "recently been formed, and which has its headquarters in "Bombay. It has been felt by some of the Parsi converts "residing here, that a bond of union among them is needed, and "that if all Parsi Christians throughout the world will unite in "one Association, it will be a source of strength to them, and an "encouragement to others to join the Christian Church. With "this object, as many as were able have met together in "Bombay, and formed themselves into an Association, of which "the Rev. Chanjibhai Nowroji, Minister of the Free Church of "Scotland in Bombay, and the first Parsi Christian in India, has "been elected President. They now wish to invite all Parsi "Christians, of whatever Denomination, to join them. Members "are requested to pray unitedly or separately for one another, to "correspond with the Secretary, and to endeavour to influence "other Parsi for good by every means in their power. As there "is now a considerable Parsi Community in England, and many "of those, who are resident there, have been baptized, we hope "for some accession to our members from among them. But "in many cases their names and addresses are unknown to us. "May I, then, beg that, if any Parsi Christian should read these "lines, he will communicate with me, and if any of your readers "should be acquainted with any Parsi Christian, that they will "kindly draw his attention to the Association, which has been "formed, and invite him to become a member. The rules and "objects of the Association are herewith enclosed, which, I "trust, you will print with this letter in your next issue. Our "numbers are at present small, but include almost every one of "the Parsi Christians in India. Within the last six months five "new converts have been baptized in Bombay, and there are "encouraging signs which point to the prospect of larger "numbers entering the fold of Christ. Let us, then, stand to-"gether and uphold one another in the Faith.—R. S. RUSTOMJEE "MISTRY, Hon. Secretary.

"*Provisional Rules.*—(1) That the Association should be called "'The Parsi Christian Association.'

"(2) That Parsi Christians and Christian members of their "families be members of the Association.

"(3) That the annual subscription be not less than one rupee "for all members over sixteen years of age.

"(4) That Missionaries and other Christian friends become "members, honorary or subscribing, at the invitation of the "Association.

"(5) That a President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer be "elected at the Annual Meeting of the Association.

" *Objects.*—(1) To bind together all Parsi Christians socially " and for spiritual edification.

"(2) To pray regularly for the speedy conversion of their " countrymen.

"(3) To be witnesses for Christ (Acts, i, 8) in speaking, " writing, meeting, or preaching to their countrymen.

" (4) To interest people in Christian countries in the Spiritual " welfare of the Parsi.

"(5) To help all Parsi inquirers and converts in the best " possible way.

"(6) To correspond with the Parsi Christians, who have " settled down in different parts of the world, and to bring " before them the solemn responsibility of making Christ " known to their countrymen, either by personal service or by " contributing towards the support of Parsi Evangelists."

If converts from the other numerous non-Christian conceptions of British India act in the same way as the insignificant Parsi Community, it is difficult to imagine what will be the state of the Native Christian Church divided into innumerable sections.

Another fissure will arise from the social position of the neo-Christians: it is out of all reason to suppose, that the European sojourners, the Eurasians, and those, who have adopted the Language and customs of Europe, can worship together in the same Church or Chapel with the Natives. The upper stratum of Society would not submit to it, any more than they would travel in the same railway-carriage, or send their children to the same School. The Language, which must be used to make the Services intelligible, forbids such an amalgamation. Moreover, it would act prejudicially to the well-being of the Native Church, for such a blending cuts at the root of a national and spontaneous development of a Native Church in India for Indians. It postpones indefinitely the union of Native Christians of different Denominations in an Indian Church: it crystallizes for ever the unwelcome features of foreign Anglicanism, or Americanism: it is against the liberal spirit of the Church of England Articles, and the plastic example of Apostolic precedent.

I quote the following, which has appeared in print: "A fourth " suggestion is: 'That as the Native Church assumes a national " character, *it may ultimately supersede the denominational dis-* " *tinctions*, which are now introduced by Foreign Missionary " Societies.' We of the Church of England are bound by our " fundamental rules to train up every congregation gathered " from the Heathen according to the discipline and Worship of " the Church of England. But our own Prayer-Book has laid " down the principle, that every national Church is at liberty to " change its ceremonies, and adapt itself to the national taste,

" and therefore we look forward to the time, when the Native " Churches shall have attained that magnitude and maturity, " which will entitle them to worship and perfect themselves " according to the standard of God's Holy Word. Then Foreign " Missionary efforts will cease; but inasmuch as we shall have " infused Gospel Truth, and supplied well-trained witnesses for " the Truth, our work will be found to praise and honour and " glory through Jesus Christ."

Each Denomination thinks its own views the right ones, and regards with pity the errors of its neighbours: of course, the Church of Rome justifies every form of proselytism, and would sooner leave the people in their native heathen state than allow them to become Protestants. The Protestants lose no opportunity of saving the Soul of a poor deceived Romanist. This is quite understood. Among Protestants there is a sort of restraint in proselytizing from other Protestant Denominations, but the subjoined extract will show how, in the Anglican Church, this feeling is whittled away under the conviction, that the Anglican Church is right and all others are wrong: "*Proselytism.* " —This word has been used in various senses. It is, however, " noticeable, that in the sense of 'systematic aggression' it " was repudiated on both sides by those concerned in the " recent controversy. And this is undoubtedly its true sense " for us. In our case to proselytize would be deliberately to " plan the organization and direct the efforts of a Mission with " the view of winning converts, not from unbelief, but from " among persons already baptized. Such action is to be wholly " condemned, however good the motive of the individual who " engages in it. It is the desertion of the true function " of a Missionary for a lower end. It inevitably impairs the " ideal, and with it the inner life, of the Mission, which so " employs its resources. It diverts means and energy, which " are already quite insufficient for the attainment of their proper " object. But while this may be clear, still difficult questions " arise from time to time, of which the mere assertion of, and " agreement upon, the general principle does not in itself afford " a solution. To take our own case. A Mission like that of " the Anglican Communion in Japan finds itself surrounded by " Christian bodies, in the individual members of which over " and above our common nature we find high qualities of the " Christian life, but with whose system and teaching we have " most serious differences on not a few very important subjects. " Further, affectionate respect for individuals and a true regard " for their work cannot allay reasonable fears of what may be " the ultimate issue in this land of the growing chaos of " thought and teaching, which sectional Christianity is engen- " dering. This is felt and candidly admitted by some of our

" separated brethren themselves. Indeed, the mistakes and " deficiencies in the doctrine, which are being taught, and the " organizations, which are being set up around us, cannot but, " after a while, as history gives clear warning, weaken the hold " of many on the fundamental Faith itself, even when this is at " first received. It is evident, that this result is already fol- " lowing, in some cases, with the rapidity which is characteristic " of Japan. Under these circumstances, I cannot but conclude, " that no blame attaches to the reception from time to time of " those who are attracted to us, not by special efforts directed " against their several systems, but by the fact of the existence " and development by their side of a Communion, which main- " tains the Catholic Faith and Order alike in purity, proportion, " and completeness. On this principle I from time to time assent " to the confirmation of persons not baptized by ourselves."

Forty years ago, in the year 1850, when I was very familiar with the working of Missions of several Denominations in the field in India, I penned the following lines, and I seem to agree in their spirit still. I admit that men vary with their Epoch, and their environment; but still there are racial difficulties, and radical difficulties, which do not change.

" Thinking reverently, yet practically, I am of opinion that, if " ever it be intended to plant Christianity in India, we must strip " off from the original tree the strange parasitical plants, which " have clung round it in Occidental countries: we must re-seek " the stream at its fountain-head before its pure waters had been " disturbed by the curse of polemical discussion, by the vain " quarrels of the *Omoiousion* and the *Omoousion*, the Monothelites, " the Monophysites, the two Persons, and the *Θεοτόκος*, the pro- " cession of the Holy Ghost, the worship of Images, the power " of absolution of the Church of Rome, and the predestination " of the Calvinists. We must set aside at least for the Native " Churches all these doctrines, and much Church-practice, and " go back reverently to the words of Christ, of Paul and Peter, " and the simple economy of the Churches of the first three " centuries. For the European agent I do not doubt that, educated " as he is, he does not like to cut himself from his fellow-country- " men, and sink (as it seems to him) to the level of a Native; but " there is nothing to show, that Paul ever dined at the table of the " local Proconsul: though a Roman citizen, he had nothing to do " with the governing classes; he had no fixed salary, no com- " fortable residence; he made no annual reports, but he lived " among his people, and taught them, and so mightily grew the " Word of God and prevailed under his teaching: it cannot " be said that it does so now."—1856.

London, February, 1896.

CONCLUSION.

I have come to the end of my fourth Chapter, and at the age of seventy-five lay down my pen *for ever*.

Εἰ καλῶς, ὡς ἐβουλόμην· εἰ δε ἐνδεεστέρως, ὡς ἐδυνάμην.

My original scheme was to have a fifth Chapter, consisting of four Essays on certain great subjects connected with Religious conceptions. As long as the Human race lasts, there will be a fluctuation in the belief in things Spiritual and Unseen, brought home to the believer by Faith, and not by sight.

(1) The dawn of a Religious conception evidenced in the Books of Moses and the Veda.
(2) The decay of a Religious conception, when the period assigned to it has been run, evidenced in the story of the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Græco-Roman, Religions.
(3) The survival of a Religious conception, after the time assigned to it has been run, evidenced in Modern Judaism.
(4) The vitality of a Religious conception, evidenced by the earnest endeavours for many centuries of the believers to propagate it to others, because in their opinion it is the greatest and best, and only remedy to Human Ills, evidenced in Christianity.

It has occurred to me at the close of my fourth Chapter, that each and all of these subjects are beyond the comprehension of, and power of usefulness to those, for whose special benefit my book is written, viz., the sincere and devout friends of the Evangelization of the World on the lines laid down in the Teaching of the Master in Galilee and Judæa, and developed in the Apostolic Epistles. Still, of course, these four aspects are all included in the Philosophy of Missions.

The Abbé Dubois, after thirty years' experience in South India, in Maisúr, published a book in 1823, "Letters on the State of Christianity in India," in which the conversion of the Hindu is deemed by him to be impracticable. He came to the conclusion, that the time for the conversion of India had passed away; that Christianity had done its work in the World; that the Millions of China, Japan, India, Africa, and Oceania, still in Pagan darkness, were to be abandoned to the Almighty's irrevocable decree, which doomed them to perdition. (G. Smith's

"Conversion of India," p. 70.) Surely the goodness of God endureth yet daily: He would not, that one of His poor children should perish: He so loved the world, *the whole world*, not the Jews only in Anno Domini, or the Anglo-Saxon race only 1000 years later. Still, the deadly, luxurious, worldly Civilization of the end of the Nineteenth century is the greatest enemy of the Lord's work: it enervates and renders effeminate the agents: it fills the convert with ideas of improving his status in this life only; it multiplies expenditure, and the process of getting in the money; it secularizes those, who control affairs at home; it generates fads and crazes, which have no relation to the *one sole* object of the Movement, "bringing Souls to Christ."

Let us pass our thoughts on to the Methods, but very briefly. Mixing up the bringing of a Soul to Christ with the training of the intellect in the three R's in a School, with the teaching of the hands to weave textile fabrics in a Manufactory, with improving the breed of Ostriches, or the culture of exportable products of the Soil, appears to me to be in a Missionary a serious error. We do not find a trace of such things in the time of the Apostles, or the early centuries before the Emperor Constantine. Later on the Keltic Missionary, and the Saxon Missionary, resting on the Arm of the Flesh of such Kings as Charles Martel, did indeed build Convents, open Schools, teach agriculture, and segregated the converts from outward contact. The miserable state of Political affairs might have justified this policy *then*, but it cannot do so *now* under a Realm of Law: we must not rear Christian converts, like cucumbers, under a glass frame: they are the leaven sent in advance to leaven the whole mass by personal social contact and example. So also no attempt should be made to arrest the freedom of discussion. Some people object to individuals being allowed, such as Atheists, Agnostics, Preachers of new doctrines, to air their views in the streets of towns and villages: they ought, according to the opinion of champions of "my Doxy" against "your Doxy," to be repressed, as subversive of Religion and good Government. Is not this precisely what the Pharisees and Priests did as regards our Lord and the Apostles, what the Roman Secular Government did to all Christians for the first three centuries, until Constantine declared it to be a "*Religio licita*," and what the Roman Ecclesiastical Hierarchy desires to do whenever the Arm of the Flesh is on their side? The Truth, if it be in very deed the Truth, does not suffer from abuse, or argument. At Cairo I was conversing with an American U.P. Presbyterian Missionary (since deceased) about the rights won by the Presbyterians in Scotland to be independent of Episcopal bondage: he surprised me by desiring to uproot and destroy the *evil* Plymouth Brethren, who crept in and poisoned his

Presbyterian flock. In fact, he was just like the rest of mankind, and wanted to make "his Doxy" prevail. The less in the British Dominions that the nascent Christian Churches lean upon the State, the better: the British Power in India may scarcely outlive the Twentieth century; the Native Christian Church is built for ages yet to come.

The next fifty years must produce a might change in the Nations outside of Europe and the United States. Great Pan is dead, and there is no room in the soil of the Human Intellect for the birth of new Animistic conceptions. The darkness and deep sleep of centuries have ceased to exist. The Epoch of Spirits, Ghosts of the departed, Theophanies, Angels; of Dreams, Heavenly Signs from Heaven, Thunder in serene sky, Auguries, Ephods, Oracles; of Miracles, Prophecies, Charms, Magical rites, Priesthoods, Medicine-men, Temples, Temple Worship, Sacrifices, Processions, Liturgies in dead Languages, Statues, Sacred places, Pilgrimages, Asceticism, and lastly Circumcision, as an evidence of Spiritual belief, is passing away, never likely to return, for such ideas belong to Juventus Mundi, the infancy of the Human race, ignorant of the Laws of Nature, each tribe deeming itself the sole object of God's favour.

The words of the Master to the woman of Samaria (John, iv, 24): "God is a Spirit, and they, that worship Him, must worship Him in Spirit and Truth." His words recorded by Mark (viii, 35–7): "For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for My sake and the Gospel's, the same shall save it. For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own Soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his Soul?" These words mark the dividing-line between the Past, and the Future, and supply a test, by which each of the ancient Religious conceptions can be weighed in the balance. Could any Egyptian, Babylonian, or Hebrew have uttered them? The hopes and Duties of the latter were limited to the land, which the Lord his God should give him. The Genius of such great races as the Indian, Chinese, and Japanese is ready to develop itself into new forms: there will surely be a birth of a new Gautama Buddha, a new Socrates, and a new Pythagoras. The old forms of Paganism are entirely gone, except those that cling like lichen to degraded forms of the Christian Faith, such as the Greek, Roman, and the Fallen Churches in Asia and Africa. A new race of Thinkers has come into existence: every received dogma and practice will have to be laid on the anvil of current Thought to be tested, whether it be really genuine, or spurious: the question will be asked, and an answer insisted upon, as to whether they were made for *all* times, *all* races, *all* climates, *all* sorts and conditions of men, or were good only for the

Greek, Latin, Teutonic, and Semitic races, in the early centuries of the Christian era. We have the great fact, that the Law of Moses, admittedly promulgated by the Most High, was from the first limited to a small tribe among the hundreds of Millions of the world, failed most entirely, as evidenced by the words of the Prophets and of our Lord Himself, and developed into something essentially different.

The sum of the matter is in this. Long before the time when the great Arian races, the Indian, Persian, Græco-Latin, Kelt, Teuton, and Slavonic, are believed by some to have migrated from their central Home; before the races of China had occupied the Middle Kingdom; before the Egyptian had descended from his mysterious Home on the shores of the Red Sea, and the Babylonian had sprung into existence on the shores of the Persian Gulf; before the dawn of Civilization, or the commencement of Legendary History, or the birth of the simplest Art, which conduces to the convenience of man, the Lord looked down from Heaven, and beheld *All* the children of men from the place of His habitation: He looked on *all* the inhabitants of the Earth which he had made: He fashioned the bodies and the hearts, and the understandings, of *all*: He considered all their works. (Psalms, xxxiii, 13-15.) A thousand years in His sight is but as a watch in the night: the circumference of the round world is but as the width of a straw. Men walked on the surface of the globe, like emmets, in His sight: and are not all the Millions of the world monuments of His Mercy and Longsuffering? Can it be supposed that, after the manner of a modern Missionary, He measures the advancement of the Kingdom of His Son with an inch-rule? The Nations, to whom I have alluded, were great in all Human Greatness, Arms, Arts, and Science: they have raised up Monuments, which have lasted thousands of years, and may last thousands more: they have left behind writings of imperishable and unsurpassable Human Wisdom, and yet they knew not *then*, and, where they have descendants, they know not *now*, Jehovah, or the Saviour, or the Holy Spirit. God's ways are not our ways. The miserable Ba Gánda, who have in the Nineteenth century not risen above the lowest round of the intellectual or spiritual ladder, whose ancestors have left no material, or Spiritual, legacies to Mankind, who, if sentiment be placed aside, with the exception of their being the unconscious possessors of immortal Souls, are little better than the beasts that perish; what are they in comparison with the men of ancient time, who lived before the great Anno Domini, and on whom the shadow of the Cross fell in the Past, as well as it fell on us in the Future? The Gospel-Message is the end, the desire, and the great reward, *of all who will receive it.*

Vale.

Io ripenso sovente
  Le améne piagge, O Nice,
Dové vivéa felice,
  Quando vivéa con Te.

Listen, my Heavenly Muse; to thee I bring
My latest offering from thy sacred spring:
In age's lateness cast me not away,
Thou, who hast lived with me for many a day;
For more than sixty years, who on the throne
Of my poor heart hast sate, and sits alone.
Whether in Indian solitary rides
Far from my kinsfolk, and all friends besides;
In midnight-musing by the moonlit sea,
When thoughts fly off from earth to Heaven and Thee;
Whether midst strife of men, on bed of pain,
Thou hast to me been my unequalled gain.
For I have lived two lives, and do not know,
Which was the real, and which the outward show:
One striving to work out Heaven's wise decree
In this short life, and one alone with Thee.
To Thee alone my secrets have I told:
My aspirations I to Thee unfold:
Blessing my board, my desk, Thy presence seems
To shed a glory o'er my peaceful dreams.
  As to Odysseus in his wanderings wide
Athéné deigned to be his constant guide,
So in my wanderings, and all journeys past,
Thou wert my ancient friend from first to last:
Whether my thoughts go back to classic lore,
Or to my weary tasks on India's shore;
Whether I gather gold in Orient mine,
Or chant aloud some Persian ode divine,
Or cull romantically in idle hour
Of every clime and every time the flower,

Ope treasures of the past with daring hand,
Or raise the veil of future Fairy-Land.
With Thee I've listened, while the Brahmins pray,
Or holy Buddha shows his "Noble Way";
Or where the proud Mahometans in line
Offer their daily prayers to Power Divine.
With Thee through History's Chart a line I've drawn
Up to the dawning of Creation's morn;
And Thou the centre of each joy hast been,
Charm of each place, and Genius of each scene,
Wakening the memory, opening wide the door
Of thoughts heaped up in Eton's sacred store,
When first I wooed Thee, and first found Thee kind,
Thoughtless of cares and woes, that shake mankind.
Thy sympathetic whisper in my dream
Recalls fresh garlands plucked by Ganges' stream.
In stately form thou hast stood by my chair,
Or in my Indian garden's cool parterre;
Of city crowds amidst the ceaseless din
Thy still small voice has cheered my heart within.
Oh! let the ignorant crowd in hope divine,
Light holy lamps before their favourite shrine;
But let me be Thy faithful devotee,
My loving heart burn like a lamp to Thee.
Now at the age of three-score ten and five
Alone with Thee to live I hope, and strive:
Thee, whom I loved in boyhood's happy hours,
To Thee devoting my unfolding powers;
Thee, whom I loved in manhood's full career,
Passing the love of wife, or children dear:
Words taught by Thee with heavenly hope still glow;
Thou whispered comfort in the hour of woe:
While other powers decay, Thou dost not wane;
Alone with Thee I feel quite young again.
When earthly honours like a shadow passed,
I clasped Thee to my breast, my own at last.
And as I older grew, my own dear Muse
Taught me new hopes, and new desires, to choose:
As by our works alone we shall be known,
We must not live to please ourselves alone:
For life's short span is lent for Toil, and then
Love to our God, Love to our Fellow-men.
When hundreds fell around on battle-field,
Thou o'er my head did'st spread thy gracious shield;
And when in Peace the fell assassin's blow
My Chief, and my Subordinate, struck low,
I stood unharmed: and so it seems to me,
Serving my fellow-creatures I serve Thee.

The gusts of appetite, the clouds of care,
No longer now my thoughts with Thee shall share:
I feel Thee standing by me, Fairest Flower,
Blooming in sweetest Youth's eternal power:
I feel Thee guide my pen, while I rehearse
To Thee my efforts, now in prose, now verse.
Though fickle fortune never smiled on me,
What would my life have been, if 'reft of Thee?
I know no change: Thou hast o'er me a spell;
I cannot, dearest Muse, bid Thee Farewell.

Scarce had I written this: the echoes bring
The last vibration of a broken string;
While in myself I feel a fibre part,
As if the wrench asunder of a heart.
With Thee in youth my earthly path I've trod;
With Thee in age my soul mounts up to God,
Seeking my Saviour; feeling in my heart
That Thou, my Muse, the Holy Spirit art.
Illuminate my vision: I can see
In every age no other Power but Thee:
In every clime through Thee good men adored
Brahma, or Baal, Jehovah, Jove, or Lord:
Inspired by Thee the Magi saw afar
In the East rising the Bethlehem Star:
Ages and generations still proclaim
The same great Father with a different name.
Thou o'er Creation's waters once did move,
Emblem of order, Providence, and Love:
Thou satest on men's heads in fiery tongue,
When the new Gospel into life outsprung:
My eyes now open, and I know full well
In hearts of man the Spirit deigns to dwell.
Poor Human Reason many roads may see,
Which lead to Heaven, but all verge in Thee.
When I look back on all my devious ways,
No thoughts I find but those of Thanks and Praise.

London, February 24, 1896.

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PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, HERTFORD.

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